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Now speaking to you not from Studio 41, but from Berlin, where the Big Four Conference of Foreign Ministers is in its concluding days, is Edward R. Murrow.

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mcw

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mcw

DON HOLLENBECK

Marian Podkowinski, Warsaw Express, from Communist Poland.

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

I am Richard C. Hottelet. I am the Columbia Broadcasting System's correspondent in Germany.

HOWARD K. SMITH

I am Howard K. Smith. I work for CBS too. I cover Europe with headquarters in London.

HENRI DE TURENNE

My name is Henri de Turenne. I work for the French News Agency.

RICHARD SCOTT

I am Richard Scott of the Manchester Guardian. I normally work in London.

EDWARD R. MURROW

All right, gentlemen. Let's start off. Now, what has this conference accomplished?

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI

As for me, I am an optimist on this conference, you know, because of two things. First, it's good to have such a conference, especially in Berlin, and secondly, as long as people talk, is the only way to afford something. I mean to afford peace, and especially a good thing for the neighbors of Germany.

RICHARD C. HOTELLET

I must say that I can't go along with Marian Podkowinski's optimism. This conference was called perhaps in the hope of bringing some alleviation of the cold war. I think it has not. I think all it has done has been to illuminate the deadlock in which the world is gripped. I think it has shown very clearly that Mr. Molotov came in from Moscow, not bringing any new line, not reflecting any new set of circumstances after Stalin's death, but has come here to show that Soviet Russia does not feel so weak as to feel inclined to give up any of its position in Europe. I think the results that will flow from this conference will be neutral, if not negative, and if anything good does come of it, that it will be completely indirect.

HENRI DE TURENNE

I think the same way as you do ... that the Berlin Conference has been very negative. So far it has achieved no result at all. But there are still some days to go, and I think that it is still possible that we shall have some surprises, although very few people believe in it. But personally, I can't imagine why Mr. Molotov came to Berlin if it's not to achieve anything.

mcw

RICHARD SCOTT

Yes. Well, if Mr. Molotov is going to be able to take any results - positive results back to Moscow, I think he will have to work pretty quickly, because certainly in my mind, I am clear that there have been no positive results whatsoever so far, and I think that perhaps the most despressing thing will be the realization that there simply have been no negotiations, no discussions at all at Berlin. The purpose of the conference is surely, four men of different views, representing different countries, come together to discuss a problem - a common problem, and to try to reconcile these differences through negotiation, through discussion. But there have been no discussions and no negotiations at all. There have been statements from one side and statements from the other, and I think that is perhaps the most depressing aspect of this whole Berlin Conference. As soon as the western powers, say, on Germany, put forward what they consider, I consider, positive, concrete proposals for say the holding of elections which they feel must be the first step in recreating the unity of Germany, well, Mr. Molotov doesn't discuss free elections. He discusses something like reparations, war debts.

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI

I remember free elections in Germany. Under Hitler, of course, they were free in technical field. I mean everybody rushed to his vote, and that's all I mean, but what kind of atmosphere was around these free elections?

mcw

HENRI DE TURENNE

The French people expected Mr. Molotov to make some kind of a proposal for a bargaining, and they expected Mr. Molotov to yield -- to give up the Soviet Zone, to accept free elections in exchange for some guarantees in the peace treaty. But Mr. Molotov didn't go even that far. And that's why I think he hasn't given any argument for the proponents of EDC in France. I think he didn't do it for two reasons. The first is because in the events of the 17th of June in Berlin where practically there was a revolt in the East Zone. And the second reason is because of the elections of last September in Germany which were an overwhelming success for Chancellor Adenauer.

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI

We are against EDC -- European Security. How do you call the EDC? What is it?

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

European Defense Community.

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI

European Defense Community ... because it's not entirely European Community, because Adenauer is now the man who takes over and controls the - dominates the EDC, and look now -- look at what Adenauer is now doing in Western Germany.

(MORE)

mcw

PODKOWINSKI (CONT'D)

I mean, all the military organizations. You know, the former Nazis who are now organizing themselves in many, many, you know, so called German Bunds, and so forth. Look on the old, I mean, Generals -- what they are doing now -- publishing newspapers which is really a danger for everybody, and especially for Poland.

HOWARD K. SMITH

I agree with our Polish friend's qualms about Germany and his concerns about security. It so happens that I am opposed to German rearmament in any form, but I think he must be reminded the reason this issue of re-arming West Germany has arisen is because there is an East German Army, and I really have an impression that the Communist world is not so concerned about a German Army when the German Army's under their control. That's the impression that Mr. Molotov has given here, I think.

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI

There is a difference between a National Army and the Army of Hitler and even of Adenauer, speaking frankly, because we don't scare. We are not scared -- I mean of the French Army, which is a big Army too, but we are always scared of the German Army.

mcw

EDWARD R. MURROW

Is it true that nothing at all new has been proposed here at this Conference?

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

I think there have been a few odd, minor novelties ... when Mr. Molotov proposed his European Security Plan, I think he put forward for the first time a concrete plan to push the United States out of Europe. Also, I think, in clarifying his position on various, essential points, he made some new statements. He, for instance, defined free elections -- the only kind of free elections on the basis of which he would permit Germany to be re-unified. He spelled them out in most precise terms as elections which the Communists would win. Apart from that, I would say that very little new has come out of this conference as far as the substance of the conference goes.

HOWARD K. SMITH

Well, I think there has been one substantial, material gain here. On the sidelines, quite quietly, without anybody taking much notice of it, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Molotov have been meeting to discuss President Eisenhower's plan to have an atomic bank, sponsored by the United Nations, and on the very best authority, I have heard that these talks have been cordial and completely successful to date. Exactly what has happened -- what has transpired, we don't know, but that is what has been told us.

mcw

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

I do think, though, that we leave this Conference somewhat better off than we came here. I agree with Marian slightly that talking helps, because, when you are face to face with a man like Molotov, who is after all no messenger boy but the number two man in the Soviet hierarchy, the man who has managed Soviet foreign policy under Stalin and after Stalin, you are coming to grips with a man who can speak with authority. We now know where we stand. Moscow, through Molotov, has slammed the door in Europe, so that the rafters have shaken, and I doubt that there are any illusions left even among the French, if they had come with any, or in the minds of the Austrians who might have toyed with neutralism in the past year in the hope of extracting a peace treaty from the Russians. Poor Mr. Figl, who came here on Saturday and delivered his message, was torn to shreds by Molotov's answer. I think we now know much better where we stand.

mcw

HOWARD K. SMITH

I agree, I think, with Dick that the Russians did slam the door, and I think that's the most significant development of this conference. They did not attempt to win Western public opinion. That suggests to me that their policy has become one of consolidation -- the at the satellite governments have been shaken by the events that have taken place since Stalin's death - by the purge of Beria, by the June 17th troubles in Germany, just mentioned, and so on, and Molotov, I think -- this is my supposition, thought, that there is no point in appealing to the West, especially in Germany. "I have lost public opinion here. The people who need the government, particularly the East German government, I must assure them that I justify their methods to them. That I will not make a deal that will desert them." So I think Molotov's whole new policy is one of consolidation unwillingness to make any deals a period of quiescence in the cold war.

HENRI DE TURENNE:

Although not many people expect anything, and you are going to think I am an unbearable optimist, I think Mr. Molotov would draw such advantage -- the French public opinion is so sensitive to the least hope that could come out of the Berlin Conference -- that he might still have something in his bag. -

mc

RICHARD SCOTT:

Yes, but I doubt very much if what is coming out of that bag is coming out on the German problem. I think it's true the conference is not yet finished, but I think the German problem is as dead as it could be. The phrase "to slam the door" is a very picturesque phrase. I am not sure that it was even worse than that. I don't think the doorwas ever opened. I think Mr. Molotov came to Berlin in the certain knowledge that he could get nothing out of discussions on Germany which could serve Soviet interests better than the status quo.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Now, we will continue this discussion of what has happened at the Foreign Ministers Conference and what may be expected immediately after this word from the Aluminum Company of America.

COMMERCIAL

DON HOLLENBECK:

This is a SEE IT NOW report originating in the studio of Radio Rias in Berlin. Five correspondents reporting on the Big Four Conference. Marian Podkowinski of the Warsaw Evening Express. Richard C. Hottelet, CBS Berlin. Howard Smith, CBS European Chief. Henri de Turenne, French News Agency. Richard Scott. Manchester Guardian. And here is Ed Murrow.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. DeTuenne we have the impression that a great many of the things that have been said here have been aimed at French public opinion.

HENRI DE TURENNE:

Well, they definitely have been. I mean, to such an extend that some people even said that this conference was not a conference on Germany but a conference on France. See, the two problems in France, at the present time, are the European Army Treaty, which has not been ratified yet, and the second problem is the war in Indo-China which has become a very great burden to France, and which is a problem that all French men and the French Government, too, now want to solve.

RICHARD SCOTT:

What would happen if Mr. Molotov did, in these remaining few days, come forward with a proposal which might be felt in France to lead to some hope of settlement of that question?

HENRI DE TURENNE:

If Mr. Molotov gives any hope of a solution here, it is going definitely to have a great influence on the French public opinion. You see, in Indo-China, France has half of its Armed Forces. If those Forces could be brought back to Europe, France would not have this inferiority complex which she has now towards Germany. She would feel more confidant and the Indo-Chinese war, at the present time, is so unpopular in France that it has become sort of a scapegoat. During the cold wave, for example, during the last two weeks, there was a terrific cold wave in Europe, and suddenly the French people discovered that there were children dying of exposure in Paris, and immediately, the reaction of the people, though it might have no relation at all, was to say: "If we didn't spend all that money in Indo-China, we could build houses, and these things wouldn't happen."

RICHARD SCOTT:

Doesn't some progress have to be made first on the Korean question, I think, before Indo-China can be ...

HENRI DE TURENNE:

Well, unfortunately, I did not attend the secret meetings of the foreign Ministers, but I understand that the French Governement wants to have some guarantee that if we are going to meet with the Chinese around the table, we should reach some kind of agreement.

(MORE)

MC

HENRI DE TURENNE:(CTD.)

You see, everybody seems to be afraid, and rightly so, that the Chinese, at the present time, have no reason to make a gift of the Indo-Chinese peace to France, for example, without in exchange attaining something, and obviously, the question they are going to raise immediately when they sit at the table with us is the question of Formosa.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Well, gentlemen, you all seem to agree that nothing of substantial importance is likely to emerge from this Conference. That is to say, nothing that will change the basic, planned strategy of either side, with the possible exception, as De Turenne pointed out, that it may still be possible that Molotiv will come forward with a proposal that might hold out some prospect of a settlement or easement in Indo-China. Let us proceed from thatand consider for a moment what is likely to happen next. Certainly there will be a continuing struggle for trade. Is that not true, Scott?

RICHARD SCOTT:

Yes -- clearly. I think trade hasn't featured at all prominently in this conference. Mr. Molotov has mentioned the need of greater East-West trade. I get the impression that there is still a feeling around the conference that even if we haven't made any progress in getting closer in the political field, it might still be possible and worth while to do so in the field of trade.

(MORE)

MC

RICHARD SCOTT: (CTD.)

After all, the division of Europe is both economical as well as political, and it's a very unnatural division economically perhaps even more than politically. It has very bad effects both on the East and on the West. International trade is, after all, something which is conducted for the mutual benefit of both participants, and I don't think there is any reason to fear extending trade between East and West, so long as it's not in strategic materials. And, for instance take trade with China. Britain's being critiaized a good deal, I think, in the United States for excessive selling to China. Well, we don't sell a great deal, but our concern has been to sell outside thefield of strategic goods to China. But I think that I am right that the United States has been buying quite a considerable amount from China. It's in the round. We sell to China. United States buys to China, and personally, I can't see that there is very much harm in that, provided its outside the field of strategic goods.

mc

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Podkowinski, do you expect an increase in East-West trade?

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI:

Sure, I am expecting this, you know, because the East-West trade is a very important thing for everybody ... for the Poles, Czechs, and for the Russians. I guess the same for the Danes, Swedes, French, and the British. Russia is supporting now some strategical stuff ... coal, coke, steel, nickel, and so forth. It is no objection. I think we can really trade with everything. I mean, for the sake of peace and recovery, especially of the East countries, who suffered so much in the last war.

HOWARD K. SMITH:

I think it's important. In some cases, it will become soon a question of economic life and death ... the nations living in an abnormal period -- and selling without the great competitors. Germany and Japan have not been competing. Until recently, the United States hasn't been competing. We have been giving goods away. And also, our economies have been given an extra shot due to the Korean War and the Arms program. With the Korean Wars over, Germany and Japan are back on the market. America is trying to sell things instead of give them away. There is a tremendous pressure on markets. Almost half of humanity has been embraced in Communist Governments, and therefore, trade has dwindled. Now, those markets just have to be opened to us, and I think that is what is beginning, and it's almost bound to continue and develop very greatly.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

Do any of you gentlemen see any prospect of the relaxation and easement of this general situation?

RICHARD SCOTT:

I certainly don't think that the Berlin Conferences led me to think that there's any greater chance of that. I think, frankly, no.

HENRI DE TURENNE:

I don't think it will either for the moment, but if this relaxation does happen, it will take a very, very long time. It has taken quite a while to build up this sort of conflict between the East and the West, and I think it will take at least as much time to relax the tension, if it's possible.

RICHARD C. HOTTELET:

I think we have seen now that the system has survived the death of Stalin. Soviet ambitions and aims are independent of personalities. They are based on long term national, strategic interests, and I don't see them changing. I don't see any end to the cold was unless by some catastrophe we are going to be plunged into a hot one.

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI:

I am still an optimist. As I said before, that's my attitude to life too. But, anyhow, let's hope for new conference. Maybe we will be surprised with a new conference and I guess as long as people talk -- as long as we worry about the war....

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HOWARD K. SMITH:

Well, a cold war, in some degrees, just has to go on, Ed. As long as the world hasn't got one single world government, nations are going to establish themselves in blocks against one another out of sheer protective interests. So I think a complete end of the cold war is almost a visionary hope -- not to be achieved in my time.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Will these two competing blocks stand firm? Are they solid -- or is there a chance that one or the other might break up?

RICHARD SCOTT:

I think that is the biggest question. In fact, I think I can be very optimistic about that. I have attended most of the meetings of the four Foreign Ministers since the war, and I think this meeting has been quite remarkable for the solidarity and team work of the three Western Ministers. They put a lot of preparation into it - but it's been a reality.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Podkowinski, do you think that the Eastern block will also stand firm and solid?

MARIAN PODKOWINSKI:

Of course. I mean, it all depends, of course, who are friendship with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia has done a lot for us, and if you find in Poland some people who dislike the Russians, which is true too, but everybody hating Germans, so that makes a big difference. So I say, this is one of the fundamental questions...I mean in Poland.

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MARIAN PODOWINSKI:
(CTD)

Friendship with Soviet Russia and security and control depends on German militarism. That's my point of view.

HOWARD K. SMITH:

I must say, in the past uear, when there seemed to be a lessening of tension, Western unity has loosened up a great deal, and irresponsible people have grown more irresponsible. For example, American politicians engaging in a kind of self-mutilation of the United States and its morale by referring to one party as having committed 20 years of treason. I think Mr. Molotov here has had very little comfort. But those reports which have caused our allies to shudder in the German press here must have given him some comfort at least.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

It seems you gentlemen agree that nothing of substance is going to come out of this Berlin Conference. So let's talk for a minute about what happens next.

HENRI DE TURENNE:

I think that what happens next is very simple. The Foreign Ministers have a lot of things to do at home. Mr. Eden will go back to London where he has a problem to solve. That's the succession of Mr. Churchill, I think.

RICHARD SCOTT:

Mr. Churchill would hardly agree with you, I think.

res

HENRI DE TURENNE:

Mr. Bidault will go back to Paris and a hard job pushing the European Army Treaty through Parliament. Mr. Dulles will go back to America and maybe he will have to give some explanation to the China Lobby about his attitude here, and Mr. Molotov will go back to Moscow and try to get more bicycles and more radio sets for Soviet consumers.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Thank you very much, gentlemen. It seems to me you have agreed on certain things. You agreed, first of all, that this Foreign Ministers Conference should be held. You seem to agree there have been no substantial important or revolutionary results flowed from it. You have also agreed there will be continuing and increasing trade rivalry between the two competing blocks. You also appear to have agreed that both blocks are solid and firm, and there is no real danger of a collapse on either side of what is called the Iron Curtain It seems to me the most important thing you have agreed upon is that this conflict will continue so far as any of you can see. Thank you very much for sitting around this table here in Berlin and discussing the Foreign Ministers Conference.

Good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

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(15)

CBS TELEVISION

PERSON TO PERSON, EDWARD R. MURROW

February 12, 1954 - 10:00 P.M.

Guests: Dr. and Mrs. Thos. Rees

Gov. Adlai Stevenson.

MURROW: Good evening, I am Ed Murrow. The name of the program is PERSON TO PERSON and tonight again we are going to do a little informal visiting. We are going up on the East side of New York and visit with Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Rees. Mrs. Rees is a fashion model. Then we will be going out to Libertyville, Illinois to visit with Adlai Stevenson. We will be ready to go in exactly 20 seconds.

(Commercial)

MURROW: Many of you may have not heard the name Nan Rees but you have certainly seen her pictures on the cover of magazines, in commercial advertisements and in newspapers. She is a fashion model but there is a strange annonymity about models so I will tell you a little about Nan Rees. She is 27 years old. She grew up in Rochester, New York. She went to Bennington College, married a medical student from Salt Lake City. She has been a model now for something like four years and a very successful one. Nan and her husband, who is a plastic surgeon, live in this remodeled brown stone house on

East 87th Street. They live on the ground floor and like it because of a garden in the back. It is a couple of blocks from Gracie Mansion where the Mayor of New York lives. It is within reasonable commuting distance from their work. Are you there, Dr. and Mrs. Rees?

DR. REES: Yes, how are you?

NAN REES: How are you?

MURROW: Fine. When do you two get together?

DR. REES: That is one of our problems. We get together evenings when I am not at the hospital. The week-ends are our big times. Currently we are trying to do some skiing - trying to teach Nan to ski.

MURROW: Is she a good skier?

DR. REES: Potentially good.

MURROW: What about the doctor?

NAN REES: He is wonderful skiing and I am learning to ski with him so I won't be left alone and he is learning to paint so he won't have to sit out in the fields doing nothing while I paint.

MURROW: What about the painting?

DR. REES: The rank is amateur. She is quite a painter. I would like you to see one on the wall.

MURROW: Doctor, how do you feel about your wife being a model?

DR. REES: We are pretty tickled she can do something

she is interested in and kill the long hours the surgeon has to be away from his wife while in training.

MURROW: Nan, do people recognize you on the street?

NAN REES: That depends. With face - when I am made up running from job to job, yes, but without face, no.

MURROW: Without face you are not recognized.

NAN REES: No.

MURROW: Dr. Rees, your wife has posed for hundreds or thousands of pictures. Which is your favorite?

DR. REES: It is like getting blood out of a turnip to get a picture for myself but I have one of her that is my favorite and it happens to be the only one I have I might add.

MURROW: Nan, what is your favorite picture that has been taken of you?

NAN REES: I have one I am sentimentally attached to. Would you like to see it?

MURROW: Yes, I would.

NAN REES: The reason I am attached to it is because it is my first so I will show it to you.

It was my first job and it happened to be a cover so I am quite tickled by the whole thing.

MURROW: Oh yes, on the cover of Glamour, isn't it?

NAN REES: Yes, December, 1949.

MURROW: Does your family get any enjoyment out of seeing you in print or on covers?

NAN REES: I think they do now. One time when I first started we had small discussions about it and we figured for dignity's sake if I did no cigarette ads or no whiskey ads and would only do the clothes I would be seen in on the street all would be well.

MURROW: As you gather, I know nothing at all about modeling business. I guess you need to produce different poses and different expressions sort of at will.

NAN REES: Yes, you have to interpret what the photographer is getting across in his picture.

MURROW: Would you be willing to try one or two.

Nan Rees; That is an awful difficult thing to do, Ed, because it is the clothes you have on and the whole thing which is so important but I can try.

MURROW: All right, start by looking sophisticated.

NAN REES: Hardest one of all. Does that look sophisticated?

MURROW: I am not real sure what the word coy means. Let's have that one.

NAN REES: Oh, that is sort of flirty, maybe.

MURROW: Collegiate?

NAN REES: That is supposed to be full of zest and you know, the all-American girl.

MURROW: Pensive?

NAN REES: Oh, thoughtful. I don't know if these

came across at all to you. I feel very silly.

MURROW: They did, indeed. Let's try that pensive one.

NAN REES: No laughing.

MURROW: Now, happy. There! We had that one right there. Tell me what has been your most recent biggest item?

NAN REES: I will show you. My McCall's cover I love - November of this year.

MURROW: A business question: Do you get paid extra if you appear on the cover?

NAN REES: No, unfortunately and the one that is coming out that I am quite tickled with is this one which is Mademoiselle for March. That is really, you know, right at the moment. I have some I can show you of different kinds of modeling if you need it.

MURROW: What other kinds do you do?

NAN REES: This is what you call an advertising sort of thing, a commercial for cosmetics and this is what is known as editorial because they are freer in movement and this could be a newspaper ad or a magazine ad - a fashion thing.

MURROW: Tell me, is modeling fun or plain hard work.

NAN REES: It is wonderful fun but hard work. You

are like an athlete - you have to be in training. To get one picture like this you have to stand for hours and they take all kinds of shots. There are about fifty here and that is a short sitting compared to what it could be.

MURROW: What are the compensations for all this hard work?

NAN REES: Money but, well, really more than that - Oh, the wonderful people you meet. It is a marvellous job and I like it. It is a liberal education.

MURROW: You had a liberal education at Bennington?

NAN REES: Oh yes, wouldn't trade a second of it. I would like to go back.

MURROW: A Commercial for Bennington. Another business question: What does a top model earn?

NAN REES: $15.00 a/hour and it goes up as high as $35.00 a/hour and you have weeks when you are working 24 hours a day and weeks that are quite lean.

MURROW: Do you have to supply clothes or do they come with the job?

NAN REES: You have to have a basic wardrobe - for instance suit jackets. Would you like to see what a girl carries in her bag and why she has a broken arm?

MURROW: Yes.

NAN REES: We will take pot luck.

MURROW: This is the equipment you carry with you

when you go out on an assignment?

NAN REES: You see us walking like this. That is the book that proves we have done the job. An alarm clock keeps us on schedule. Appointment book so I know what is next. Jewelry. Face department Most important. Skirts. Sweaters. Shoes. You have to have two different kinds of shoes white and black - summer and winter. There they are and this is a very lean day compared to what it may be.

MURROW: Nan, what makes a good model?

NAN REES: Oh, poise I think would be an important thing and ability to interpret what a photographer wants to give in a photograph.

MURROW: For example.

NAN REES: Well, you wouldn't stand like this if you were going to do a pair of slacks. It doesn't show anything. You have to make a lean line because slacks are tapered and stand up straight and you never put your hands forward to the camera because it makes them look too big and you are free and easy but still you remember your clothes.

MURROW: What is the most difficult part of modeling?

NAN REES: Standing for hours and hours and you can't sit down because the merchandise would get wrinkled so there is not too much you can do but stand and stand.

MURROW: Do you have any problem with weight?

NAN REES: Fortunately no. I am fortunate in that

respect. There is no time for lunch so I cut that out and I eat lean meat and salads so I keep it down fairly well.

MURROW: What are the dogs named?

NAN REES: One is P- She produced the puppy.

MURROW: Thank you, Nan Rees for letting us come and visit you this evening. Where is the doctor?

DR. REES: Here.

NAN REES: In my wonderful kitchen here.

MURROW: Thank you for letting us come and see you.

DR. REES: Thank you, Ed.

NAN REES: Thank you.

MURROW: In just a moment we will be going to Libertyville, Illinois to visit with Adlai Stevenson.

(Commercial)

MURROW: About 16 months ago Adlai Stevenson stood in Springfield, Illinois and said that he felt rather like Abraham Lincoln did when he lost an election - that he felt like a small boy who had stubbed his toe in the dark; he was too old to cry and it hurt too much to laugh. Stevenson and his 27 million supporters watched the Eisenhower administration settle down. Governor Stevenson went off on a 'round-the-world trip and some sixteen months, some tens of thousands of miles and thirty countries later he came back from that trip and returned to Vernon Township in Illinois. Adlai Stevenson now lives alone in this 12 room house on 71 acres. It is just outside of Libertyville, about 40 miles North of Chicago. His nearest neighbors are three-quarters of a mile away. It is a mile from his mail box on St. Mary's Road and a quarter of a mile behind the house is the Des Plaines River and we are told on this property stands the finest grove of hard wood maples in Northern Illinois. Is that right, Governor?

STEVENSON: I think it is a fine grove but I would hate to say it is the finest because that might provoke a dispute and politicians don't like disputes.

MURROW: What are you doing, much chance to play golf?

STEVENSON: No, I am sorry, I haven't had much chance to play golf. It keeps me busy as I can be to keep up with my mail, telephone, with my visitors, with my work and

I might say keeping abreast of my creditors.

MURROW: Just exactly where are we in your home now, Governor Stevenson?

STEVENSON: Right now we are in the basement, what was originally built as a playroom for the children when small and two of them during the Christmas holidays fixed it up.

MURROW: Where are your sons now?

STEVENSON: My oldest son is Lieutenant in the Marines and commands the first platoon of the first company of the first battalion of the First Marine Division in Korea. He rather sounds to his father as though he were the first soldier to the world, and, my second son is at college and my third son is in High School, preparatory school.

MURROW: Could we see more of this den or basement?

STEVENSON: Delighted. I am not sure how much we can see.

MURROW: What are the buttons?

STEVENSON: A collection of campaign buttons of the last presidential campaign which a friend of mine was good enough to assemble for me. I suppose he thought old soldiers would like to see trophies.

MURROW: Are they there for memory or are you stockpiling for the future?

STEVENSON: I think for memory. This is an old lithograph of the campaign of 1892. It is entitled,

"The Lowest Bet," and made in Paris in 1893. The man won the bet and this man is pulling him through the streets of Chicago. That is Roosevelt. The victors were Grover Cleveland and Adlai Stevenson. That was my grandfather and this is a campaign poster of the campaign of 1900, of Bryan and my grandfather Stevenson.

MURROW: Do you have any more souvenirs of your own campaign?

STEVENSON: I have quantities of these cartoon the boys got together. Here are some. These mostly relate to the period before the convention when I was running for Governor. Here I am being pulled by the opposite directions of Democrats with two rather unattractive looking ladies. Well, the usual sort of thing.

MURROW: What else do you have on the wall there, Governor?

STEVENSON: This is one of those front pieces, the original of a cover piece for a magazine. Here is an amusing thing that the boys dug up. It is a letter and a twenty dollar gold piece from Mr. Beck of Wyoming.

MURROW: What does the letter say?

STEVENSON: Twenty dollar gold piece given to his father on his wedding day and his father gave it to him on his wedding day and he is sending it to me for my campaign--

in case of misfortune for the Democratic Party.

MURROW: Is that all that is left of the millions that the Democrats had?

STEVENSON: I'm afraid that is all - maybe they'll get this now that they have seen it.

MURROW: You had a rigorous and vigorous campaign in politics and you made a vigorous and rigorous trip around the world. Which was the most difficult?

STEVENSON: As I said, Mr. Murrow, I think they were both fascinating, fatiguing - and also fattening. I think perhaps the campaign was the worst of all, although it didn't last, thank Heavens, as long as the trip around the world which was about six months of constant pressure from early morning to late at night with a great variety of climates and a variety of languages and many people to see all the time. I enjoyed it enormously and I wouldn't have missed it for the world but it was very fatiguing.

MURROW: I seem to remember that during the campaign you received a great many presents and pictures of you receiving other things from abroad. Did you bring back any "loot.?"

STEVENSON: Yes, things scattered all around. This has interested me a great deal.This is a blow gun given to me by T- of Malaya. It is an extraordinary piece of ordnance and it shoots these savage looking little poisoned

darts with the most incredible accuracy. At a distance of 50 yards they can kill a bird on the wing. That is the quiver they carry the darts in. This is interesting. This is a P- or a jungle knife. Notice the head of the snake. This was given to me. This was taken off the body of a dead terrorist of the Malaya jungle and presented to me by a British soldier when I was out there in the jungle during my journey. Here are some shoes. These are golden embroidered slippers and they were given to me together with a revolver - made, by the way, in the mountains of N- and a knapsack, by the chieftans in the Khyber Pass. There is an old legend: A gun for your protection and shoes to travel in and a knapsack to carry your food in for your journey to Heaven.

MURROW: Your hosts seems to have armed you well for the wars. Do you have any other weapons?

STEVENSON: Yes, I have that gun I was speaking about and I also have an exquisite sword given to me by King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia when I visited him at a place in the Arabian desert.

MURROW: Could we see it?

STEVENSON: I will be delighted to show it to you, yes. Where are you, Arty?

MURROW: Thank you. Did you lose a dog? What are those guns in the rack?

STEVENSON: Those are hunting guns of my boys' and

when we are here we go out and shoot pheasants and quail. I haven't had much luck this Fall. I hope you have had better luck than I have.

MURROW: What are the pictures on the wall?

STEVENSON: Old family pictures, funny old pictures of one kind and another - most of my family. There are some more cartoons, and some of my friends in politics and school pictures and that sort of thing. Well, I will go on up now.

MURROW: Where are we now, Governor?

STEVENSON: Well, Mr. Murrow this is the dining room and this room I am in now is the living room. Come on Arty, get out of my way, come on here you lazy hound.

MURROW: Who is Arty?

STEVENSON: King Arthur is his name. We call him Arty for short. He loves to sit in front of the fire place.

MURROW: What is the ship model there in front?

STEVENSON: This is an old model of the ship called Libertas, a naval vessel which the City of Ragusa had, now called D- ubrovnikon the Adriatic and Dalmatian coast and it was given to me by the city fathers by the Mayor and his Reception Committee when I visited there during my journey last summer. It is a remarkable city. It kept its independence for 200 years, from the 15th to 17th centuries.

MURROW: Could we see that sword from Ibn Saud?

STEVENSON: Yes, here it is. Now, you see it is

a rather lovely sword. All of this is hammered gold. It is hammered out of gold British sovereigns, presumably, and I don't know - King Ibn Saud died after I visited him there in the desert and this may have been the last - certainly one of the last of these ceremonial swords that he presented to a visitor. He was a remarkable old man, as you know.

MURROW: What is the connection between your family and Lincoln? Wasn't Lincoln a friend of your great grandfather's?

STEVENSON: Yes, that is correct and this is a facsimile - steel engraving of the autobiography of Abraham Lincoln which he presented to my great grandfather Jesse Fell.

MURROW: What is your favorite line in that autobiography ?

STEVENSON: I have always loved this line. I will read it. He talks about after leaving Kentucky, when the family moved into Southern Indiana he said, "There I grew up. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond reading, writing and ciphering to the rule of three. If a straggler supposedly understanding latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood he was looked upon as a wise man and there was absolutely nothing to inside ambition for education. Of course, when I became of age I didn't know much, still I could read, write and cipher to the rule of three but that was all. I have not been to school

since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity."

I sometimes wish that every school child would have an opportunity to read those lines in our times when we have free education all the way through primary and secondary school.

There is a Brady photograph and that is an original of the letter from Lincoln to General Meade ordering the execution of five soldiers. You know he usually reprieved and this broke up a substantial racket in the war. That is my name in Chinese which Chiang Kai Shek gave me. Here is a head of Lincoln that Fred Lewis, my dear friend and once neighbor gave me before his death. He was the author of "The Fighting Prophet," and also, "Life of General Grant."

MURROW: As a student of Abraham Lincoln and his times what lessons do you think he has for us now?

STEVENSON: Well, as you know, Mr. Murrow, Lincoln had a very broad conception of the civil war. Not only was the union imperiled but also the hope for democracy everywhere. America was the proving ground. If our Democratic experiment succeeded here then the masses of the people everywhere had some hope that they too might enjoy self government and you see this thread through much of his writing particularly in the Gettysburg address, so he was bound and determined that,

"the union must not fail, that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth. These are the lines. He thought of those boys, I am sure, dying in the civil war, dying not only to preserve the union but also to preserve the hopes and aspirations for people for self government everywhere. I think somehow it is the same today; that now when we see ourselves, when we see the free man, the hope of all people, to choose their own way of life imperiled by the Communist conspiracy our position is not dissimilar from what it was in his time and that he saw the universal implication of America's experiment in self government.

MURROW: Governor, where do you work at home? Where is your desk?

STEVENSON: I generally work right here at this large desk which I am afraid is very disorderly and littered at the moment. Here, by the way, is a caste bronze figure of Lincoln's hand. You can see how enormous it is. It was made after his death.

MURROW: You have been coming in for a lot of attention lately from Chairman Hall of the Republican Nathonal Committee and other Republicans and they say you have been spreading doom and gloom. Have you been spreading any recently?

STEVENSON: Mr. Murrow, you mentioned Lincoln a

moment ago and the lesson he has for us today. Let me just remind you that in the most considered speech that he ever gave which was his Cooper Union speech in New York of February in 1860 Lincoln pleaded with the South not to call the Republicans in the North reptiles and outlaws and he pleaded with the Republican leadership in the North not to think evilly of the South but humility, temperance, moderation, political morality was not the order of the day and the results were very sad indeed. I think perhaps there is a lesson in that for us today when Lincoln's birthday is evidently a signal for an all-time low in the political dialogue of the United States. That is what I have to say about that.

MURROW: Let's turn to something more current.

STEVENSON: I will tell you more about Jesse Fell, my great grandfather, if you like. The family has given his papers to the Library of Congress.

MURROW: Have you been reading any good books recently?

STEVENSON: Well, I have been reading THE DEMOCRATIC DIGEST which, I find, is a very good book, and I have been reading Elmer Davis' most recent book; a book by Arnold Toynbee; Theodore White's FIRE IN THE ASHES; Chester Bowle's book on India, and I have been reading a very interesting book by Jack Bingham - I think is his name - on Point Fourt; and I have been reading all of these books. I have been reading

mostly in the foreign affairs field this Fall and Winter, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Do you ever think of writing any fiction?

STEVENSON: Fiction? I expect a good many people think I have already been writing it. I would be tempted. Have you any proposals?

MURROW: No, but I will look about.

STEVENSON: No, I think it is all I can do to keep up with what letter writing I have to do. I find it very hard to get down to work. Maybe it is because I am not used to living in solitude and quiet.

MURROW: The phone keeps you busy?

STEVENSON: Yes, and visitors. I am delighted to see them but it makes it hard to maintain consecutive work.

MURROW: Thank you very much for letting us visit you in your home.

STEVENSON: Not at all. Delighted to have you here.

(Commercial)

MURROW: Tonight we have been visiting with Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Rees up on the East side of New York and with Governor Adlai Stevenson out near Libertyville. There are some of the people who contributed to this program. Good night and good luck from PERSON TO PERSON.

FILE EMPTY WHEN RECEIVED

I 5 10

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY MAY 2ND, 1943. EDWARD R. MURROW
MIDNIGHT, DBST.

This is London: Once I was sent in search of a left-handed monkey wrench. Of course there isn't any such thing...that useful tool can be used in either hand, or both; that fact soon became apparent to me. Today it is equally obvious that the Germans are using the monkey wrench presented to them by the disagreement between Poland and Russia. They are using it right and left-handed, but they did not create it; they merely applied it to a bolt that was already weak and rusty.

The relations between the two Allies have been deteriorating for several months. London and Washington knew all about it. Here in London the censorship clamped down...presumably in the belief that a fundamental difference, if ignored, would solve itself. We were told that any public discussion of the issues might provide the German propagandists with ammunition. But it was possible for me to say as far back as the end of February that the agreement between the Poles and Russians wasn't wearing too well, and to suggest that in the absence of any fundamental understanding between the major Allies the Russians would follow a policy of protecting their own strategic frontiers. And so again we have seen the collapse of a policy designed to suppress vital information of a non-military character. The tendency to stretch military censorship to cover political and post-war problems is one of the most disturbing developments of Allied policy. No reporter who has seen people die in this war will complain about legitimate military censorship; but it is not fair to the men who are dying to suppress news of events which may strongly influence the world they die to save or to create.

The disagreement between Poland and Russia has its origins in the mystic chords of memory, but we can concern ourselves only with recent events....And it

is a time for plain speaking. When the Poles were fighting with unthinking courage, Russia occupied the eastern provinces of their country...Ribbentrop and Molotov drew a line through the country and divided it. The Russians had some nine thousand Polish officers in prisoners-of-war camps. All during the winter of 1939-40 those men were in contact with their families. At the beginning of May 1940 they began to be moved to an unknown destination. They have never been heard of since. The Poles made repeated inquiries, and received no information. After the signing of the Polish-Soviet military agreement on August 14th, 1941, the Polish Ambassador in Moscow and General Anders, Polish Commander-in-Chief in Russia, requested orally and in writing news of their officers. They received evasive answers or none at all. General Sikorski raised the matter with Premier Stalin. No one knew what had happened to the men. Various stories began to circulate...Poles in Scotland and in the Middle East bombarded their Government with queries. The Poles, who are outspoken in their admiration for the fighting and organisational qualities of the Russians, had difficulty believing that nine thousand officers had been mislaid even in a country the size of Russia. There was some trouble about the Polish relief agencies operating in Russia. The Russians made public claim to the frontiers established by Molotov and Ribbentrop. The families of Polish soldiers in Persia were denied permission to leave the Soviet Union. Irritation increased on both sides. Then the Germans produced their story of the graves near Smolensk...and the Poles made their mistake of asking the Red Cross to investigate...But they wanted to know what had happened to their officers. The Polish Government felt that it had to do something more than address another note to the Russians if they were to satisfy their people here, in the Middle

East and in Poland. The Poles are said to be emotional and lacking in political realism...there are events in their history to justify such charges. But political decisions, even in the international field are not always taken coldly and logically. There is no shortage of bodies where the German or Russian armies have passed...and the Poles wanted to know. The reaction can perhaps be understood when we remember our reaction to the shooting of our airmen by the Japanese. The Russians replied by using strong language and by severing relations. So far as I can learn no one here knows who killed the officers or if they are in fact dead...but they have certainly disappeared. The Germans are making use of this sombre situation...Speaking of pro-Polish Washington and pro-Russian London...they are warning the small States of central and south-eastern Europe that the Allies plan to leave them to the mercies of Russia.

The real problem that confronts the English-speaking Allies goes much deeper than just finding a way to patch up relations between Russia and Poland. It is the question of how far they are prepared to go, and how far Russia is prepared to go, in making it possible for the small States of Europe to live when this war is over. If the last two wars have demonstrated anything they have shown that when there is no security for small nations there is no security for big nations. Many of the Poles will admit that there will probably have to be frontier revisions after the war...but they do not admit the right of Russia to make those changes singlehanded...and they reason: if Britain and America cannot now come to agreements with Russia, what chance is there that they will be able or willing to do so when the war is won?

There are States other than Poland interested in the answer to that question; every small nation, including Norway and especially Turkey, will be watching to see what happens. Most people here anticipate that Russian influence in eastern and south-eastern Europe will increase after the war....most people would also agree that she has been greatly provoked by some of the more reactionary Poles in this country. But there is agreement that General Sikorski's Government has made an honest and sincere effort,against considerable opposition, to achieve a working understanding with Russia. The nub of the whole problem, and it's a problem as old as Europe, is this: shall any country be permitted by unilateral action to change the frontiers and the government of a neighboring country? Germany's desire to do just that to Poland was the beginning of this war. Unless a repetition of that act by any country is made impossible, then this war must be only the prelude to the next one. Stalin's Order of the Day, with its recognition of Allied effort, has cheered people here, and provides hope that some fundamental agreement may be possible.

Britain's relations with Russia have undergone an astounding change during the last few years. Almost up to the outbreak of war British policy was aimed at keeping Russia isolated. Successive British Governments wanted nothing to do with her. During the war with Finland there was a sizeable movement in the House of Commons demanding war with Russia. Today the position is different. There is not only a great emotional allegiance to Russia amongst the working people of this country...not only admiration for the Soviet armies. There is a widespread realisation that the only chance of creating a stable Europe after the war depends upon Russian cooperation. The earlier desire to isolate Russia has been replaced by concern lest Russia isolate herself by deciding to play a

lone hand on the Continent. It ought to be said that the admiration for Russia in this country has very little ideological basis. There is nothing to show that Communism as a political philosophy has much appeal for the British, although there is a widespread feeling that the Russians have something that no one thought they had. Public opinion has certainly not taken sides in the Polish-Russian dispute; but keen political observers believe that it will unless the matter is settled.

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In London today the coal strike in America, and the fighting in Tunisia dominate the news. The British press has been most reserved in its comments on the coal strike, although one or two papers have implied that the battlefield of Tunisia must seem far distant from the coalfields of America.

The fighting on that tip of North Africa is increasing in violence, and the bloodiest battles have still to come. The Germans are still investing in that campaign, sending in crack troops and

more armour. The last week has been a record of attack, counter-attack...attack, counter-attack, with the positions remaining pretty well what they were. The Germans have had months to prepare their positions, many of them on the reverse side of the hills where our guns can't get at them, and where our men and machines must cross the skyline after clearing the forward slope of the hill. There has been no fiercer fighting in this war outside of the Russian battles. It seems that the Germans are well placed on and behind every hill, and whenever there is movement on the roads or trails their mortars - accurate up to three thousand yards - open up. In North Africa A lot of American and British boys are going to die before they cross those grey-brown stone mountains and go down through the flower-flecked valleys to the sea. Even two weeks ago, before the fighting reached its present pitch, there seemed to be an awful air of urgency hanging over the entire front. Everyone seemed to know that each day and each night that passed meant more gun positions, more minefields along the coasts of Europe. The Germans are conserving their air force in Western Europe, but they are throwing it in recklessly in Tunisia. The Germans and the Italian Alpine troops are fighting with great skill and stubbornness, as though they too realised that by buying a few additional weeks of time they may be able to upset the Allied calculations for this year.

That fighting is being reported by as able a group of American and British correspondents as has ever been assembled; and I think most of them would agree that words, whether written or spoken, are pretty inadequate instruments for conveying ideas and impressions. It's difficult and might even be misleading to repeat some of the things said by soldiers out there. There was one boy in a rather exposed observation post who said he didn't mind the shells and the dirt, or the fact that he hadn't been out of his clothes for weeks, but they'd told him the mosquitoes were bad out there later on, and he just couldn't stand mosquitoes. Then there were two boys from somewhere south of the Mason-Dixon line. One of them said: "What's that C on your uniform stand for?" I told him it was supposed to stand for Correspondent. "What do you correspond for?" he said. I replied, Columbia Broadcasting. His partner said: "Oh! a radio announcer, huh?! and way out here in the wilds". I told him I wasn't really an announcer - just a reporter - that some people even called characters like Bill Shirer and myself commentators. That baffled them. But one came back with the remark: "They must have just changed the names from announcer to commentator to make it sound more military!". I could but ask them if there was any little thing they'd like announced, and they both said "Yes, sir! Tell them at home - if anybody listens to you - that we'd like more mail."

Lattimore

THE HOUSE ADJOURNED AT 5:09 P.M., UNTIL NOON, APRIL 18.

4/6--JW516P

541 100

Recording Left

~~ADD 24 COMMUNISTS~~

~~HERE IS COURT REPORTERS' RECAP ON WHAT TYDINGS SAID:~~

"I THINK AS CHAIRMAN OF THIS COMMITTEE I OWE IT TO YOU AND TO THE COUNTRY TO TELL YOU THAT FOUR OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, IN THE PRESENCE OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, HEAD OF THE FBI, HAD A COMPLETE SUMMARY OF YOUR FILES MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM. MR. HOOVER HIMSELF PREPARED THIS DATA. IT WAS QUITE LENGTHY AND AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE READING OF THAT SUMMARY IN GREAT DETAIL IT WAS THE UNIVERSAL OPINION OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE PRESENT AND ALL OTHERS IN THE ROOM, OF WHICH THERE WERE TWO MORE, THAT THERE WAS NOTHING IN THAT FILE TO SHOW THA YOU WERE A COMMUNIST OR EVER HAD BEEN A COMMUNIST OR THAT YOU WERE IN ANY WAY CONNECTED WITH ANY ESPIONAGE INFORMATION OR CHARGES. SO THAT THE FBI PUTS YOU COMPLETELY, UP TO THIS MOMENT AT LEAST, IN THE CLEAR."

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~~(TYDINGS' REFERENCE TO TWO OTHERS PRESENT WHEN HOOVER READ THE REPORT WAS TO MCGRATH AND PEYTON FORD, TYDINGS TOLD REPORTERS LATER.)~~

4/6--JW519P

4/6

This is the news:

The F.B.I. puts Owen Lattimore completely in the clear. It has nothing to indicate that the man wh Senator McCarthy has called "the top Russian spy" in this country is anything of the sort. This information was given to MR. LATTIMORE IN A [redacted] crowded Senate committee [redacted] ROOM by Chairman Tydings. Here, recorded, is Senator Tydings statement:

(runs 1;08 ending..

"so the f.b.i. puts you completely , up to this moment at least, in the clear."

[redacted]n

Republican Senator Hickenlooper FIFTH MEMBER of the committee, has not seen the Hoover summary yet.. he will later.

Senator McCarthy [redacted] has said he would stand or fall on his charges against Mr. Lattimore.. that if he IS [redacted] wrong on this case, the committee should not take his others seriously.. TODAY, Senator McCarthy said of the Tydings statement:"Either Tydings has not seen the files or his is lying. There is no other alternative. I know what is in the files. I'm going to prove the case." And Senator Tydings comment on this was:"I let my reputation for accuracy stand. Senator McCarthy's statement is completely self-serving."

In a few minutes I should like to review Mr. Lattimore's testimony.. which preceded the Tydings announcement.. and ~~offer a suggestion~~ make a personal comment.

This whole hearing has helped ~~shaken~~ the bipartisan foreign policy. And today--for the second time this week--the President did something to ~~maintain~~ steady it. On Monday, John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky Republican, was named as an adviser to Secretary of State Acheson. Today, John Foster Dulles returned to the State Department. He will be an adviser.. consultant..to the Secretary. Mr. Dulles, who served briefly as Republican senator from New York, says he has been assured by the President that our foreign policy will be bi-partisan. And Mr. Dulles called on all for support. He said: "There is an urgent need for national unity because the Russian threat is as grave as any we ever faced in a shooting war."

From Key West today, the President sent Congress a request to extend unemployment compensation payments to another 6 million persons.. raise the benefits by approximately 20 per cent. He wants payments in all states to run for 26 weeks.. with payments as high as 30-dollars a week for single persons who lose their jobs.. higher for those with dependents.

The White House said today that the displaced persons bill passed by the Senate late last night is "in very good shape from our point of view."

Robert Denham, the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, told Congress today it would be wrong to abolish his job (--AS SUGGESTED BY THE PRESIDENT). He said if this is done, everyone who loses a case before the Board WILL appeal to the courts, on the grounds that the Board is both investigator and prosecutor. But Chairman Herzog of the Board says Denham's job should be abolished.. the division of powers within the board has been "a failure."

John L. Lewis today said he supports C.I.O. President Murray's call for a joint committee of all organized labor to act on economic, political and legislative issues.

In Kansas City, Missouri, Charles Binaggio.. Democratic leader of part of the city.. and Charles Gargotta, an aide, who had been arrested 40 times, were shot and killed in the party clubrooms. Representative Short.. the only republican representative from Missouri.. says Binaggio was bumped off because of a fight over the Democratic nomination for Senator in Missouri.

The Stock Market today reached its highest level since the summer of 1946.

And in London, War Minister Strachey says the British Labor Party must secure..consolidate and extend its achivements of British Socialism is to become a beacon for the rest of the world.

Today, the Senate subcommittee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges of communists and spys in high places heard Owen Lattimore, the distinguished scholar of far Eastern affairs, who had been accused by McCarthy of being the top RUSSIAN espionage agent in the country. Mr. Lattimore said and proved, that the Senator had not produced a single act or document to support his charges; asserted that he was engaged in action unworthy of a Senator -- irresponsible, insincere, base and contemptible lies; said the Senator had started a reign of terror among government workers; damaged our foreign relations; vilified United States citizens. Lattimore said the Senator had refused to live up to his word to repeat the charges off the floor of the Senate where Lattimore could sue him. Documents were introduced demonstrating how Senator McCarthy had twisted, distorted and torn from context, Mr. Lattimore's writings on Far Eastern Affairs. Far from the State Department having followed his recommendations, Mr. Lattimore said the opposite was true. Instead of being the architect of our Asia policy he had been the least consulted among the men who have reputations as Far Eastern experts. Even before Senator Tydings revealed that the F B I files cleared Lattimore of the charges against him, the Johns Hopkins scholar had done a pretty thorough job of clearing himself.

In addition to refuting McCarthy's charges, point by point, Lattimore was defending the right of scholars and writers to advocate unpopular or unorthodox views. He ended by saying: "It is only from a diversity of views, freely expressed and strongly advocated, that sound policy is distilled. He who contributes to the distruction of this process is either a fool or an enemy of his country. Let Senator McCarthy take note of this." ~~Earlier the Senator had said of his charges against Lattimore; "I am willing to stand or fall on this one. If I am shown to be wrong on this, I think the subcommittee would be justified in not taking my other cases too seriously."~~

Senator Tydings, Chairman of the subcommittee, said today the hearings are becoming a "circus" and he's going to ask for closed sessions next week. John Foster Dulles, who is returning to his old job as Republican representative in matters having to do with foreign policy, said that the procedures of the committee are helping to create a "frustrating confusion."

I should like to make a purely personal comment about congressional investigating committees, ...~~particularly~~ specifically those aimed at discovering spies or subversive elements. Lets assume that everyone concerned is genuinely interested in getting at the facts and exposing any real danger that may exist. thats a pretty big assumption, but lets make it anyway. assume that both democrats and republicans are patriots above party. It seems to me that the seriousness of the situation does not arise from the fact that these ~~freewheeling irresponsible~~ public investigations create confusion and suspicion in the country. The damage to our relations with foreign countries is considerable, but no one can measure the extent of the damage with any accuracy..but even that isnt the important thing. It is of course true that a considerable number of people are brought under suspicion, often without any substantail supporting evidence. Their denials never catch up with the original accusations...T hese people suffer a very real damage...this may be deplored and denounced, but I suggest that this is not the most serious aspect of these investigations.. It seems to me that these minor circuses on capitol hill ..the screaming headlines, and general confusion that results, may well mislead our enemies into the fatal error of believing that this country is more divided than it really is. but even that does not represent the real danger that stems from these public investigations.... If we stick to the original assumption, that these investigations are an attempt to uncover spies and subversive elements...that Senators Macarthy and Tydings, for example, are equally concerned for the public welfare and the security of the State. that this current

investigation is not an effort to embarras the administration, to "get" Atchison, or to get headlines../even if all these things were true and thats a pretty big if./the basic trouble would remain../.the method being employed just wont work ...its no way to catch spies or uncover communists./It might turn one up, but the very nature of the investigation would make such discovery something of an accident./.What we are getting is all the danger, and damage, both at home and abroad, of a witch hunt, without having much chance of catching a witch...To say this, is not to suggest that investigation, carefull screening and constant vigilance are not necessary safeguards for the nation, in face of the conscienseless cunning of the communists../.It was for that purpose that the presidents loyalty review program was established../There are those who doubt the effectiveness of this programme../.that being true..the congress is entitled to review it, and its practices.#

The Congress is of course entitled to look for spies and communists in Government whenever and however it wants to../But the trouble with this present method is that it doesnt work... Even Senator Macarthy HAS SAID THAT this procedure wont produce results../It seems to me that the most intelligent suggestion has come from Senator Lodge of Massachusets...The creation of a twelve man non partisan comission, which would hear evidence, study the whole matter and produce its findings...This procedure has worked well in other countries...The one we are following now doesnt seem to be getting us anywhere...

3 pm

This is ERM in Wash - now Back to Bob Dixon in N.Y.

Well Bob...This sentence was written by Professor Gilbert Murray ..one of Britains greatest classical scholars....Be carefull always really to seek for truth, and not for our own emotional satisfaction...careful not to neglect the real needs of men and women through basing our life on dreams, and remembering above all, to walk gently in a world where where lights are dim, and the very stars wander....

good night and good luck

EDWARD R. MURROW AND THE NEWS
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1950
7:45-8:00 PM EST

COMMERCIAL

This is the News:

The F.B.I. puts Owen Lattimore completely in the clear. It has nothing to indicate that the man who Senator McCarthy has called "the top Russian spy" in this country, is anything of the sort. This information was given to Mr. Lattimore in a crowded Senate committee room by Chairman Tydings. Here, recorded, is Senator Tydings statement: "I think as Chairman of this Committee I owe it to you and to the country to tell you that four of the five members of the Committee in the presence of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the F.B.I. had a complete summary of your files made available to them. Mr. Hoover himself prepared this data. It was quite lengthy and at the conclusion of the reading of that summary in great detail it was the universal opinion of all the members of the Committee present and all others in the room, of which there were two more, that there was nothing in that file to show that you were a Communist or ever had been a Communist or that you were in any way connected with any espionage information or charges. So that the F.B.I. puts you completely, up to this moment at least, in the clear."

Republican Senator Hickenlooper, fifth member of the committee, has not seen the Hoover summary yet...he will later.

Senator McCarthy has said he would stand or fall on his charges against Mr. Lattimore...that if he is wrong on this case, the committee should not take his others seriously...Today, Senator McCarthy said of the Tydings statement: "Either Tydings has not seen the files or he is lying. There is no other alternative. I know what is in the files. I'm going to prove the case." And Senator Tydings comment on this was: "I let my reputation for accuracy stand. Senator McCarthy's statement is completely self-serving." In a few minutes I should like to review Mr. Lattimore's testimony...which preceded the Tydings announcement...and make a personal comment.

This whole hearing has helped shake the bipartisan foreign policy. And today..for the second time this week...the President did something to steady it. On Monday, John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky Republican, was named as an advisor to Secretary of State Acheson. Today, John Foster

Dulles returned to the State Department. He will be an advisor...consultant...to the Secretary. Mr. Dulles, who served briefly as Republican Senator from New York, says he has been assured by the President that our foreign policy will be bi-partisan. And Mr. Dulles called on all for support. He said: "There is an urgent need for national unity because the Russian threat is as grave as any we ever faced in a shooting war."

From Key West today, the President sent Congress a request to extend unemployment compensation payments to another 6 million persons..raise the benefits by approximately 20 percent. He wants payments in all states to run for 26 weeks..with payments as high as 30 dollars a week for single persons who lose their jobs...higher for those with dependents.

The White House said today that the displaced persons bill passed by the Senate last night is "in very good shape from our point of view."

Robert Denham, the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, told Congress today it would be wrong to abolish his job..as suggested by the President. He said if this is done, everyone who loses a case before the Board will appeal to the courts on the grounds that the Board is both investigator and prosecutor. But Chairman Herzog of the Board says Denham's job should be abolished..the division of powers within the Board has been "a failure."

John L. Lewis today said he supports C.I.O. President Murray's call for a joint committee of all organized labor to act on economic, political and legislative issues.

In Kansas City, Missouri, Charles Binaggio..Democratic leader of part of the city...and Charles Gargotta, an aide, who had been arrested 40 times, were shot and killed in the party clubrooms. Representative Short..the only Republican Representative from Missouri...says Binaggio was "bumped off" because of a fight over the Democratic nomination for Senator in Missouri.

The Stock Market today reached its highest level since the summer of 1946.

And in London, War Minister Strachey says the British Labor Party must secure..consolidate and extend its achievements if British Socialism is to become a beacon for the rest of the world.

Today, the Senate subcommittee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges of communists and spys

in high places heard Owen Lattimore, the distinguished scholar of Far Eastern affairs, who had been accused by McCarthy of being the top Russian espionage agent in the country. Mr. Lattimore said and proved, that the Senator had not produced a single act or document to support his charges; asserted that he was engaged in action unworthy of a Senator...irresponsible, insincere, base and contemptible lies; said the Senator had started a reign of terror among government workers; damaged our foreign relations; vilified United States citizens. Lattimore said the Senator had refused to live up to his word to repeat the charges off the floor of the Senate where Lattimore could sue him. Documents were introduced demonstrating how Senator McCarthy had twisted, distorted and torn from context Mr. Lattimore's writings on Far Eastern affairs. Far from the State Department having followed his recommendations, Mr. Lattimore said the opposite was true. Instead of being the architect of our Asia policy he had been the least consulted among the men who have reputations as Far Eastern experts. Even before Senator Tydings revealed that the F.B.I. files cleared Lattimore of the charges against him, the Johns Hopkins scholar had done a pretty thorough job of clearing himself. In addition to refuting McCarthy's charges, point by point, Lattimore was defending the right of scholars and writers to advocate unpopular or unorthodox views. He ended by saying: "It is only from a diversity of views, freely expressed and strongly advocated, that sound policy is distilled. He who contributes to the destruction of this process is either a fool or an enemy of his country. Let Senator McCarthy take note of this."

Senator Tydings, Chairman of the subcommittee, said today the hearings are becoming a "circus" and he's going to ask for closed sessions next week. John Foster Dulles, who is returning to his old job as Republican Representative in matters having to do with foreign policy, said that the procedures of the committee are helping to create a "frustrating confusion."

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country...The damage to our relations with foreign countries is considerable but no one can measure the extent of the damage with any accuracy..but even that isn't the important thing... It is of course true that a considerable number of people are brought under suspicion, often without any substantial supporting evidence. Their denials never catch up with the original accusations...These people suffer a very real damage...this may be deplored and denounced, but I suggest that this is not the most serious aspect of these investigations...It seems to me that these minor curcuses on Capitol Hill...the screaming headlines and general confusion that results may well mislead our enemies into the fatal error of believing that this country is more divided than it really is...but even that does not represent the real danger that stems from these public investigations...If we stick to the original assumption that these investigations are an attempt to uncover spies and subversive elements...that Senators McCarthy and Tydings, for example, are equally concerned for the public welfare and the security of the State...that this current investigation is not an effort to embarrass the administration, to "get" Acheson or to get headlines...even if all these things were true and that's a pretty big if...the basic trouble would remain...the method being employed just won't work...it's no way to catch spies or uncover Communists. It might turn one up, but the very nature of the investigation would make such discovery something of an accident. What we are getting is all the danger and damage both at home and abroad of a witch hunt without having much chance of catching a witch...To say this is not to suggest that investigation, careful screening and constant vigilance are not necessary safeguards for the nation in face of the conscienceless cunning of the communists...It was for that purpose that the President's loyalty review program was established...There are those who doubt the effectiveness of this program...that being true...the congress is entitled to review it and its practices. The Congress is of course entitled to look for spies and communists in government whenever and however it wants to...But the trouble with this present method is that it doesn't work...Even Senator McCarthy has said that this procedure won't produce results...It seems to me that the most intelligent suggestion has come from Senator Lodge of Massachusetts...The creation of a twelve man non-partisan commission which would hear evidence, study the whole matter and produce its findings...This procedure has worked well in other countries...The one we are following now doesn't seem to be getting us anywhere....

This is Ed Murrow...in Washington.....Now back to Bob Dixon in New York.

COMMERCIAL

Well, Bob, this sentence was written by Professor Gilbert Murray, one of Britain's greatest classical scholars..."Be careful always really to seek for truth, and not for our own emotional satisfaction...careful not to neglect the real needs of men and women through basing our life on dreams and remembering above all to walk gently in a world where lights are dim and the very stars wander."

GOOD NIGHT AND GOOD LUCK!

SEE IT NOW with EDWARD R. MURROW - MARCH 9,1954

MURROW: Good evening. Tonight SEE IT NOW devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy told mainly in his own words and pictures. But first ALCOA would like you to meet a man who has been with them for 50 years.

(COMMERCIAL)

MURROW: Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by definition controversial we want to say exactly what we mean to say and I request your permission to read from the script whatever remarks Murrow and Friendly may make. If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program. Our working thesis tonight is this question.

"If this fight against Communism is made a fight against America's two great political parties the American people know that one of these parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system."

We applaud that statement and we think Senator McCarthy ought to. He said it, 17 months ago in Milwaukee.

MC CARTHY: The American people realize this cannot be made a fight between America's two great political parties. If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties the American people know that one of those parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system.

MURROW: Thus on February 4th,1954, Senator Mc Carthy spoke of one party's treason. This was at Charleston, West Virginia where there were no cameras running. It was recorded on tape.

MC CARTHY: The issue between the Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of 20 years of treason. The hard fact is - the hard fact is that those who wear the label, those who wear the label Democrat wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal.

MURROW: 17 months ago Candidate Eisenhower met Senator McCarthy in Green Bay, Wisconsin and he laid down the ground rules on how he would meet Communism if elected.

EISENHOWER: This is a pledge I make. If I am charged by you people to be the responsible head of the Executive Department it will be my initial responsibility to see that subversion, disloyalty, is kept out of the Executive Department. We will always appreciate and welcome Congressional investigation but the responsibility will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Executive and I hold that there are ample powers in the government to get rid of these people if the Executive Department is really concerned in doing it. We can do it with absolute assurance.

(APPLAUSE)

This is America's principle; Trial by jury, of the innocent until proved guilty, and I expect to stand to do it.

MURROW: That same night in Milwaukee, Senator McCarthy stated what he would do if the General was elected.

MC CARTHY: I spent about a half hour with the General last night. While I can't -- while I can't report that we agreed entirely on everything -- I can report that when I left that meeting with the General, I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is that he is a great American, and will make a great President, an outstanding President. But I want to tell you tonight, tell the American people as long as I represent you and the rest of the American people in the Senate, I shall continue to call them as I see them regardless of who happens to be President.

MURROW: November 24th,1953.

MC CARTHY: A few days ago I read that President Eisenhower expressed the hope that by election time in 1954 the subject of Communism would be a dead and forgotten issue. The raw, harsh unpleasant fact is that Communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954.

MURROW: On one thing the Senator has been consistent... Often operating as a one-man committee, he has traveled far, interviewed many, terrorized some, accused civilian and military leaders of the past administration of a great conspiracy to turn the country over to Communism, investigated and substantially demoralized the present State Department, made varying charges, of espionage at Fort Monmouth. (The Army says it has been unable to find anything relating to espionage there.) He has interrogated a varied assortment of what he calls "Fifth Amendment Communists." Republican Senator Flanders of Vermont said of McCarthy today;

"He dons war paint; he goes into his war dance; he emits his war whoops; he goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist."

Other critics have accused the Senator of using the bull whip and smear. There was a time two years ago when the Senator and his friends said he had been smeared and bull whipped.

MR. KEEFE: You would sometimes think to hear the quartet that call themselves "Operation Truth" damning Joe McCarthy and resorting to the vilest smears I have ever heard. Well, this is the answer, and if I could express it in what is in my heart right now, I would do it in terms of the poet who once said:

Ah 'tis but a dainty flower I bring you,
Yes, 'tis but a violet, glistening with dew,
But still in its heart there lies beauties concealed
So in our heart our love for you lies unrevealed.

MC CARTHY: You know, I used to pride myself on the idea that I was a bit tough, especially over the past 18 or 19 months when we have been kicked around and bull whipped and damned. I didn't think that I could be touched very deeply. But tonight, frankly, my cup and my heart is so full I can't talk to you.

MURROW: But in Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1954, his heart was so full he could talk. He reviewed some of the General Zwicker testimony and proved he hadn't abused him.

MCCARTHY: Nothing is more serious than a traitor to this country in the Communist conspiracy. Question: Do you think stealing $50 is more serious than being a traitor to the country and a part of the Communist conspiracy?
Answer: That, sir, was not my decision.

Shall we go on to that for a while? I hate to impose on your time. I just got two pages. This is the abuse which is... the real meat of abuse, this is the Official reporter's record of the hearing. After he said he wouldn't remove that General from the Army who cleared Communists, I said: "Then General, you should be removed from any Command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General, and who says,'I will protect another general who protects Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General."

(APPLAUSE)

"I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army to have to bring these facts before the public but I intend to give it to the public, General, I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said so that you can know that and be back here to hear it, General."

And wait 'til you hear the bleeding hearts scream and cry about our methods of trying to drag the truth from those who know, or should know, who covered up a Fifth Amendment Communist Major. But they say, 'Oh, it's all right to uncover them but don't get rough doing it, McCarthy.'

MURROW: But two days later, Secretary Stevens and the Senator had lunch, agreed on a memorandum of understanding, disagreed on what the small type said.

STEVENS: I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstance including committee hearings. I shall not accede to them being brow beaten or humiliated. In the light of those assurances although I did not propose cancellation of the hearing, I acceded to it. If it had not been for these assurances, I would never have entered into any agreement whatsoever.

MURROW: Then President Eisenhower issued a statement that his advisers thought censored the Senator, but the Senator saw it as another victory, called the entire Zwicker case "a tempest in a teapot."

MC CARTHY: If a stupid, arrogant or witless man in a position of power appears before our Committee and is found aiding the Communist Party, he will be exposed. The fact that he might be a General places him in no special class as far as I am concerned. Apparently - apparently, the President and I now agree on the necessity of getting rid of Communists. We apparently disagree only on how we should handle those who protect Communists. When the shouting and the tumult dies the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud slinging against the Committee by the extreme left wing elements of press and radio were caused solely because another Fifth Amendment Communist was finally dug out of the dark recesses and exposed to the public view.

MURROW: Senator McCarthy claims that only the left wing press criticized him on the Zwicker case. Of the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country, these are the left wing papers that criticized. These are the ones which supported him. The ratio is about three to one against the Senator. Now let us look at some of these left wing papers that criticized the Senator.

The Chicago Tribune; McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel.

The New York Times; The unwarranted interference of a demagogue - a domestic Munich.

The Times Herald, Washington: Senator McCarthy's behavior towards Zwicker is not justified.

Then Herald Tribune of New York; McCarthyism involves assault on Republican assets.

Milwaukee Journal: The line must be drawn and defended or McCarthy will become the government.

The Evening Star of Washington: It was a bad day for everyone who resents and detests the bully boy tactics which Senator McCarthy often employs.

The New York World Telegram: Bamboozling, bludgeoning, distorting.

St. Louis Post Dispatch: Unscroupulous bullying. What tragic irony - the President's advisers keep him from doing what ever decent instinct must command him to do.

That is the ratio from three to one of the left wing press.

There was one other interesting qucte on the Zwicker controversy, and it came from the Senator himself.

MCCARTHY: May I say that I was extremely shocked when I heard that Secretary Stevens told two Army officers they had to take part in the cover up of those who promoted and coddled Communists. As I read his statement, I thought of that quotation "On what meat doth this, our Caesar, feed?"

MURROW: And upon what meat does Sen. McCarthy feed? Two of the staples of his diet are the investigations (protected by immunity) and the half truth. We herewith sumbit samples of both. First, the half truth. This was an attack on Adlai Stevenson at the end of the '52 campaign. President Eisenhower, it must be said, had no prior knowledge of it.

MCCARTHY: I perform this unpleasant task because the American people are entitled to have the coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But Strangely, Alger--I mean Adlai...but let's move on to another part of the jigsaw puzzle. While you may think that there can be no connection between the debonair Democrat candidate and a dilapidated Massachusetts barn, I want to show you a picture of this barn and explain the connection. Here is the outside of the barn. Give me the picture of the inside of the barn. Here is the outside of the barn at Lee, Mass. It looks as though it couldn't house a farmer's cow or goat. Here's the inside. (Showing picture) A beautiful, panelled conference room with maps of the Soviet Union. What way does Stevenson tie up with that?

My -my investigators went out and took pictures of the barn after we had been tipped off what was in it. Tipped off that there was in this barn all the missing documents from the Communist front-IPR. The IPR which was named by the McCarran Committee- named before the McCarran Committee as a coverup for Communist espionage. Let's take a look at the photostat of the document taken from the Massachusetts barn. One of those documents which was never supposed to see the light of day. Rather interesting it is. This is a document which shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson to the Mount Tremblant Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing foreign policy--post-war policy in Asia. As you know, Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor, Frank Coe is a man who has been named under oath before the Congressional Committee seven times as a member of the Communist Party. Why, why Hiss and Coe find that Adlai Stevenson is the man they want representing them at this conference? I don't know. Perhaps Adlai knows.

MURROW: But Sen. McCarthy didn't permit his audience to hear the entire paragraph. This is the official record of the McCarran hearings and anyone could have bought it for two dollars. Quote: "Another possibility for the Mount Tremblant Conferences on Asia is someone from Knox' office or Stimson's office." (Frank Knox was our wartime Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson our Secretary of the Army, both distinguished Republicans) [redacted] Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson, one of Knox' special assistants and Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State under Hoover, and now assistant to Stimson because of their jobs."

We read from this documented record not in defense of Mr. Stevenson, but in defense of truth. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson's identification with that red barn was no more, no less than that of Knox, Stimson, or Bundy. It should be stated that Mr. Stevenson was once a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations. But so were such other loyal Americans as Sen. Ferguson, John Foster Dulles, Paul Hoffman, Henry Luce, and Herbert F. Hoover. Their association carries with it no guilt, and that barn has nothing to do with any of them.

Now a sample investigation. The witness was Reed Harris, for many years a civil servant in the State Department directing the information service. Harris was accused of helping the Communistic cause by curtailing some broadcasts to Israel. Sen. McCarthy summoned him and questioned him about a book he had written in 1932.

MCCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris, your name is Reed Harris? ANSWER: That's right.

MCCARTHY: You wrote a book in '32, is that correct? ANSWER: Yes, I wrote a book and as I testified in executive session--

MCCARTHY: At the time you wrote the book--pardon me, go ahead, I'm sorry, proceed.

ANSWER: --at the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly affected by the great depression then in existence, the attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment, and for one thing there certainly was no awareness to the degree that there is today of the way the Communist Party works.

MCCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties, is that right.

ANSWER: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MC CARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?
Answer: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MC CARTHY: And you were expelled from Columbia?
Answer: I was suspended. from classes on April 1, 1932. I was later reinstated and I resigned from the University.

MC CARTHY: You resigned from the University. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?
Answer: I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

MC CARTHY: The question is did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?
Answer: They did supply an attorney.

MC CARTHY The answer is yes?
Answer: The answer is yes.

MC CARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: Mr. Chairman this was 1932.

MC CARTHY I know it was 1932, Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: I do not know that they have been listed so, sir.

MC CARTHY You don't know they have been listed?
Answer: I have heard that mentioned or read that mentioned.

MC CARTHY You wrote a book in 1932. I'm going to ask you again at the time you wrote this book did you feel that professors should be given the right to teach sophomores that marriage "should be cast off of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena?" Was that your feeling at that time?
Answer: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any subject whatever they were, sir.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to ask you this question again. ANSWER: That includes that quotation, they should have the right to teach anything that came to their mind as being a proper thing to teach.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to make you answer this. ANSWER: I'll answer yes, but you put an implication on it and you feature this particular point out of the book which of course is quite out of context, does not give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of even that book bad as it is, from what you are quoting from it.

MCCARTHY: Then let's continue to read your own writings. ANSWER: 21 years ago again.

MCCARTHY: Yes, we shall try and bring you down to date if we can.

20 min

ANSWER: Mr. Chairman, two weeks ago Sen. Taft took the position that I taught 21 years ago, that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens nowadays I don't agree with Sen. Taft as far as Communist teachers in the schools is concerned because I think Communists are in effect a plainclothes auxiliary of the Red Army, the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

MCCARTHY: I don't recall Sen. Taft ever having any of the background that you have got. ANSWER: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my neck, my public neck that you are I think very skillfully trying to wring, but I say it because there are thousands of able and loyal employees in the Federal government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies as I was, unless the new regime says no. I was before.

QUESTION: Do you think this book you wrote then did considerable harm? Its publication might have had adverse influence on the public by an expression of views contained in it?

ANSWER: The sale of that book was so abysmally small, it was so unsuccessful that a question of its influence, really you can go back to the publisher, you'll see it was one of the most unsuccessful books he ever put out. He's still sorry about it just as I am.

QUESTION: Well I think that's a compliment to American intelligence I will say that.

Federal

MURROW: Sen. McCarthy succeeded only in proving that Reed Harris had once written a bad book which the American people had proved 22 years ago by not buying it, which is what they eventually do with all bad ideas. As for Reed Harris, his resignation was accepted a month later with a letter of commendation. McCarthy claimed it was a victory. The Reed Harris hearing demonstrates one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the AGLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman, and Gen. MacArthur.

Now let us try to bring the McCarthy story a little more up to date. Two years ago Sen. Benton of Conn. accused McCarthy of apparent perjury, unethical practice and perpetrating a hoax on the Senate. McCarthy sued for two million dollars. Last week he dropped the case saying no one could be found who believed Benton's story. Several volunteers have come forward saying they believe it in its entirety.

Today Sen. McCarthy says he's going to get a lawyer and force the networks to give him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech. Earlier, the Senator asked, "upon what meat does this our Caesar feed." Had he looked three lines earlier in Shakespeare's Caesar he would have found this line, which is not altogether inappropriate: "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars but in ourselves."

23.40

No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and the external threat of Communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were for the moment unpopular.

24.55

MURROW: This is no time for men who oppose Sen. McCarthy's methods to keep silent, or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities. As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, the defenders of freedon, what's left of it, but we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it and rather successfully. Cassius was right, "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

Good night, and good luck.

35:35

CBS TELEVISION

PERSON TO PERSON WITH EDWARD R. MURROW

JANUARY 15, 1954, 10:30 P.M.

Guests: Eddie Fisher

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Bunche

MURROW: Good evening. I am Ed Murrow. The name of the program is PERSON TO PERSON. It is live, no film. To night we are going to do a little informal visiting. We are going to visit Eddie Fisher who lives at the Essex House and is a pretty fair singer. And, then we are going out on Long Island to visit with Dr. Ralph Bunche and his family. He is a pretty fair diplomat. We will be ready to go in just twenty seconds.

[Commercial]

MURROW: Eddie Fisher is a singer of songs. He is 25 years old. He has entertained millions with his records, television and radio programs and personal appearances. He started singing at the age of 14. A local radio station in Philadelphia paid him the amount of his car fare to get to the studio and back again. He really hit the big time in 1949 and then a couple of years after that he was in the Army and then he became Pfc. Eddie Fisher, Soloist, U. S. Army Band. He entertained troops in Europe and also did a lot of entertaining and helped in the recruitment drive in this country. The day after

he came out of the Army he went to work here at the Paramount Theatre in New York for about $7,500.00 a week. His friends and his fans remembered him and he was a success. Eddie Fisher lives at the Essex House which overlooks Central Park. His suite is a combination living quarters, office, rehearsal hall, social center, and, of course, a telephone. Into Eddie's three rooms from early afternoon to early morning comes friends and fans, publicity men, producers, writers, photographers, etc. advertising men and others, but tonight Eddie is alone, or almost alone. Is that right, Eddie?

FISHER: I guess so. I have a couple of old, old friends of mine sitting in the living room.

MURROW: Have you had a busy day?

FISHER: Very busy.

MURROW: How did the television go?

FISHER: Wonderful. I enjoyed every minute but tonight something happened I couldn't zip the zipper on my ski jacket and it was like this and we had an awful lot of fun with it.

MURROW: Eddie, I noticed books there on the table. Do you have much chance to read?

FISHER: No, I don't get much of a chance to read at all. These are books about show business that I would like to know about but some day I will get to read them but I have no time right now.

MURROW: Where do you spend mostof your time when you are home, Eddie?

MURROW: I spend most of my time in here, in my living room right around here.

MURROW: Is that a piano?

FISHER: That's right, right here.

MURROW: Can you play?

FISHER: No, I can dodle with one finger and read the guitar chords on top but very, very bad.

MURROW: Why not give us the one tune you have mastered?

FISHER: I haven't mastered anything.

[plays]

FISHER: That is as good as I can do.

MURROW: Is it true you have had three years -- one selling vegetables, one in the Army and one singing -- in your career?

FISHER: Yes, I guess that's right.

MURROW: What is the vegetable story?

FISHER: My father was originally in the luggage business. He used to make leather suit cases with his hands and very fine I might say and then business got bad and he had to find other work so he went into the huckstering business which meant he sold fruits and vegetables on the streets of Philadelphia either with a truck or a horse and wagon but in

my father's case we had a converted '32 LaSalle.

MURROW: What was your part of this operation?

FISHER: I was very, very young but I used to go through the alleys and alley-ways with fruit and vegetables under my arms and sell them to all the people.

MURROW: How did you hawk your wares so to speak?

FISHER: I used to yell at the top of my lungs so that everybody would hear me and I think that is how I developed my lungs.

MURROW: Do you remember what you used to shout?

FISHER: Sure, I used to say, firm, ripe tomatoes, 10 cents a quarter peck, here, firm, ripe tomatoes, 10 cents a quarter peck.

MURROW: 10 cents a quarter peck for tomatoes. What are they selling for now?

FISHER: I think much, much more than that.

MURROW: Eddie, you have worked in radio and television and personal appearances and had bar mitzvah and all sorts of things. Where do you most enjoy singing?

FISHER: I love to sing more than anything else in the world but most of all I like to sing for live audiences. I liked singing for the G.I.'s - greatest audience in the world - and I like to sing in the theatre like the Paramount or the Palladium. I like a lot of people.

MURROW: I am told last year your records sold

about 5 million copies. Is that right?

FISHER: I think so.

MURROW: That would add up to a lot of money. Have you figured it out?

FISHER: No, I haven't quite figured it out. I leave the money part to my wonderful manager B--

MURROW: 5 million records with about 4 cents royalty. That would work out at about $200,000.00 according to my figures, but you don't really have any idea how much money you are making. You let other men handle it?

FISHER: No, I just sing the songs.

MURROW: Eddie, how did you get started?

FISHER: Well, I think these pictures can tell the story. I started singing in Philadelphia and when I got my big break was the night that Eddie Cantor discovered me at Grossinger's in 1949 on Labor Day week-end and I guess that is when show business opened up for me. He has been very, very wonderful to me.

MURROW: What is the other picture next to that me?

FISHER: This picture is a picture of one of the greatest showmen that ever lived, Al Jolson singing in Pusan, Korea. The reason for this picture is I sang at that very same spot last year while I was there and it gives me a certain funny feeling to have this and at the piano was Harry A--

his accompanist who was with him for 40 years and I am thrilled Harry has been with me for nine months. He has greatly inspired me and I love him very much.

MURROW: There is another picture.

FISHER: Yes, I think everybody knows this.

MURROW: Perry Como.

FISHER: Perry Como, yes, and when I first came to New York in 1946 the first thing I did was go to the Feadio station where Perry was broadcasting and he asked after the show was over if anyone would like to sing a song and at that time- not now - I was the most bashful and shy guy in the whole world and I don't know what prompted me but I raised my hand hysterically and said I will sing and I sang his song, PRISONER OF LOVE, and another song. After I got through singing he said, "well, folks, I guess I will have to sharpen up my barbers' tools."

MURROW: You mentioned one of your friends. I think I see one of them now.

FISHER: That is my oldest buddy from Philadelphia, Joey F- who is a very, very great actor and we have been together since we met about 12 years ago.

MURROW: You live together now?

FISHER: Well, yes, that's right.

MURROW: And you have another friend there too.

FISHER: Yes, that is Cough Drop.

MURROW: Cough Drop?

FISHER: His real name is R-

MURROW: How did he get that name of Cough Drop?

FISHER: When Joey and Cough Drop played together he took the part of an actor named Cough Drop. Say hello to Ed, Cough Drop.

COUGH DROP: Hello, Ed, how are you?

MURROW: Fine, how are you?

COUGH DROP: Fine, thanks.

MURROW: Eddie, are those gold records on the wall?

FISHER: Yes, these are given by the recording company when your record reaches a million in sales.

MURROW: You have three of them. What three songs are those?

FISHER: I happen to know them by heart. The one over here on the wall is ANYTIME; the one over there is I AM WALKING BEHIND YOU and this one is OH, MY PAPA.

MURROW: Did you ever forget the lyrics or the melodies?

FISHER: Many, many times. I always forget lyrics and melodies but somehow it always works out.

MURROW: Tell me, Eddie, don't you ever get bored singing the same song over and over again?

FISHER: I like to sing new songs. I like to

introduce something brand new but if the public wants to hear that song, the people do, that is what I want to do. I want to sing what they want.

MURROW: Are you happy in your work now? Do you think it is worth while?

FISHER: Yes, I think it is worth while. I am the happiest guy in the world and I have reason to be. All these wonderful things that have happened to me are fantastic.

MURROW: Didn't you make a tour of Army establishments in Europe?

FISHER: Yes.

MURROW: Did you think that was work or play?

FISHER: Singing during the show was actually play. I enjoyed that because as I said before the greatest audience in the world is the G.I.'s because they are so enthusiastic and appreciative of everything you do but the traveling in between. We were there for ten days and we were in 20 airplanes and busses and cars and trucks and it is just fantastic. While I was in Korea we had more time so I didn't mind the traveling so much.

MURROW: Where is your personal business office, Eddie?

FISHER: Well, Ed, I have an office at 221 West. 57th Street but this is my personal business office right here, my little desk.

MURROW: Do the fans bother you much at home?

FISHER: Well, they never bother me. I like everything they do and I think there are some outside right now but they are here on Saturday and Sunday morning and I don't mind when they hell up at me but they bother the neighbors and I think they are going to throw me out.

MURROW: What about teen-agers or bobby-soxers? I have seen pictures of them mauling you or trying to kiss you. How do you react?

FISHER: I don't mind it. They are not bad. I like it when they come near me and make a fuss over me. I think anybody would like it. It is only when like at the Paramount when there are thousands that you just can't handle them or talk to them so I stay in my dressing room.

MURROW: What about adults, do they bother you much?

FISHER: No, nobody bothers me. No. They ask me questions and try to find out if I have changed or gotten conceited or the swell head and usually they want autographs for their younger daughters who happen to be 12 or 13 or 14 years old.

MURROW: What have you been doing lately?

FISHER: I have been doing my television and, Oh, all kinds of different benefit shows. I went to Europe and I just work very hard. I love it.

MURROW: How do you keep everything straightened out on your schedule for the day?

FISHER: We have a little bulletin board for different activities every day and I have some wonderful people in our organization that help me and it is all done very simply, I think.

MURROW: How often do you feel lonely or blue or down-hearted?

FISHER: Well, I don't any more. I don't have time to be lonely or blue or down-hearted. I work hard and love it so much but there was a time sometime ago when I was very blue and down-hearted when I went back to Philadelphia discouraged and thought the whole world had come to an end. My mother was the one who convinced me to go back to Grossinger's where I had been so many years and I thought people were tired of me but she convinced me and I guess that was the turning point becuase there is where I met Mr. Cantor.

MURROW: What is on your schedule after we leave you tonight?

FISHER: I am going on a week-end vacation. I am going to Miami Beach for the week-end. I am going to get some sun.

MURROW: I hope you do. Thank you very much for letting us come to visit you tonight.

FISHER: Thank you, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: In just a minute we will be going to Long Island to visit Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Bunche.

[Commercial]

MURROW: Dr. Ralph Bunche did much to bring peace to the holy land and as a result he was given a nobel prize. He is a man who has done many things. He has been a professor; a lecturer, a man who has done great research into colonial problems. He has served as an officer of the State Department, of the OSS, and since 1946 with the United Nations where he now heads the Trusteeship Division. This is a very considerable record for a man whose father was a barber in Detroit, who was orphaned at the age of 14, who cannot remember a time when he didn't have to work or a time when he didn't like to work. He still brings to his work at the United Nations the same enthusiasm, the same vitality and determination that he had when he was a star athlete at the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. Bunche and his family live out on Long Island, in a field stone house. You see it there now, not very far from Kew Gardens. When it isn't snowing he is just about 25 minute drive across the East River and down to his office at the United Nations. The Bunche home is about 5 minutes away from where the Forest Hills Tennis matches are held. For a man who might be on his way to almost any part of the world on any morning the Bunche house is conveniently located, half

way between Laguardia and International airports. Are you there, Ralph?

DR. BUNCHE: Yes, I am.

MURROW: Good evening, how are you?

DR. BUNCHE: Same to you.

MURROW: How is the weather?

BUNCHE: Well, winter seems to be with us.

MURROW: How was your last trip to Haiti? Wasn't that the last trip you made?

BUNCHE: It was the last one and almost the first one, Ed. It was a wonderful trip, quite a contrast in the weather down there with what we are getting here.

MURROW: Did anything undiplomatic happen?

BUNCHE: Well, not exactly undiplomatic. I had a new experience in addition to the great privilege of visiting Haiti for the first time I had to wear a cut-away for the first time. I had never worn one before. To tell you a secret, I had to rent one. Perhaps I was delinquent because I neglected to rent the top hat to go with it.

MURROW: What did you do?

BUNCHE: I went bear-headed.

MURROW: Ralph, where is the rest of your family?

BUNCHE: They are out here on the sun porch, Ed, watching television and like most families I suppose they can't always agree on which program they want to see. Each

one has a different interest. Suppose we go out and meet them.

MURROW: Good, let's do that.

BUNCHE: This is Mrs. Bunche whom you have met before.

MURROW: Good evening, Mrs. Bunche.

MRS. BUNCHE: Good evening.

BUNCHE: This is my older daughter Joan and this is Ralph, Jr., the only boy. The younger daughter Jane is not with us tonight because she is in her Senior year at Radcliffe and is just now getting ready for her mid-term finals.

MURROW: Ralph, Jr. I understand some of our technicians fixed up your electric train.

RALPH, JR: Yes.

MURROW: Does it work?

RALPH, JR: Very well.

MURROW: Where do you go to school?

RALPH, JR: United Nations.

MURROW: Do you like it?

RALPH, JR: Yes, very much.

MURROW: You must be very proud of your Dad for winning that Nobel prize.

RALPH, JR: Well, yes.

MURROW: Have you decided whether you are going to be a diplomat when you grow up.

RALPH, JR: Nope.

MURROW: You haven't decided what you are going to be?

RALPH, JR: No.

MURROW: Mrs. Bunche, I know Ralph smokes as much as I do. Does he scatter ashes all over the house?

MRS. BUNCHE: Yes.

MURROW: Joan, you are a graduate student at Columbia.

JOAN: Yes, I am.

MURROW: What do you study?

JOAN: Sociology.

MURROW: Let's put another question to Ralph, Jr. Your Dad is a Dodger fan ?

RALPH, JR: Yes.

MURROW: Anything to that rumor that you are working for the Yankees?

RALPH, JR: No.

MURROW: Why?

RALPH, JR: Well, I like the Dodgers.

MURROW: So do I. Did you get to see the World Series, Ralph?

BUNCHE: He didn't, Ed, but I will tell you another secret since you are prying them loose. You know the World Series came at the time when the General Assembly of the United Nations was meeting but I did play hookey and manage to get to

three games, two at the Yankee Stadium and one at Ebbets Field. I might add there was a little embarrassment at the games I saw at the Yankee Stadium because I was sitting in the box with Mrs. Casey Stegal - in her box as a matter of fact - and I had to explain I was a man of deep loyalties and I would have to root for the Dodgers even though I was in the box of the Manager of the Yankees and I did but it didn't help them very much. They lost the games I saw.

MURROW: Mrs. Bunche, Ralph does a lot of traveling. Does he collect many souvenirs.

MRS. BUNCHE: Heavens yes, he certainly does. He has the bug of souvenir collecting on all his travels. Sometimes I go along and we both get various things but it does become a problem because we have the problem of placing the things and also dusting which always falls on the housewife to do.

MURROW: Yes, have you got any souvenirs, Ralph?

BUNCHE: Yes, would you like to take a look at some of them quickly, Ed?

MURROW: Yes.

BUNCHE: We will go over here and see them. Up here on the mantle - this is a Christmas plate we got in 1950 in Berlin and this is rice porcelain from Finland. It is transparent when you hold it up to the light. This plate over here is Danish Christmas plate. We have got some more things over

here on these shelves. These are trying for the housekeeper. Now, up here are Wedgewood pieces that we picked up in England. This is a little statuette that we got in Rome, Italy. These are camels that I picked up or someone gave me in Cairo one day and this fellow here with the googly eyes is a wood carving I got in South Africa long ago and these are rather crude carvings or statuettes which have anthropological significance which I picked up in West Africa and this ivory piece is an ivory carving from the Belgium Congo. They are noted for that in that territory.

MURROW: Ralph, in all the time that you spent mediating in the holy land what was the single most difficult problem that you encountered?

BUNCHE: Well, that is hard to say. I am standing right here by a piece of Rhodes pottery. This plate, Ed, was one of the pieces of Rhodes pottery that I gave to the negotiators that were Jewish in those negotiations at Rhodes. The most difficult problem was always to try to get them together in the same room, get them to sit down together and then to keep them together once you got them in the room.

MURROW: Ralph, I know the Nobel prize is only one of many awards and prizes you have received. Have you got a trophy room of any kind where you keep them?

BUNCHE: Not a trophy room, Ed; I have never really thought of that. As a matter of fact, I think if I

had the room I would use it for books. I have got a good many books that I have no place for.

MURROW: What are you passing just there, Ralph?

BUNCHE: That is the dining room.

MURROW: Do you do much entertaining at home?

BUNCHE: Not a lot. Not excessively, certainly; mainly for U.N. people and close family friends. We don't have too much time for entertaining, as a matter of fact.

MURROW: I can imagine you don't.

BUNCHE: Yes.

MURROW: What is the chest just ahead of you?

BUNCHE: This piece out there? That is the trophy room, Ed. That is where I keep the awards I have received packed away.

MURROW: Do you have the Nobel prize there too?

BUNCHE: I have a little bit of everything here, honorary degrees and scrolls and in this drawer awards of different kinds and the Nobel prize scroll is in this handsome case. The medal itself which is a gold medal is in the safe deposit box in the bank.

MURROW: Ralph, of all the awards you have received, of which one are you the most proud?

BUNCHE: I am extremely proud of the Nobel prize but I never let myself forget that I owe a great deal of credit; a great deal of credit of it is due to my colleagues

at the United Nations and especially to Count Bernadotte who lost his life out there but I have got a rather special trophy in here, Ed, that I am particularly proud of. This up here, from my son.

MURROW: Will you read it?

BUNCHE: It says: "Dear Daddy, I am happy you got the Nobel peace prize, Love, Ralph." He sat down and did that the afternoon the announcement came in 1950 that I had been so fortunate as to receive the award.

MUURROW: Which award brings back the warmest personal memories?

BUNCHE: I suppose, Ed, it is really this one. You know nostalgia memories.- These three gold basket balls which I received at UC.LA in my athletic days. They were the hardest to win. I was small and never a natural athlete. I had to work hard for them, perhaps harder than for anything I have ever won and I have a very warm recollection of those days and award.

MURROW: You have put on a little weight since then?

BUNCHE: Oh yes, you can see that. That is all too obvious. I wish it weren't true.

MURROW: Ralph, I wanted to ask you another question, a personal one. Does the fact that you have become so famous and your picture so wide-spread that you are recog-

nized where ever you go, does that bother you ?

BUNCHE: Yes, quite frankly, it does, Ed. I think I can never get fully accustomed to it. I always feel a little awkward and embarrassed when I am singled out and recognized.

MURRON: Do you miss the excitement of living in Washington? I know you lived there for some time.

BUNCHE: Yes, But I must say there is plenty of excitement in the United Nations and New York and we like New York. It is a very warm city. I can't say that I miss Washington. As you know I had some misgivings about Washington because of the situation that prevailed there at the time we lived there. One of the experiences come to mind immediately. My children were going to separate schools and Jane used to ride to work with me, that is during the war, I mean ride to school with me on my way to work every morning, and in those days we had car pools and I was taking along with me some of my white colleagues that lived in Northeast Washington and I noticed that Jane was quite reluctant to let me drop her at the door of the school though I went directly past the door. She always wanted to get out at the corner even in bad weather and finally I insisted on her telling me why she wanted to get out at the corner and she told me that her class mates were chiding here about the fact that her father was carrying these white people in the car. I knew that it wasn't a healthy attitude. It has sociological and psychological aspects; that

is the case with segregation. There is a deeper moral to that story. This was in Washington back in the war days. There has been tremendous changes in Washington, all for the good, in the few years since those days. A great deal of segregation there has been eliminated and this is a most inspiring thing. There is nothing so inspiring as Democracy at work and it is at work in this country in regard to the race segregation problem.

MURROW: Ralph, we have run out of time. I am terribly sorry. Thank you very much indeed for letting us come to see you and thank Mrs. Bunche for me.

BUNCHE: Thank you, Ed.

[Commercial]

MURROW: We have been visiting tonight with Eddie Fisher and Dr. Ralph Bunche.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For two years we have been trying to get cameras and reporters into the Soviet Union and into Red China. We are still trying. But the other day we sent a crew from Tokyo down to Hong Kong. Thats as near as you can get to Red China, and there they found a Chinese lawyer, a man who is retained by the Chinese Communist Government, and a man who has some skill in presenting the Chinese Communist line. We thought it might be interesting to present these points of view if we could find a young American who spent a lot of time in Asia, who knew our policy and who himself dealt at first hand with Chinese Communists. We found such a man, a young Naval Lieutenant here in New York. We will let these two men introduce themselves.

PERCY CHEN:

My name is Percy Chen and I am the eldest son of the late Dr. Eugene Chen who was several times the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the government of the Republic of China. I am a barrister-at-law and was called to the Bar 31 years ago in England. I returned to China in 1926 after completing my studies and I associated myself with the Chinese Revolution from that time.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

My name is Horace Underwood. I am the son and grandson of Presbyterian Missionaries to Korea. I received my education in the United States, returned to the Far East, I was interned by the Japanese in 1941,

(to next page)

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

and upon repatriation joined the U.S. Navy spending my time in the Pacific Theatre. After World War II, I returned to the Far East and was in Korea when the North Koreans invaded in June 1950. I came back on active duty with the U.S. Navy and was assigned on various duties, including the Inchon landings. In July of 1950, I was assigned as Senior Interpreter to the Korean Armistice negotiations in Panmunjom and spent two years talking to the Communists across that conference table.

PERCY CHEN:

The situation in the world, in the Far East and in the relations between nations has reached a turning point. There were those who thought that 1954 would be a year of crisis; that there would be war in '54. I am not among those. I think that the crisis has been passed. I think that 1954 will see the birth of a new idea in the world, and that all nations will turn more and more to realization that no matter what are the economic systems existing in different countries that these nations can co-exist together and live in peace.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

I, too, hope that we will have an easing of tension in 1954, and I know that nations with different economic systems can co-exist. But this is not a question of economic systems. It is a question of

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

national morality, ideas and ideals - a question of slavery and freedom. If your new Wonderland is so beautiful why do you bar our people from entering it? Why do you keep out our journalists and diplomats, our missionaries and businessmen? So long as the Communist nations demand abject subservience; so long as they demand slavery for their people; just so long as you continue all of these programs, will tension in the world continue, and whether 1954 brings an easing of tension or not, is up to you.

PERCY CHEN:

We have a reputation for being a very pacific and peaceful people. Therefore, with those assets and those characteristics, it is very strange indeed for us to understand why some nations or some groups in some nations like to think of us now as the sons and heirs of Genghis Khan. Why they seem to think that we are a war-like tribe - glad only when we are wielding weapons, cutting people's throats, and generally behaving in the way that usually only the Western peoples like to behave.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

I saw our prisoners come back from the North where the Chinese Communists had been holding them. I talked with many of them. I read detailed reports on the treatment they received -- brain washings with all its tortures and horrors - the cruelty that is put out to change men's minds. That is not an invention of the Western

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

nations. It is not like Western nations like to behave. We do know what the Chinese people are like. We do know what their nature is, and for that reason we are all the more shocked to find out what the Chinese regime had done to these people who had for so long been our friends.

PERCY CHEN:

I think that it is because of the wrong leadership given by influential people in the United States, that the press and other medium of publicity are picturing the Chinese people in a guise which is not in accordance with the truth. That can be remedied by really accomplishing peace in those areas where China physically was in danger from the outside forces -- military forces -- and that can be done principally by arriving at a peaceful solution of the Korean problem. That can be arrived at by the entry of China to take her rightful place in the United Nations.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

It should be obvious that you can't "shoot" your way into the United Nations. This new China that you boast about, the China that invaded Korea; the China that has swallowed up Tibet; the China that is fighting in Indo-China is hardly a country that subscribes to the principles of the United Nations. You have delayed the Korean negotiations for trivial causes and for your own ends. When you sit

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

down and talk with other nations across the board; when you are willing to talk peace; when you are willing to demonstrate by actions and not words, then people can begin to consider you perhaps as one of the nations - friendly nations of the world. Now, your vaunted new China is in the position of a man who has invaded a house, kicked out the owner, fought with his neighbors, and now demands the true house owner's seat on the Town Council. It is ridiculous.

PERCY CHEN:

Now, on the one hand, you have certain countries who look upon China as war-like, and those countries and some groups in those countries cherish an idea, forlorn it is true, of setting about destroying the industries of China, destroying the people engaged in peaceful pursuits. On the other hand, you have the people of the Soviet Union who have a long history of friendship and cooperation with China. Now, if the Soviet Union is following such a policy, is it not natural that we should have a very friendly feeling towards them?

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

The friendship of Russia for China was displayed by their entering the Japanese War six days before it was over and then demanding as pay North Korea as a satellite, and an imperialistic lease on the Port Arthur area. The friendship of Russia has been shown in the

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

complete swallowing up and erasing from the map Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania. The friendship of Russia is shown in Poland. The friendship of Russia is shown in the Balkan satellites who have to ship every bit of their goods out to Russia. And the enmity of the Western powers is shown by the fact that through three years of bitter war -- through persecution of our citizens in China -- through all the provocations that we have received, there has yet to be a single plane drop a single bomb on a single Chinese factory. Russian friendship means that they have to take over the whole thing. That is their friendship -- swallowing up the country whole, so that they have nothing left to themselves. You brag about what your new China has done for the people, but lets take a look at Hong Kong and at the thousands of refugees who have fled your regime.

PERCY CHEN:

The refugee question is associated with what is called the squatter or transient population that comes to Hong Kong from time to time. In addition to this, there is a floating population that likes to come to Hong Kong in order to see what is going on, and then after having spent their money, or having lost their employment, they return to China.

HORACE UNDERWOOD:

It is easy to see from the population figures of Hong Kong that the refugee problem is much more serious than you say. In 1947, there were one million, seven hundred thousand people in Hong Kong. Three years later, it had risen only by one hundred thousand, but in the three years from 1950 to 1953, the population of Hong Kong has gone up from one million, eight hundred thousand to over two and a half million. That difference represents the refugees from Communist China and takes no account of the thousands and thousands who have passed through Hong Kong to find new homes in Formosa or the Philippines, or Malaya. In Korea alone we have had over five million refugees from Communist North Korea in the years since 1945, and they are hardly the type of people who come to spend their money and then return to North Korea.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

In just a moment we shall be taking you to Hong Kong for a visual examination of some of the things these two men have been discussing. Lieutenant Underwood did not tell you that his mother, a missionary, was murdered by Communists in North Korea in 1949.

Time now for ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We now go back to Hong Kong for this report by Ed Scott and Leo Rossi.

ED SCOTT:

Ed, this is Hong Kong. We are set up here about 1200 feet above sea level overlooking the Hong Kong Harbor. Down below us is the business center of the Island section of Hong Kong, and across the bay is the Kowloon section.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In World War II, the British lost Hong Kong after less than three weeks of fighting. No one today gives it much more than three days if the Chinese Communists ever decide to take it. Hong Kong is a tiny island that huddles a few miles off the coast of China. The Chinese wanted it long before Mao Tse Tung, who lets the British flag remain there, because the Communists like to keep it as a listening post -- a sort of Asiatic Switzerland. The two important buildings are the two banks -- The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, operated by British interests, and right next door, the Bank of China. When the Communists took over Chinese property, they made it just a little taller than the British bank and added larger and fancier lions. Hong Kong is the best port in this part of Asia, and its a free port with money-changing shops on every corner. But the U.S. embargo on trade with Red China has cut down its usefulness as a port. Nothing is supposed to enter Red China from here, yet much

EDWARD R. MURROW:

of Hong Kong's food supply comes from Red China. Mao Tse Tung could cut this food supply overnight, but it provides employment for a couple of million Chinese on the Canton delta and dollars in the Communist treasury. The business of Hong Kong today is refugees-escapees from Red China. The actual exodus takes place on the mainland. Hong Kong includes Kowloon and the New Territories, and the frontier is located across the bay on the Communist mainland. Here is Lo Wu. This is the equivalent of the Brandenburg Gate in the Bamboo Curtain.

ED SCOTT:

Ed, this is Lo Wu, New Territories, Hong Kong. Its the border between Hong Kong and Red China. Hundreds of people cross this borderline each day. Many never returned to Red China.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Side by side with only the border in between, the flags of two great powers fly.

INSPECTOR ROSE:

I am Inspector Rose of the Hong Kong Police. We have very little trouble on the frontier at this bridge. We have nothing that we aren't capable of dealing with. The broadcast you can hear in the background is the Communist propaganda broadcast. It takes place

INSPECTOR ROSE:

daily on the arrival of the trains from Kowloon.

ED SCOTT:

There is a train from Canton or Shanghai every day and a priest who meets every train.

FATHER POLETTI:

I am Father Poletti. I belong to the Foreign Mission on Milan, in Italy. It is almost three years that I am coming here every day to meet all the missionaries, either Catholic or Protestant, who they are coming, but a great part of them are expelled by the Communists from China. In these three years I met about three thousand and two hundred and more missionaries. Now, I think in China there are about two hundred and ninety-five -- ninety-four -- ninety-six. I don't know, and I am very glad to do this kind of work because many missionaries arrive here without passport, like beggars, like criminals.

BISHOP MARIO CIVELLI ARRIVES WITH INSPECTOR:

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Father Poletti meets missionary number three thousand, two hundred and one -- a Bishop.

SCOTT: Father, will you tell me your name, please?

BISHOP: Mario Civelli.

SCOTT: And how long have you been in China?

BISHOP: 41 years in China.

SCOTT: 41 years.

BISHOP: Yes.

SCOTT: Why did --- how did you get out of China?

BISHOP: They kicked me out and just because I didn't permit -- how to say in English?

FATHER POLETTI: You didn't agree.

BISHOP: I didn't agree.

SCOTT: Tell me, Father. How does it feel to be here?

BISHOP: It is really wonderful - I am free, but my heart is still with my Diocese and with my Christians.

GLADYS CHANG INTERPRETING:

His name is Wong Kioei Chin and he is from the area of Canton. He is a very wealthy landowner and the Communists wanted to force him out. The Communists bound his arms behind his back and beat him with a bamboo stick, and one evening he just took a chance and escaped to Hong Kong.

PAN UP FROM OLD LADY'S FEET

EDWARD R. MURROW: (INTERPRETING):

I have lived all my life in Canton. Now, at my age, I am moving to Hong Kong. Living conditions in Canton are very bad but for an old person - maybe it makes no difference. Still, I go to Hong Kong and I shall never go back.

FATHER SIGFRIED SCHNEIDER:

I am just one of the many missionaries who have come out of Communist China since the Communists have taken over in 1949. My name is Sigfried Schneider and my hometown is in Louisville, Kentucky. When the Communists came to Wu Chang in 1949, we knew that we were in trouble. For the first year, however, things were not too bad. After that, when the Korean War started and Chinese volunteers entered Korea, there was a great campaign to get rid of us foreigners. The Communist authorities began to find trouble with us and to make a case against us. In our orphanage, they began to make investigations and they dug up the cemetery and filled a number of coffins with bones. In the end of May, on the 25th, they arrested the Bishop and me. After a public trial in a theatre at which many people were present, we were accused of causing the death of many children, and I was sentenced to five years in jail, and the Bishop to three. After we were in jail for two years and the Bishop was too weak to

FATHER SIGFRIED SCHNEIDER:

stand, and I was also very weak, the Communists then, besides bread, also gave us a Coca-Cola bottle of milk each day, and that brought us back on our feet. When I came over the border a little over a month ago, I was very weak and since that time have put on 20 pounds.

DANIEL WONG:

My name is Daniel Wong. I was born in Nan Chow. This is my son, Edward. Another is my son, Jackson. And my daughter, Gracie. My family living in Canton. My childrens were studied in Communist school. I told my children one night -- I said, "I do not like Communists -- I will strike down Mao Tse Tung." And my 5 year old - he is son Edward said, "Oh, if you want to ... Mao Tse Tung, I will call the policeman and put you in the jail and I will kill you."

EDWARD R. MURROW: (TRANSLATING):

One day when I said I did not like Mao Tse Tung and the Communists, my youngest son scolded me and said, "Father, you can't talk that way about our leader. I will call the police. I will kill you." Then I knew I had to get them out of China.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This train from Lo Wu is the chief escape route out of Red China. Like the refugees coming out of East Germany, most of these people carry their possession and their families on their backs. Few of them have any funds, and the chances of employment in Hong Kong are slim. But its a way out. The train goes from Lo Wu to Kowloon where a ferry shuttles the refugee traffic across the bay to the Island. For most of them, this is the end of the line -- they can go no further.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

James Mitchner has called Hong Kong "the jewel of Asia - one of the loveliest cities on earth." Right now it is probably the most crowded city on earth. At first glance, the streets have the traditional, well-kept appearance of the classic British colony, but it is almost like a Hollywood movie facade. If you probe behind the front, there is the new city - the city of more than one and a half million refugees. Every accessible hillside is honeycombed with tiny huts tumbled together like so much non-descript debris. Match box shacks, where rain water drains under the boards and is then hoarded for drinking purposes.

BLIND VET RANS SINGING UNDER HILL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Nothing grows on Hong Kong except refugees, and refugee camps fill every empty area. These singers are blind veterans of the Nationalist Army. This camp is jammed with some of the two million escapees who came through the gate of LoWu on the mainland. These are the "transients and squatters", as the Communist spokesman referred to them. These are the three hundred thousand who came across to spend their money and have a good time and then return, he says. Actually, there are six times that number, and for them, even this is better than Communism.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Some of the conflicts between the Communists and the Free World can be expressed in words. You heard some of those words tonight. We tried to give you a little visual evidence of some of the human wreckage that seeps out of Red China into the free Port of Hong Kong. Good night and good luck.

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CBS TELEVISION

PERSON TO PERSON Edward R. Murrow

December 11, 1953 10:30 P.M.

Guests: Professor James Shotwell.

Mr. and Mrs. Ed. Sulivan.

MURROW: Good evening. I am Ed Murrow. The name of the program is PERSON TO PERSON. Again tonight we are going to make a couple of informal visits. I think it was Emerson who once said talent is not enough to make a writer. Behind each book there must be a man. Tonight we are going to visit with two men who havd written books whose profession is writing, Professor James T. Shotwell, who has chronicled the efforts of this minor planet to prevent war and achieve a stable peace and then Ed Sullivan, the sindicated columnist, who has chronicled the doings of the entertainment world. We will be ready to go in just 20 seconds.

[Commercial]

I am not quite sure how to describe or introduce Proffessor James Shotwell. He is an old friend; he is a scholar, a historian, a poet, a man of action and being a historian he has a high regard for fact and is sometimes not altogether tolerant of those who disregard it, so I am going to read a bit of him to be quite sure I am accurate.

"Fore more than 50 years at Columbia University Dr.

and scholars within this room and around this fireplace.

MURROW: How is Mrs. Shotwell?

SHOTWELL: Mrs. Shotwell is well. She has escaped from this ordeal and is in another room of the apartment - in the apartment building that is - watching and listening with a critical ear and eye.

MURROW: And your daughter?

SHOTWELL: My daughter Margaret is up at Poughkeepsie and grand daughter and she are certainly listening now, and Helen, the painter, is also with Mrs. Shotwell here.

MURROW: This has been a busy week for you, hasn't it?

SHOTWELL: What is that?

MURROW: This has been a busey week for you, hasn't it?

SHOTWELL: Of course, most weeks are busy, aren't they, Ed?

MURROW: I suppose they are. Well, what did you think of President Eisenhower's speech before the United Nations?

SHOTWELL: I think it was a great speech. I had the good fortune to be present and listen to it. It was not only great but it may be epoch making because it opened an entirely new approach to this terrible problem and menace of atomic energy. I wonder though, Ed, if you recall when the Baruch Plan came up, the comment in Moscow - not here - not by Malik in the United Nations - was that we needed to have this immediately turned for purposes of peace. That was the strong note they

took in contrast to what we were talking of in the prevention of war. Now it is conceivable that maybe in hte minds of someone in Washington now they hope a more favorable second thought will come to the Kremlin than seemed at first. Don't you think there is something in that?

MURROW: I should think there might well be. It has been a busy week for you for another reason. You have been looking at television, haven't you?

SHOTWELL: You mean this television that was planted on me?

MURROW: Yes, I remember you saying anyone who judged history on the basis of one or two generations really didn't know what he was talking about. Now, that you have looked at television a bit--

SHOTWELL: Right, Ed, but I am not always a historian and I have made up my mind that I have been missing something. I made that up some;time ago when I did watch you IN THE STREETS OF BERLIN in one of the most memorable interviews that I have ever listened to or seen when you talked of war and the ruins of Berlin and gave the American people a glimpse of the devastation there and the possibility of recovery. I will never forget your interview and the way it came over on the television. So, you see I am capable of some kind of discrimination.

MURROW: Well, Jim, before you became the proud possessor

of television set what did you do for relaxation?

SHOTWELL: Well, in the summer time I used to play golf a little bit. I don't know whether it was real golf but I had some fun, especially up at Woodstock, New York we used to be able to look at the mountains as well as the balls and I preferred looking at the mountains.

MURROW: I notice a lot of paintings on the wall.

SHOTWELL: These are by Mrs. Shotwell and Helen. The two that you see here, the Chinese lady and the scrub woman, go side by side. Art, of course, has no aristocratic distinctions and I think the scrub woman is just as human as the Chinese Mandarin lady. Besides, there is William Crowell, and the other you will surely recognize as Dr. Schweitzer.

MURROW: Oh yes.

SHOTWELL: He posed for Helen. He was very generous indeed and I think she has caught some of that marvellous spiritual capacity that we are all familiar with now.

MURROW: You know I would make a guess that you couldn't tell within a half dozen how many honorary degrees or medals you have received in your life.

SHOTWELL: I think you are wrong on that. I could add them up. They are not so much as all that. But, your director today insisted that I should bring some of these out and show the world. I don't like to do it but here is the kind of thing you get when you get a honorary doctorate from Budapest. I

think there are a half dozen distinctions of various kinds here but let's get to more real subjects, shall we?

MURROW: All right. I was wondering what you thought of Sir Winston Churchill's message when he received the Nobel award when he said that man's power had increased everywhere except over himself. Would you agree with that?

SHOTWELL: No, I don't. I think my view of history is entirely different. We are, of course, now in the midst of the greatest revolution in human affairs, that in which science is remaking time and space and all human relationships and there is bound to be tremendous disorders and anarchy as well as backward efforts to recover the past perspectives of old principles. But, science has come into the world not as an episode for this or that interlude. Science has come for all time and it has remade the whole perspective of all civilization.

Remember that in the past we always repeated past events, repeated them year after year, generation after generation, and on that we had the philosophy that history was a philosophy of teaching by experience but now we have turned from a repetitive history of the past to a time when change is a normal thing. Every invention calls for a new invention; every discovery for a new discovery and that is going on forever and that means we are faced with the challenge to intelligence as we have never been in the past and if intelligence has given us the degree of civilization we now enjoy, increased

intelligence with a greater challenge will give us a larger degree of capacity for culture, art and all the creations of the human intellect. You see you can't get me on the negative side on that.

MURROW: I was going to ask you another question, not in an effort to get you on the negative side, but to get your judgment. You have lived through peace conferences after the first world war, then came the second world war, and then Korea, and all the time you were working and laboring in the efforts of peace. Are you still as confident and hopeful as you were thirty years ago?

SHOTWELL: Quite on the longer perspective, of course. Not that we are faced with an immediate millenuium - that is an absurdity which can never be shared by historians. In the long run we are eliminating war. We are doing away with war as endemic of Western Europe; the war of Bismarck and Napoleon is gone for all times. There may be a new recrudescence of Nazism of some kind but as the President of Italy wrote to me himself and his idea was shared by Auriol in France and many distinguished Englishmen. In Western Europe wars were for the discovery of methods of making policy work; war as an instrument of national policy is now an anachronism. Of course, a new danger has arisen as everyone knows.

MURROW: Do I remember correctly that you summed up your views in poetry once?

SHOTWELL: Well, yes, not only once, but I am addicted to it, I think, Ed. If you are going to remember on that line let me read you a poem. The little volume is going to appear sometime as one of the greatest events of the coming year! Here is a short poem that will perhaps give you a better -- let me get over in the light -- give you a glimpse of the optimism I feel. I gave it the title,

The Second Million Years

Behind us blood and sweat and tears,
Before us like a veil with drawn,
A light strikes the pathway of the years,
Is it dawn?

On every side the battle rages,
Will this black horror ever cease?
Can we who fought through all the ages,
Make lasting peace?

A million years we fought and slew
With ruthless tooth and gripping claw
In brutal hordes who only knew
The jungle law.

Now the Lords of earth as we aspire
To meet the sun at Heaven's gate
Is dust of Ninevah and Tyre
Our own fate?

Blind not the mind with craven fears
Behind the shadow shines the sun
Another dawning million years
Has just begun.

MURROW: You mentioned something in that poem "blind not the mind with craven fears" - Do you think the mind is as illuminated now as it should be in this country?

SHOTWELL: Well, it is difficult to draw comparisons with the growth of democracy - in which I am a profound believer. We bring into it judgments of civilization and analyze a vast new element of society that didn't think before, that followed the judgments of those whom they regarded as leaders. Now, undoubtedly you do get much pause - we'll say - arrested optimism in that but upon the whole - I am sort of repeating myself as a historian - I see the future as the greatest reservoir of hope.

SHOTWELL: Professor Shotwell, permit me to say our best thanks for permitting us to come and visit you tonight. I think we have been in the presence of a wise, tolerant and gracious follower and I thank you personally and I am sure on behalf of a great many people who are looking in. Thank you, sir.

Now, in just a moment we will be going to visit the home of Mr. and Mrs. Ed Sullivan here in New York.

[Commercial]

MURROW: Ed Sullivan is a newspaper man with an insatiable curiosity about people, all kinds of people. For something like 24 years he has been writing a sindicated column and more recently producing a television program of very considerable merit. The Sullivans have been living at the Delmonico Hotel in New York for the past ten years. As a matter of fact since they were married 24 years ago home has been a hotel, often as much from necessity as from choice. The Delmonico overlooks Park Avenue and a string of magnificent Christmas trees and shops with expensive gifts. It was not always so with Ed Sullivan. One time or another he has pumped a church organ, worked on a railroad freight car, for a steel company, and bus boy in Thompson's Restaurant in Chicago. These experiences apparently did him no harm but whether caddying for Gene Sarazen helped his golf is something we will have to ask him. Ed?

SULLIVAN: Yes, Ed.

MURROW: How's your golf?

SULLIVAN: I have been spending more time with the dog than golf trying to get him in the picture and he is objecting to the whole deal. Ed, about my golf, I played an exhibition with Ben Hogan last summer and to my delighted amazement I had myself a 75 and at that point I decided to get out of it.

MURROW: Mrs. Sullivan, is he hard to live with after a rough day at the office or studio?

MRS. SULLIVAN: No, I don't think he is hard to live with, not even the day he played with Ben Hogan.

MURROW: When was the last time you saw him smile?

MRS. SULLIVAN: Just before the show started. I was very nervous and Ed was teasing me about it and that was the last time he smiled.

MURROW: Ed, where did you get this reputation as a stone face?

SULLIVAN: I don't know, Ed. I don't think as a youngster I had it but the first time I went on television the first time the cameras came barrelling in on me rigor mortis set in and when critics observed and commented on it I was more conscious than ever and then couldn't smile for the life of me.

MURROW: You had an established reputation as a columnist. Why did you decide to go into television?

SULLIVAN: Probably two reasons. Stage struck might be a characterization because as a kid I saw all the vaudeville shows, every act that came to the Palace - at the Port Chester Palace Theatre - and I think every newspaper man wants to find himself a separate source of income, whether it be magazine writing or anything of that sort, so when radio came along, and then television and vaudeville, I went into it to get more security.

MURROW: Do you ever get the urge to go back and work on

a small town newspaper?

SULLIVAN: I have heard a lot of newspaper men say that they have that urge but I have met very few of the thousands I have known who wanted to and I don't think I wanted to. I am perfectly content to be in the big league in New York.

MURROW: Mrs. Sullivan, where is your daughter?

MRS. SULLIVAN: She is in Washington with her husband and I have a couple of pictures of Betty that I would like to show you.

MURROW: Good.

SULLIVAN: Lead the way.

MRS. SULLIVAN: Thank you.

MURROW: What is that pitcher on the desk?

MRS. SULLIVAN: Picture?

MURROW: The pitcher.

MRS. SULLIVAN: Oh, the pitcher on the desk was given to us by Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Hammerstein on our 22nd wedding anniversary and I think it is interesting to note that this pitcher was made by a silversmith in 1773 which was three years before the American revolution and I am very fond of it.

MURROW: It is a lovely thing.

MRS. SULLIVAN: Thank you.

MURROW: Could we see the picture of your daughter?

MRS. SULLIVAN: Oh yes, I had forgotten. This is a

picture of Betty when she was 10 years old. It was done by Olga and here is a picture of Betty one minute before her 21st birthday and here is Betty and Bob W- at a fraternity dance. They both went to UCLA and it was there they met and were married after graduation and Bob was commissioned an Ensign in the Navy and he went away for almost a year; he was in Korea twice, Hawaii and Japan, and while he was in the Pacific he applied for foreign language school and he was accepted and now he is in Washington and we are very happy to have them in Washington because we know where he is this year but like most American families we don't know where he will be next Christmas.

MURROW: He sounds like a favorite son in law.

MRS. SULLIVAN: He certainly is.

MURROW: Ed, you have your office in your apartment?

SULLIVAN: Yes, it is right in here, Ed, and I would like to show you.

MRS. SULLIVAN: I will see you later.

SULLIVAN: Fine. In this desk Carmen sits and over here Gene sits and they are my right arms in this deal. Here is something I have been proud of. It is a gold typewriter.

MURROW: Does it work better than an ordinary one?

SULLIVAN: I don't know; it was given to me by the Springfield Massachusetts Jewish War Veterans so I am very, very proud of it and there are pictures. Naturally, when you

live in a hotel you don't have a lot of room to keep things, so the things you do keep are appreciated. Up here on this wall is a picture of his Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman. Everybody knows him, of course, and some are privileged to know him as a very warm and modest and thoroughly fine priest and gentleman and here is a picture of a very wonderful American; I know you were close to him, Jim Forrestal. The last time I saw Jim he was telling me how proud he was to get that busted nose that gave him a sturdy cast that you remember about his expression. Down below you notice a picture of Gable and Gable is smiling. We had been playing golf on the Belaire golf course on the coast and I am not smiling. The answer is that Gable had just won some of my money, just about polished me off good. In the center - well, we have a lot of pictures of Betty, our only daughter - this drawing of Betty is by Bradshaw C- and he gave it to Sylvia on Betty's birthday two years ago. Up here on the right is a TOAST OF THE TOWN team, We should have Mark and others on there too but they weren't in town at the same time. That picture of Lincoln - I get a particular thrill out of it because it came to me from Robert E. Sherwood who is an expert of Limcolnia and that is an original and so is his handwriting and directly beneath that you see Durante nosing me out. Durante and I go back to the days of the old Silver Slipper. In fact Jimmy, I am very proud to say, made his debut on my

show. The next picture shows Madison Square Garden which actually explains my being in television because it was through CBS that lead to the contract.

MUNROW: Turning from television to writing, is writing hard work?

SULLIVAN: It is a lot of fun and you get conditioned to it. I have been writing 35 years. It is fun. I noticed it during the newspaper strike and I imagine every other writer did too. You were drooling at the mouth and quite disconcerted that the nation went on quite well without your ad libbing.

Over here, Ed, is a plaque you may be interested in the Freedom Fund of Israel. I have put on several affairs for the Freedom Train of Israel and in consequence the Zionist organization of America planted a tree in Israel in the Garden of Trees in the name of Mrs. Sullivan and myself. But here is the one thing, I think, I get a kick out of because it substantiates the fact that I am a poker face because it was taken of the Port Chester 1918 High School baseball team and I am sitting here and despite the fact that they had just elected me Captain I am still poker faced.

MUNROW: You look like you just lost the ball game.

SULLIVAN: I guess it is contradictory. Here is Frank Keegan and Red Parrell who went on to be an all American end in football in college. This picture brings back an awful

lot of memories to me.

MURROW: Ed, I think you have a pair of shoes somewhere.

SULLIVAN: Yes, I have right over here. I am glad you reminded me because they are the shoes of the very great performer and great American Bill Bojangles Robinson. You will notice the light weight soles Bill said helped him out in his dancing. As a matter of fact it seems to me and I am quite sure it is true, if Bill Robinson, like a lot of other performers, hadn't given so much of himself, night after night after night in benefit performances, he would still be alive instead of dying of a heart attack, but Bill kept on to the end and there is something I would like to say about him which I have never thought to say before. In death, I think, was his greatest triumph. I think he scored his greatest victory as an American. It worked out this way. When they arranged his funeral it seemed to all of us that though Bill died broke as a great many generous performers have, he should be given a funeral befitting a great American so the Board of Education cooperated and permitted all the Harlem school children to take off the afternoon so when the funeral cortege started off there were tens of thousands of negro youngsters lining the sidewalk and that continued all the way down out of Harlem. The important point was if this hadn't been arranged in this fashion, if Bill hadn't been given a funeral befitting a great American which he was there would have been Communist

propaganda playing on this theme and the Communists would have used it to their own ends but after his funeral there was instead tributes from Ethel Merman, Mrs. Irving Berlin, Milton Berle and others so there was no more Communist agitation in Harlem for the next year.

MURROW: I am sorry the clock has run out. Will you please say thanks to your wife and thanks to you.

SULLIVAN: Certainly.

(Commercial)

MURROW: Good night and good luck from PERSON TO PERSON.

SHOW # 11 SEE IT NOW DECEMBER 1, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. At the end of his testimony in the Harry Dexter White case, Attorney General Brownell recommended legislation that would permit the introduction into Federal Courts of evidence secured by wire tapping. This is an argument that has been going on for a long time, and so tonight, we present an informed argument on this controversial subject. It is on film.

On monitor number one, Congressman Charles Halleck of Indiana, Republican and Majority leader of the House. Mr. Halleck is speaking to us from his office in Washington. Good evening, Mr. Halleck.

HALLECK: Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: On monitor number two, from his office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza in New York, James Lawrence Fly, prominent attorney, and former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Good evening, Mr. Fly.

FLY: Good evening, Ed.

MURROW: Congressman Halleck, will you begin by telling us why you favor wire-tapping legislation.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well Mr. Murrow, I think the Legislation asked by the Attorney General should be passed. I think it should have been passed a long time ago. I think it should be obvious to every right thinking American that we have had real threats to the security and the defense of the country by reason of subversion and espionage and the communist conspiracies and infiltrations. I think the Harry Dexter White case is another evidence of a very definite fact that it is not red herring to be dragged across the trail. It is a real threat that can't be laughed off.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

Well Ed, I think Mr. Halleck and I are in complete agreement in wholeheartedly opposing communism and all totalitarian systems at home and abroad. I certainly think we ought to oppose any totalitarian methods at home. Wire tapping is a familiar part of the Soviet technique. In fact, it's been an essential part of the mechanism of every modern tyranny. I wonder if this democracy of ours must ape the dictators. The cornerstone of our democratic freedom is in the sanctity of our homes. The constitution forbids its invasion by the police except with a search warrant upon proof, and with notice to the occupant issued by a Judge upon showing of just cause. I don't wonder that Justice Holmes called this "dirty business."

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Yes, but if I might interrupt at that point -- Justice Sutherland had something different to say about it, Mr. Fly. People of this country will recall the Judith Coplan case. She was definitely proved to have been delivering vital secrets to a Russian agent, who since left the country. She was convicted. But the Circuit Court of Appeals held that because certain of the evidence apparently had some indirect connection with wire tapping, they were forced to release Judith Coplan, and she walks the streets today free of conviction. Now, lets not get what is proposed here confused with totalitarian methods. That has been too long, in my book, if I may say so humbly, a device to shield those who should be convicted. The proposal of the Attorney Geberal is not that people indiscriminately engage in wire tapping. Lets take a look at just what he proposes and what I propose -- we propose, should be done.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

Before we do that, I think I would like to comment on the Coplan case. Now, it seems to me, we all agree that Judith Coplan should be punished and should have been punished, and that every legal means should have been exhausted to that end. I think we are all in agreement upon that. But now, the question that Mr. Halleck poses is the familiar one. It's the most oftenly repeated question. And that is,

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY (CONT'D):

should not the Government be permitted to tap the wire of a known spy? Well, you might ask, can I catch a bird if I can put salt on his tail? Now, in actual practice, the thing doesn't work that way.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well now, let....

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

Now, wait a minute. Now just wait - and here is what Judge Sutherland said: When you move in on investigations, first upon rumor and upon suspicion, and so on, and you tap a whole raft of wires, you may tap the wires of a thousand innocent people in the hope that you will turn up with one Judith Coplan. Now, its contrary to the whole American system of justice that we will impose any form of punishment on a great group of innocent people in the hope of assessing a greater punishment upon the guilty.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Mr. Fly, you don't know what we are talking about, apparently. Mr. Murrow, I don't know about how this time is divided up. I don't want to monopolize all of it, and I don't want Mr. Fly to monopolize all of it. Now, he talked about the constitutional prohibition in the Fourth Amendment against unreasonable search and seizure. The

CHARLES E. HALLECK (CONT'D):

Supreme Court of the United States held a long time ago that wire tapping does not violate that prohibition of the Fourth Amendment. The whole problem arises out of some language put in the Communications Act in 1934 which has been construed by the courts with a strong, dissenting opinion as preventing the use in Federal Courts of evidence to obtain wire tapping. Now, no one wants to engage in indiscriminate wire tapping. The prohibition of the law was intended to prevent that. But now let me point out what was proposed by the Attorney General and it will become apparent that Mr. Fly is just building up a strawman. As a matter of fact, we are spending billions of dollars trying to restrain communism and to fight communism and to be prepared to fight communism.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

No one is in favor of communism here, Mr. Halleck ... but no one. I don't see why you bring that into this discussion. What we are trying to do is set up effective means of protecting the freedoms and basic rights of the American citizen. I think we are agreed upon that.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY (CONT'D)

You know, Bob Jackson -- pardon me, Mr. Justice Jackson, had something to say about that argument when he said in a recent case: "Security is like liberty in that many crimes are committed in its name." In the name of security, the Police State justifies its arbitrary decisions. Now, when you say the F.B.I. is going to tap, isn't it a fact that the Military and Intelligence Services will originate tapping -- walking through the ... (INTERRUPTED)...

No - not under the provision of the Bill which I have before me.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

Mr. Halleck, I thought you said that there would have to be a showing upon sworn testimony before an Order approving that wire tapping, was issued. Now here, you have got here a rubber stamp by the Prosecuting Attorney himself. He decides in his own discrimination when he wants to tap. You have no Court protection here on the issuance of this permit.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well, Mr. Fly, let me say this...(INTERRUPTED)...

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

Who is going to stop the Attorney General from tapping all that he pleases, and in tapping, of course he is going to tap upon suspicion. He is going to tap the wires of innocent people, and bear in mind,

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY (CONT'D):

Congressman, when you tap wires, the - you tap the conversations of many innocent people who talk on that phone or call in on that phone, or if you are on a party line there, you drag in the innocent families that are involved, and you turn this thing over to the Prosecuting Attorney, and you are going to let him run wild without any Court supervision at all. You have got no provision for an accounting to the public as to the number of calls you have illegally tapped. In the past, the F. B. I. has refused to tell the public what it has been doing, and whether ... (INTERRUPTED) ...

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well, Mr. Fly, let me interrupt right at that point .....

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

...it was used. Now, time and again, they have violated the existing law and yet we are going to turn this very vital measure right back to that same agency and leave them unsupervised.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

You may want to question the F.B.I. but you and I know, Mr. Fly, that the F.B.I. refuses to disclose the things it has learned. You can't point to one single instance when the F.B.I. by disclosure has ever done anything like what you are talking about. In other words, the whole.... (INTERRUPTED)...

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

I can point to specific places where they violated the law. I tell you, Mr. Halleck - let me tell you .... (INTERRUPTED) ...

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well, it is no violation of the law to wire tap to begin with.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

The F.B.I. has a written form -- a printed form which calls for the destruction of government documents, and right on that very form, it has a printed note appended, that when you have accomplished this purpose you shall then destroy that form.

CHARLES E. HALLECK:

Well, of course, if you had the degree of confidence in the F.B.I. and I think the people generally have in the Attorney General, or should have in the Attorney General, why the things you are talking about couldn't possibly come to pass. Once in a while, maybe they may tap the wire of someone who is innocent, but if there is no disclosure of it, except in a criminal proceeding, why certainly the innocent person won't be harmed in any degree.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY:

What can a free nation pay for the possibility of catching one spy?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That argument went on for almost an hour. We tried to bring you the essence of it tonight.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

"See It Now" a product of the partnership of Friendly and Murrow begins its third year for Alcoa tonight. When we began, we said that we would try to bring you the raw material in sight and sound upon which opinion could be based. In other words, we would try to be as objective as is humanly possible. Alcoa, for its part said, we would present commercials that are brief, interesting and informative. You will, of course, be the judges of the extent to which both ALCOA and ourselves succeed. But we thought it advisable to use this first commercial period to tell you what we're going to try to do. In the course of the last two years we have taken you to many continents -- to steel mills, to aircraft factories. We have never taken you to South America, and we have not shown you how Aluminum is made. Tonight, it is our purpose to do that. Today, our story begins on the Columbia River, up near Wenatchee, Washington, and your reporter is one of ALCOA'S 55,000 employees.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is a 700 pound pig of aluminum and back behind there are little 50 pound pigs made at Alcoa's plant on the Columbia River, near Wenatchee, in the State of Washington. We are beginning our third year of television programs under the sponsorship of Alcoa, and we thought to take this occasion to show you something of how aluminum is torn out of the jungles of South America and finally processed and becomes the product you know. We are really here at the end of this story rather than the beginning. The beginning is down in the jungles of South America, down in a place that used to be called Dutch Guiana. It's now called Surinam, not far from Devil's Island. And the report is going to be made by our reporter, Ed Scott, and cameraman Charlie Mack.

ED SCOTT:

Ed, I hope you will excuse what we look like here but this South American jungle is hot. We are traveling up the Cottica River from Paramaribo. This river is the only means of getting out the bauxite which we will eventually get to the mining operation. They bring down great tonnage ships from the bauxite mines which are now, I understand, about 4 hours from us.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The route from the South Atlantic to the interior is 110 miles up the Commowine and Cottica Rivers.to the jungle railhead at Mungo. After that, its a 10 mile journey by rail up to the bauxite mines at Rickenaw.

ED SCOTT:

This is bauxite country and right here I have a sample of it. You can pick it up all overthe place. Sitting next to me is Bob Sewell from New York, who is the Operating Superintendent of the mine. I think, Bob, if you will ....

BOB SEWELL:

How do you do, Mr. Murrow. We are out here in the Rickenaw mine to take you on a tour of our mining operations. This is a continuous process out here. That is, we have to clear the brush, strip the overburden, and do the mining. You hear in back of me some Djukas. Thats the first step - clearing away the brush.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

To oversimplify, you make aluminum out of bauxite and electricity. This is where you get the bauxite. Bauxite is a comparatively soft ore which is usually surface mined. Often, it can be just picked up after the overburden has been pushed back. Sometimes you have to blast it out. There are similar mines in Arkansas, but Surinam

EDWARD R. MURROW:

is the largest source. It takes less than two minutes to load some twenty tons of bauxite into each car. Fifteen to twenty cars make up each train. It takes four carloads of bauxite to make one carload of finished aluminum.

This is again. Here the raw bauxite is crushed. An entire trainload can be unloaded and crushed in an hour. And then these rotating furances or kilns drive the water from the bauxite. After that, fast moving conveyor belts move the crushed and dried bauxite up to the pier where a funnel, like an elephant's trunk, feeds the five holds of the "Prospector", one of the shuttle ships. The "Prospector" with 7,000 tons of bauxite now rides 12 feet deeper in the water. The Cottica is a shallow stream, and although the shuttle boats are especially designed for shallow draft, there are times when the keel will clear the river bottom by less than 6 inches. It is also an extremely narrow river, and the "Prospector" bends its way down past Djuka villages at less than 5 miles per hour. Most of the villages are Djuka, but there are a few Javanese that the Dutch imported several hundred years ago.

MAN ON SHIP: Midships.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Wash day on the Cottica. The Cottica enters the Commewine and the "Prospector" enters the South Atlantic at Paramaribo. This is Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam. The Dutch got Surinam in a treaty with England in 1667 which gave New York to Britain in exchange. Paramaribo has a polyglot population of 77,000 --- Creoles, Dutch, Indonesians, Hindu, Chinese and Aboriginal Indians. This is the Paramaribo market. After Surinam, the "Prospector" turns North in the open sea along the coast of British Guiana and Venezuela. The next stop will be Trinidad. On board, the Surinam crew plays calypso music on specially tempered drums, made of (you should excuse the expression) steel.

Half way to Trinidad, the "Prospector" passes its sister ship, the "Pathfinder". It is 528 miles to Trinidad, and the voyage takes 42 hours. This is Port of Spain at Trinidad, that island where the South Atlantic meets the Caribbean. This is the end of the line for the "Prospector", and while the bauxite is being transferred, our camera crew went for a ride down Fredericks Street. Trinidad is a British colony. Down at the docks, the "Prospector" lays at berth next to the "Corsair," one of the larger ocean-going ships of the Alcoa fleet. A series of buckets worked by overhead cranes dig deep down into the holds and lift the bauxite out. The buckets feed the hoppers above, where a conveyor belt picks up the bauxite from this and other holds and shunts it down to long hose-like

EDWARD R. MURROW:

loading arms which seem to blow into the holds of the "Corsair." The entire reloading operation takes less than eight hours. Next stop, the Gulf Coast of the United States. The "Corsair," in addition to carrying aluminum, carries 60 to 70 passengers.

SONG: "DEEP IN THE HEART OF TEXAS"

On deck, swimming pools, and deep in the holds, enough bauxite to make four million pounds of aluminum. It is almost two thousand miles from Trinidad up the Caribbean to Mobile, Alabama. This is the ALCOA plant at Mobile. This is the bauxite ore, now mixed with liquid caustic soda solution. This process gets rid of all the impurities. After that, it is heated to 2,200 degrees in kilns which turn the bauxite into a fine white powder called alumina -- not aluminum yet, alumina.

ED SCOTT:

That's the story of bauxite mining in South America to its processing here at Mobile, Alabama. Now for the final stage in the manufacture of aluminum, let's switch to Ed Murrow on the Columbia River, Wenatchee, Washington.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Wenatchee, Washington, on the Columbia River, 3,000 miles from Mobile; 5,600 miles from Surinam.

As we said earlier, it takes bauxite, now alumina, and electricity to make aluminum. Twenty per cent of the cost of a pound of aluminum is electricity, and you build your factories where there is plenty of power.

That is the Rock Island Dam, below Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Alumina comes in on the one side and 170 thousand kilowatts come in from the dams. Altogether, this factory uses enough electricity every day to light a city of a hundred fifty thousand people. That long, narrow room contains 48 rectifiers which regulate and convert the amount of voltage that goes into the 576 huge pots. In these pots the bauxite, now alumina, is poured and heated by electricity to a temperature of 1700 degrees centigrade. This causes the oxygen to rise and separate from the alumina, leaving only alumina in the pot. Every three days a syphon is inserted into the pot, and the molten hot aluminum is syphoned into the crucible. After the mold is filled, the top is skimmed off and then the pig is removed from its mold. Each of these pigs weighs 700 pounds. 650 pigs can be turned out every day at Wenatchee.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Next stop, Davenport, Iowa, or Alcoa, Tennessee, where the pigs become ingots and the ingots are squeezed through rolling mills until the 700 pound piece of aluminum is several hundred yards long. This is aluminum, as we know it, and this is the end of the line.

And that was our effort to show part of the process of how aluminum is made. According to our unofficial scorecard, we have in the last two years deleted the principal ALCOA commercials nine times. This was done without the prior knowledge or consent of ALCOA, except they told us in the beginning, whenever we felt that the commercial interfered in any way with the contents of the program, we were at liberty to delete it. This program was presented without their knowledge or consent. We just thought that after two years we ought to learn how aluminum is made.

Good night and good luck.

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PERSON TO PERSON Edward R. Murrow

November 20, 1953

Guests: Miss Tallulah Bankhead

and Mr. and Mrs. Theodore H. White

CBS TELEVISION

PERSON TO PERSON WITH EDWARD R. MURROW

NOVEMBER 20, 1953, 10:30 P. M.

Guests: Miss Tallulah Bankhead

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore H. White.

MURROW: Goodevening. I am Ed Murrow. The name of the program is PERSON TO PERSON. It is live. There is no film used. Tonight we are going to visit a successful and well known author and a great actress. In one home you will find a $100,000.00 portrait. In another you will find packing cases and no furniture at all. We are going to visit Miss Tallulah Bankhead and we are going to visit Mr. and Mrs. Teddy White. Teddy is the author of FIRE IN THE ASHES, the book-of-the-month club selection for November. We will be ready to go in just 20 seconds.

[Commercial]

MURROW: Not long ago a reporter went to visit Miss Tallulah Bankhead and at the end of the interview he said, "Miss Bankhead, I want to tell you how nice you are," and it is reported that Miss Bankhead said, "Please don't print that; otherwise you will destroy my reputation." A great many things have been said about Miss Tallulah Bankhead but two things certainly can be said. One that she is a superb actress and two, she has a personality no one can ignore. Miss Bahkhead

has a charming home in Bedford, New York. The only trouble is she finds herself in the city almost as much as in the country. When she is in the city as much as she is now a hotel becomes her home. That hotel is the Ambassador, also the temporary home of Gene Sarazen, Hoagy Carmichael, Gene Autry and Jose Iturbi, the famous piano player. A sixth floor suite is Tallulah's. Hello, Tallulah, are you there?

BANKHEAD: Well, darling, what's left of me is here.

MURROW: Fine, thank you. Why do you call everybody darling?

BANKHEAD: You know why? I can't remember names. It all began-- being brought up in a political family I was taught that the first things to remember are faces and names. I couldn't do either. I think my father and grandfather knew everybody in Alabama by their first name and I probably in those days said Sugar and HOney and when I got older I just switched to darling. In my travels I meet so many people and I don't think it hurts people to call them darling.

MURROW: Tallulah, I have read so many things about you and so many are contradictory. Take 30 seconds and describe yourself.

BANKHEAD: Thirty seconds. Gracious. If I may be wildly optimistic I would say I am divinely impossible. At least that is the concensus of my friends, my closest friends. Of course they are very tolerant; otherwise they wouldn't by my

close friends.

MURROW: You still have 15 seconds. You have the reputation of collecting lions. Whatever became of the lion?

BANKHEAD: Oh yes, I had a lion, Winston Churchill you mean?

MURROW: Yes.

BANKHEAD: Well I had to finally give him to the zoo. I had to smuggle him in the elevator of the hotel - it was crowded doing that. I didn't realize a lion didn't roar until he was much older. I finally had to give him the Bronx zoo.

MURROW: Is it true you have what is called a zoo complex?

BANKHEAD: I love all pets, darling. I don't dare pass a pet shop. This is not my favorite. This is Dolores. She was given to me by that divine Joe Bushkin piano player and his wife. My favorite is a baby dragon and I brought down my Siamese cat but she is impossible, always pulling out plugs and cables and if we suddenly go off the air it will be the cat's fault but I can't get her in here.

MURROW: If we have a technical breakdown we will blame it on the cat.

BANKHEAD: Good.

MURROW: What is that in front of you? The picture there?

BANKHEAD: This is a picture of my mother and father,

a picture I always have on my dressing table in my dressing room on opening night, of course, and I keep it there during the run of the play. That is a ritual with me and before I go on I kneel down at this picture and say, "Dear God, don't let me make a fool of myself," and then R- who looks after me joins me in a glass of champagne and my fate then rests in the lap of the Gods, we'll say.

And, this is a most exciting experience, Ed. At least when I am on the stage I know what I am going to say. How well I do it is a different question but here I don't know what you are going to ask me.

MURROW: Is that your grandfather on the table, that picture?

BANKHEAD: That is Grandfather, Senator Bankhead. My Grandfather was a Senator and my uncle was a Senator and my Daddy was a Congressman and Speaker of the House during President Roosevelt's administration.

MURROW: With all this political background, with your father and grandfather, were you ever tempted to have a try at politics?

BANKHEAD: Never, darling. I leave that to the other members of the family. I have too violent opinion and then I get emotional and reason and logic go out of the window and I would do more harm than anything else.

MURROW: Well, emotion I would say is not altogether

missiong from the House and Senate.

BANKHEAD: Let's not go into that, will you?

MURROW: The portrait just behind the couch.

BANKHEAD: Yes, darling.

MURROW: Is that the famous Aguston -- ?

BANKHEAD: Yes, Royal Academy in 1939. The art critics declared it one of the great modern portraits. I am saying that modestly but I think he is such a great artist and I am sorry you can't see the coloring but even in black and white it shows up very delicate but not as it really is. Am I standing enough away.

MURROW: Fine.

BANKHEAD: Good.

MURROW: Have you any other pictures you are proud of?

BANKHEAD: I have one I am very glad to have given me by a friend. John Barrymore, made by his great friend John Decker, and it was on the cover of his biography written by another friend. G-- .I also have one of Ethel Barrymore which I am very proud to have. She gave me a copy of her Sargeants one and appropos of paintings--

MURROW: Yes, you are a painterof sorts?

BANKHEAD: This is a gag and joke but I couldn't resist it but it seems that all my friends and all amateurs in the world are painters, so I have done three paintings; they are the last I shall ever do. Shall I show them?

MURROW: Please do.

BANKHEAD: Am I going too fast?

MURROW: No, fine.

BANKHEAD: Okay. Well, darling this is the first I did in the corner of my living room in Westchester with flowers and lamp and that is where John P- 's picture is but I had to make a mirror out of it and here is one that has Delores on the sofa. That is the second one I did. Can you see Delores?

MURROW: Just faintly can I see Delores.

BANKHEAD: These have been loaned I will have you know to two of my friends and one is H-- a wonderful artist who does those wonderful murals and he didn't detect much talent but he just loves Delores.

Here is really the last one.

MURROW: Is that the stairway in your house?

BANKHEAD: Yes, darling, the steps. Unfortunately you haven't seen them. One day I hope you will come up. I have to take a bath in turpentine every time I paint. I don't see how artists keep from getting smothered in oils. So, that is really my last painting.

MURROW: Are you sure it is your last?

BANKHEAD: I am postive.

MURROW: I don't believe it. How long did you work on it?

BANKHEAD: Couple of hours; otherwise I get so bored. I couldn't go on.

MURROW: How is your book going?

BANKHEAD: Here is the copy that the general public has. This I am quite proud of. This was presented to me by Harpers, two and a half months after the book came out and it is just like the regular book except it is beautifully leather bound and has this gold leaf on it with this extra leaf here presenting me with the 100,000th copy.

MURROW: That answers the question.

BANKHEAD: May I get in a plug for my book?

MURROW: How do you work as an author?

BANKHEAD: Don't ask me; I would be here forever if I told you and I don't know how I did it without the help and assistance of my great friend and advisor Richard N- who unscrambled my metaphors, shall I say, and helped me but I talked in a dictaphone and I don't know how it ever happened but it is coming out in the pocket edition in January. Plug!

MURROW: Good, let's turn to another subject. What do you think about Roy Campanelli being named the most valuable player?

BANKHEAD: I am delighted. I am sorry he didn't belong to the Giants but next year I hope Willie N- will get it.

MURROW: What do you do for relaxation when they aren't playing baseball.

BANKHEAD: I watch you on television. By the way this was given me by the Baseball Writers, "to our gal Tallulah from the guys in Baseball Writers, February, 1953," and I am very proud of that. Well, darling here is another thing I watch on television besides you.

MURROW: I wanted to ask you because there is a rumor that you are related to a dragon.

BANKHEAD: Definitely and I will have to fix it but I don't think I am expert enough like those wonderful people that were on last week. This was given me by B- and I got it for Christmas present and his name is Precious. I don't know how he talks because I haven't had time to talk to him but I like him.

MURROW: You handle him as well as the Baers handle their puppets. '

BANKHEAD: Well, I don't know. Well, I will put him back now.

MURROW: Tallulah, what is the most satisfying experience you ever had in your years in the theatre.

BANKHEAD: You mean as an actress?

MURROW: Yes.

BANKHEAD: Well, I think the same might apply to every actress - the best plays in which I have been. One of the finest plays was in London, THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED, which the great Pauline L- did with the late Sidney Howard.

THE LITTLE FOXES by Lillian Hellman and SKIN OF OUR TEETH by D-- . I think those three were the most satisfying because the plays were so fine. I have enjoyed comedy things. I did CARDBOARD LOVER which Jeanne Eagles did many years ago and I enjoyed very much the first 300 performances but when it got to a thousand I got tired. Also, there is the revival of PRIVATE LIVES by Noel Coward but I think those three plays are really the greatest.

MURROW: Do you know the greatest thing I ever heard or saw you do?

BANKHEAD: What?

MURROW: On the Red Cross program two years ago you read a story that had been filed from Korea about a little Korean boy Kim O'Riley who had been adopted by an American Sargeant, O'Riley, and when the Sargeant was wounded the little Korean boy cut his wrist and put a jar of blood by the Sargeant and then went away.

BANKHEAD: Yes, the first time I had the pleasure of meeting you and I am pleased that you liked that because it was heart breaking story and thinking about it now makes me want to cry. One marvellous thing was the responses that came in with blood donations. I always feel very shy when I think about things like that. I would like to give my blood but I have an anemia condition and am not allowed to but that was a heart breaking story. I take no credit for it. The subject

matter was so moving.

MURROW: What are your immediate plans for the future?

BANKHEAD: I am going to do for the Theatre Guild of the Air and will be guest again on Milton Berle's show and also on Jimmy Durant's show and then I will go to Las Vegas at the L- Hotel for a month. Then I am to come back to New York and there is the possibility, with all things being equal, to have my own show, television show next year.

I want to play a little joke. When you asked me about pictures I thought of this one. This is one of your friends and now my friend, I hope - these darling people - and I want to see if you know all these people. Can you see the picture?

MURROW: Yes.

BANKHEAD: Do you know who that is?

MURROW: Well, no, I don't but Tallulah I am sure you know the individual and I ought to know him; otherwise the question wouldn't be fair. May I make a guess?

BANKHEAD: Yes.

MURROW: I remember Mr. Winston Churchill saying "all small babies look like me."

BANKHEAD: I knew it wouldn't fool you but one of your charming friends said, "let's play a trick on Ed." This was given to me by another admirer of Winston Churchill's, Florence Reed, a great actress, so it was quite a sacrifice on her part

to give me this picture. It says there will always be an England and so forth and that about we shall fight on the beaches and so forth. I am sorry I couldn't fool you because I didn't know what you were going to ask me but I thought with this I could surprise you and put you off base.

MURROW: Thank you very much indeed Tallulah for letting us visit you.

BANKHEAD: Thank you for coming.

MURROW: In just a moment we will be going to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore White.

[Commercial]

MURROW: About 15 years ago an ex-news boy named Teddy White left Harvard University. He had a traveling fellowship for a year and so he went West; he went all the way to China. He knew the language and he spent the next 7 or 8 years reporting the revolution and also reporting the war in Asia. As a result of that experience he co-authored the best selling book called HUNTER OUT OF CHINA. For the last 7 or 8 years he has been in Europe trying to report Europe's effort to pick itself together again and also our status in Europe and as a result of that he has written a book which has been selected by the Book-of-the-Month Club for November called THE FIRE IN THE ASHES. After being back in New York for three weeks Mr. and Mrs. Teddy White found an apartment, one that overlooks Central

Park, just across the street from a playground, a few blocks away from the Museum of Natural History and the Hayden Planetarium. Tonight the Whites have moved in the apartment for the first time with part of their possessions. Unless my memory fails me this is not the most pleasant task. How are things going Teddy?

WHITE: Ed, it is rough.

MURROW: Mrs. White, is Teddy really any help in this operation?

MRS. WHITE: You will have to wait until we get the other 15 cases unpacked and get the house painted and buy some furniture and then I will answer.

MURROW: Where are your children?

MRS. WHITE: At home. They are in bed, asleep. We hope.

MURROW: Have you made any interesting discoveries in those crates as you have been unpacking?

WHITE: I found we had brought a lot of things I didn't know we had, all the things I said we couldn't afford are right in these crates.

MURROW: For example.

WHITE: That is in the extra room over there, doo-dads and kitchen stuff. This is my crate. Here are some things I like. I got this off a gondola in Venice. You know you put the oars through here and go rolling on. They don't look awfully good on this fireplace. We have to get the fireplace

working. This is a strong box I bought a couple of years ago. I would lift it if I could. It is too big.

MURROW: Is that where you are going to put your royalties?

WHITE: I don't know.

MURROW: I notice you don't seem to have furniture or bedding or anything about.

MRS. WHITE: We have four tables and that's all.

WHITE: We have been living in furnished houses for a long, long time and now we are making a home.

MURROW: Mrs. White, did you bring anything back for the kitchen?

MRS. WHITE: Oh yes. We bought this for crepes suzette although I can't make them. This is to stir your garlic and herbs and we brought back some wonderful signs which we got out of French food shops. This one says, "La Viande est dans la glaciere quand il fait chaud." When it's hot we put the meat in the ice box. You know everyone has asked us if we were good cooks but France is one place in the world where you learn to eat and not necessarily to cook so we came home great eaters.

MURROW: Let's go back to Teddy and I would like to ask him after 15 years as a foreign correspondent why did you decide to come home?

WHITE: Ed, this is the most exciting country in the

world. This is the big time. What we do here makes everybody else twitch to our action. I want to see the story so I came home.

MURROW: Why did you decide to live in New York and not Connecticut or New Jersey or perhaps Long Island.

WHITE: This is where America begins. All the great valleys open and cross down here in New York. This is where the trains and planes come in. This is the imperial city, Ed. You remember how it feels getting off a plane and coming to New York airports, these huge skyways and bridges and parkways flooding in, all these buildings golden in the evening. Gosh, it is the most exciting thing in the world. From here out this whole continent, all these amazing people, Americans, start to operate. You have to start in New York, Ed. No place else.

MURROW: Teddy, I would like to ask you one question. I came back here from Europe 7 years ago from ten years abroad and I would like to put to you some of the questions that were put to me. Do you mind?

WHITE: That's rough, Ed, but go ahead.

MURROW: How many impressive men have you met in Europe and Asia?

WHITE: Let's see now. Starting at the beginning, General Stillwell, old Uncle Joe. He is one. There is Jean Monnett and there is David Bruce. Stillwell had the

quality of purity about him, this American dedication. That is about the only word I can use for Uncle Joe. He is one of the few Generals whom I would have never minded seeing all my brothers fighting with.

And, G Jean Monnet is a man who has something like the vision of a prophet. He wants to wipe out national barriers in Europe, make an end to uniforms and national flags, make a United States of Europe, a new community, make a whole new world, as great as the USA, greater than Russia, and this little fellow stands there and drives and drives and drives the columns of Europe to his will. It is a mature tour de force.

MURROW: He is a prophet, no question of that.

WHITE: Then there is David Bruce. Bruce, as you know is our Ambassador to France and under Secretary of State. He is back in Paris now. He is like Stillwell but Stillwell is the Yankee type and Bruce is the Virginian type, smooth, flexible, but an iron will underneath it all and he believes because we are America and we are the kind of country we are we have to make places better. We have to get things moving, going and turning as we do here and he has helped to turn and change the times. He is a guy with impact.

MURROW: Let's come to your book FIRE IN THE ASHES. I wanted to do a small commercial on that in a moment, myself. First, why don't you play the part of a critic and tell us

about it.

WHITE: Let's see. We sent a quarter million boys to Europe. We put in some $30 billion there. We try to stir these nations around, make new societies out of them. It is an enormous adventure. It is something we Americans did, by and large with few blunders. We have succeeded. It is a thrilling story and I want to tell Americans about it, "look, we weren't such dopes; we did mighty well." That's about all, Ed.

MURROW: Do you think it is a good book?

WHITE: I couldn't answer. I tried to make it as good as I could.

MURROW: I would like to make one comment there. I spent a fair amount of time in Europe and have read most of the current literature and I think it is without question one of the best books written about Europe and our status in Europe that I have ever read in the past 15 years.

WHITE: Thank you.

MURROW: And if that is regarded as a commercial I am quite happy to have it regarded that way. Teddy, you remind me of a sponge, if I can say so without giving offense. You soak up information and ideas and impressions and finally you squeeze them out of the typewriter.

What are you going to buy now that you are at home?

WHITE: I have no chance to buy anything. We have been

too busy but I would like to get an electric typewriter and you can guess why. I am tired of pounding the keys.

MURROW: This mechanized society is getting you already.

WHITE: Right.

MURROW: Does writing come easy to you or are you a bleeder?

WHITE: I bleed and sweat and I beat those keys and then I shoe the stuff across the table and show it to Nancy and she says, "you are not your best today," or, "that isn't good," and I go back and do it over and over and over again. I know how it is done but I don't like to do it.

MURROW: Have you had a lot of fun being a foreign correspondent?

WHITE: Yes, haven't you, Ed?

MURROW: Yes, I did. Teddy, you used to be a newsboy in Boston, didn't you?

WHITE: Right.

MURROW: As a result of all this traveling and meeting people whose names made headlines and so forth do you remember the old shouting that you used to do?

WHITE: Oh, sure. Let's see - 'Lo, Post, Herald and Record, Paper! I think of all those foreign correspondents whose dispatches were squeezed out in two inches and me selling them for 2 cents.

MURROW: Mrs. White, do you do any writing of any kind?

MRS. WHITE: Yes, Teddy has forgotten about the times his writing was good.

WHITE: We have already had the commercial.

MURROW: One question returning correspondents are always asked, what has impressed you most in New York since these past three weeks since you have been home?

WHITE: Two things, Ed. Fimst of all the vigor of the city. Anybody coming back from Europe notices it. It is a savage city. It is so full of energy and vitality and people move so fast. It is not barbarian bigger. It is wonderful and frightening. The second thing, the people are tense. I think they are a lot tenser than they used to be. I came back after the war and they were not as tense then as they are now. There is a snarl in people's voices somehow that I don't quite remember as being here before. Maybe the two things go together. Maybe you have this tremendous frantic effort to do things and you pay the penalty for that with tension and surliness but that is a quick impression, Ed. Maybe I am wrong.

MURROW: Well, it will take you a few years to shake down and really get acquainted with your own country again. What is the most satisfying experience you have had since you left Harvard?

WHITE: Well, let's see. Just for fun, well 8 years ago in New York, I had been forking for a distinguished author

for a while. One of those situations arose where you are racing against time.

MURROW: You are racing against time now. There are 15 seconds.

WHITE: Well, the Book of the Month Club took that book and then I felt rich again. That was quite a while ago. There came some other things that weren't so good but things have opened up again just now.

MURROW: They are certainly looking up again now. Teddy, I think everyone who reads your book will be very much in your debt. And, thank you very much for letting us come and visit you even before you have the furniture arranged or settled and thank you, Mrs. White, as well.

WHITE: Thanks a lot, Ed.

[Commercial]

MURROW: We have been visiting this evening with Miss Tallulah Bankhead and with Teddy White and his wife. Teddy White is the author of FIRE IN THE ASHES, the book of the month club selection for November.

There are some of the people who contributed to this program.

There is time enough left to say good night and good luck from PERSON TO PERSON.

THE NEW
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IF

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

January 15, 1954
Vol. 8, No. 3

Dear Subscriber:

"CHINA EXPERT" NOW PRESCRIBES DANGEROUS US POLICIES.

THEODORE WHITE is the author of the recently published book "Fire In The Ashes: Europe in Mid-Century" (William Sloane Associates.$5). WHITE was head of the Time magazine China Bureau during the years 1939-45.

The Book of the Month Club made WHITE's book its selection for Nov, 1953. EDWARD R MURROW featured WHITE...and plugged his book...on his nation-wide "Person to Person" TV show (NBC). The NY Times and NY Herald Tribune gave WHITE's book the full page-one treatment in its Sunday book review sections. The Saturday Review raved about it. It has been praised highly by CHARLES SEYMOUR, former Pres of Yale Univ, Columbia U's Prof HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, RAYMOND GRAM SWING and many others.

Obviously this is a very important book...or so these critics and publicists will have the world believe. Now here is WHITE's background on the subject of Communism.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, speaker (with AGNES SMEDLEY, the late Soviet spy; ALBERT E KAHN, leading pro-Soviet propagandist; HUGH DEANE, CP fronter and Far Eastern "expert" for the defunct Communoid "Daily Compass"; former OSS Sgt and Army Capt GEORGE S WUCHINICK, who recently refused to tell Senate Internal Security subcommittee if he was a Communist Party member, and former Congressman HUGH DE LACY, who has been identified as a Communist Party (CP) member.

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, speaker, radio show.

Testimonial Dinner for the Hollywood Ten, sponsor.

Insitiute of Pacific Relations, honored by testimonial luncheon.

WHITE co-authored "Thunder Out of China" with ANNALEE JACOBY. Both the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and "Amerasia" magazine (the office of which was used for photographing and storing stolen U S secret documents) offered this book as a premium to prospective subscribers. Amerasia praised the book as "required reading" for anyone who (in 1946) wanted to understand current events in China. The Daily Worker also praised the book, as did JOHN K FAIRBANK, LAWRENCE K ROSINGER, and EDGAR SNOW, "China experts" who have been identified as Communists (FAIRBANK and SNOW deny the charge, ROSINGER has taken refuge in the Fifth Amendment).

WHITE also edited "The Stilwell Papers" (1948), another book which was slanted on the question of China. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, cited as subversive by the Dept of Justice, distributed this book and sent out special literature promoting it.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS has cast some light on the role WHITE played at Time magazine. In his book "Witness", CHAMBERS described what happened when he became editor of Time's foreign news section and started telling the truth about the Kremlin gangsters. A group of Time foreign correspondents who were

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A. E. Cullen, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor; L. F. Budenz, Contributing Editor.

Soviet and Chinese Communist defenders signed a round-robin letter protesting CHAMBER's views and demanding his removal. In CHAMBER's words:

"Foremost among them were: JOHN HERSEY, JOHN SCOTT (son of my old teacher of the law of social revolution, SCOTT NEARING), CHARLES C WERTENBAKER, the late RICHARD LAUTERBACH, THEODORE WHITE. Those are the top names ....Most of them are no longer with Time."

Why is WHITE no longer with Time?

In 1945 HENRY LUCE, publisher of Time, had reason to suspect bias in WHITE's reports from China. He went to China to make an on-the-spot judgment of events there. After his trip, Sen STYLES BRIDGES charged on April 7, 1947, LUCE "fired WHITE for pro-Communist propaganda".

WHITE was editor of the "New Republic" in 1947. In 1950-51 he was chief European correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, writing exclusive dispatches for the now defunct Communoid "Daily Compass". By 1952 he had graduated to writing articles for "This Week", the Sunday supplement. Some of his articles were actually anti-Communist in tone.

Here are some of the things WHITE says about U S policy and world affairs in "Fire In The Ashes":

Germany is blocking the unification of Europe.

Allied actions "provoked" the Berlin Blockade.

U S should recognize Red China and admit it to the U N. It should also "negotiate" directly with the Communists in Indo-China and bring about the "final negotiation" of the Korean war.

U S should delay or drop altogether the rearming of Germany.

MALENKOV and his cronies are "quite different from...the rough, hard-bitten, earthy men who brought the revolution to power". Therefore the U S should not try to liberate the enslaved peoples but should start making deals, "myriad little deals", with Moscow (in other words, "Negotiate, Negotiate, Negotiate"). This technique, "we hope", WHITE says, will ultimately "erode their system of politics, at home and abroad, into impotence".

JAMES BURNHAM, authority on Communism and author of "Containment or Liberation" and "The Struggle For The World", wrote one of the few objective reviews of "Fire In The Ashes" (The Freeman, 11-30-53). After pointing out the above and additional disturbing facts about the book, he went on:

"Why, you never read a book that is fuller of anti-Communism -- enlightened anti-Communism, of course...

"Somehow, though, if I were MALENKOV, and wondering just what sort of book would best serve to influence American public opinion along the line that I was currently pursuing, I would consider the publication of "Fire in the Ashes" a most happy coincidence.

"It is much better written than the Daily Worker...."

WHITE's book is unquestionably of great significance. It has climbed up to eighth place on the NY Times non-fiction best seller list and has been on that list for the past six weeks.

The significance of this fact and all the favorable publicity given to WHITE and his book is ominous. WHITE's views will have an appreciable... and harmful...effect on American public opinion regarding foreign policy.

Far too many Americans are still listening to, and guiding their opinions by, the words of prophets who have been at least disastrously wrong about Communism in the past and still give evidence that their eyes have not been opened.

This can only harm the U S in its fight against Communism.

COMMUNIST "TRIAL" OF SEN Mc CARTHY REVEALS NEW PARTY TACTICS.

Sen JOSEPH R Mc CARTHY was convicted of being a "fascist" at a "trial" staged by a hit-and-run front in St Nicholas Arena (NYCity) last week. About 6,000 party members and fellow travelers (at 75¢ per person) attended it.

Most important aspect of the affair was the light it threw on the methods Communists are now using to prevent exposure of their front agencies under the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act. The Daily Worker ran big ads about the rally for weeks in advance. The ads...and the "news" articles about the rally...said it would be sponsored by the Trade Union Veterans Committee, a hitherto unheard of organization.

The address of this group, as listed in the ads, was a blind. It was the address of a commercial telephone answering and mail service, which apparently did not realize it was being used by Communists. A representative of the "committee" dropped into the service office regularly to leave tickets to the trial and to pick up receipts for those sold.

The Trade Union Veterans Committee was disbanded as soon as Sen Mc CARTHY had been convicted and a collection had been taken up. LEON STRAUS, official of the Red-led Fur and Leather Worker's Union, announced the dissolution of the committee from the speaker's platform just before the affair ended.

Profit to the Communist Party: Thousands of dollars collected in admissions and contributions to finance more party activity (funds were used in part to make a moving picture of the trial and will also be used to stage additional trials in other parts of the country).

A psychological shot in the arm for the Communists, who now feel that they have put another one over on the Govt and Congress. They staged a rally and got the party's line over by setting up a front that immediately went out of existence and cannot be hurt by the new law to expose front activity.

What can you do about it?

Watch for the new "hit and run" fronts in your community. Look into the backgrounds of those backing suspicious rallies.

You've got to expose them BEFORE they stage their affair. They probably won't be back for a repeat performance. The damage will be done by the time a post facto exposure is made.

For the record: Here are the names of those who took part in the "trial" of Sen Mc CARTHY. Prosecution witnesses were:

HOWARD FAST, the CP's top writer and Stalin "Peace" prize winner.

FRANK COE, identified member of Washington espionage apparatus and friend of HARRY DEXTER WHITE (he served with WHITE on Int'l Monetary Fund).

Rev WM HOWARD MELISH, who agreed to accept CP discipline, according to testimony of LOUIS BUDENZ (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, pp 3 & 4).

Mrs PAUL (ESLANDE GOODE) ROBESON. No comment needed.

CHARLES R ALLEN, Jr., former ass't editor of "The Nation" magazine.

JULIUS EMSPAK ("Comrade Juniper"), Sec'y-Treas of United Electrical Workers, who has served jail term for contempt of Congress.

Dr ALPHEUS HUNTON, identified CP member, friend of PAUL ROBESON and leader of the party's Council on African Affairs.

JAMES ARONSON, identified member of Washington espionage ring and editor of the Nat'l Guardian (he is now facing deportation).

BEN GOLD, pres of Int'l Fur and Leather Workers Union, former open CP member who has been indicted for false Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Dr MELBER PHILIPS and LOU SPINDEL, former NYCity college and high school teachers respectively, who were ousted for refusing to answer questions about CP membership.

The prosecution attorney: FRANK SERRI, an official of the Nat'l Lawyers Guild and former Pres of Brooklyn Bar Assn.

His assistant: RUSSELL NIXON, formerly a U S member of the German External Property Commission for the American Military Govt in Germany. An identified CP member, he is now Washington lobbyist for the party-run United Electrical Workers Union.

PHILIP MORRIS DOES NOT CONTROL "PLAYERS" CIGARETTES.

Three weeks ago COUNTERATTACK reported that a survey made by Ross Reports on Television listed Philip Morris as one of 22 firms that had done business with Tempo Productions. COUNTERATTACK's statement was correct.

Philip Morris has informed COUNTERATTACK, however, that the TV commercial made for Players cigarettes by Tempo Productions was filmed for the Canadian tobacco company that distributes Players, not for Philip Morris. Philip Morris manufactures the cigarettes for this company but has no control over it or its advertising.

COMMUNISTS AND "LIBERALS" UNHAPPY ABOUT ROBERT E LEE AND FCC.

ROBERT E LEE, a vigorous anti-Communist, has been appointed to the Federal Communications Commission. Formerly an administrative assistant to FBI Director J EDGAR HOVER, he also directed a loyalty investigation of State Dept employes for the House Appropriations Committee in 1947.

That's enough to blackball him as far as pro-Communists and certain fuzzy "liberals" are concerned. So they have started a campaign to defeat his Federal Communications Commission confirmation by the Senate.

The CP has long been trying to get itself a radio station for propaganda purposes. It has set up fronts which have applied for licenses. There is little chance that such a dodge could succeed now, but the party wants, as a minimum, to keep vigorous anti-Communists off the FCC while promoting the appointment of gulliberals or Communist sympathizers.

Communists still benefit from the muddle-headedness of FCC members. Wherever the CP ran candidates for public office in the November elections, those candidates could (and did), with FCC support, demand time on the air equal to that given to their Democratic and Republican opponents.

The FCC still treats Moscow's Fifth Column as a legitimate political party, in spite of numerous governmental findings that it is a conspiracy... and in spite of President EISENHOWER's statement that Communist conspirators do not even deserve the rights of citizenship in the U S.

The Communists and wooly-headed liberals see a threat to the FCC's indefensible "liberal" policy in the appointment of LEE. He can be counted on to oppose it. That's why they are out to get him.

WHAT TO DO: Write to your Senators. Get local anti-Communist and veterans and patriotic groups to do the same.

Urge your Senators to confirm ROBERT E LEE as FCC Commissioner.

Faithfully yours,

COUNTERATTACK

January 15, 1954

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SHOW # 9 SEE IT NOW November 17, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. For some days now Mr. Harry S. Truman and Mr. Herbert Brownell have been arguing amongs themselves about the case of the late Harry Dexter White. We bring you a small excerpt from that session. Mr. Truman's portion was reported as he broadcast from Kansas City last night, and Mr. Brownell as he testified in Washington.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

Herbert Brownell, Jr. the Attorney General of the United States, the highest legal office in our government, has degraded the highest function of government, the administration of justice into cheap political trickery. He has made the Justice Department headquarters for political skullduggery. The Attorney General of the United States has not only degraded his office, he has deceived his Chief as to what he proposed to do, and in saying Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him he lied to the American people.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.:

The matter that should be determined by Mr. Truman and his associates was whether Harry Dexter White should be advanced to a post of high honor, great trust and responsibility and of vital importance to the security of our country.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

As best I can now determine, I first learned of the accusations against White early in February, 1946, when an F.B.I. report specifically discussing activities of Harry Dexter White was brought to my attention. The February report was delivered to me by General Vaughan and was also brought to my personal attention by Secretary of State Byrnes. This report showed that serious accusations had been made against White but it pointed out that it would be practically impossible to prove these charges with the evidence then at hand.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.

If there was solid evidence at that time establishing that White was engaged in espionage activities, certainly no one would contend that sound and proper administration required his advancement or even continuance in government service simply because a criminal conviction could not be obtained.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

The final responsibility for this decision, of course, was mine. The reason for this decision was that the charges which had been made to the F.B.I. against Mr. White also involved many other persons. Hundreds of F.B.I. agents were engaged in investigating the charges against all those who had been accused. It was of great

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

importance to the nation that this investigation be continued in order to prove or disprove these charges and to determine if still other persons were implicated. Any unusual action with respect to Mr. White's appointment might well have alerted all the persons involved to the fact that the investigation was under way and thus endanger the success of the investigation.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.

I will now read a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to General Vaughan dated a month before that, November 8, 1945. The Bureau's information at this time indicates that the following persons were participants in this operation or were utilized by principals in this ring for the purpose of obtaining data in which the Soviet is interested: Dr. Gregory Silvermaster, a long time employee of the Department of Agriculture; Harry Dexter White, Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury.

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

I want the American people to understand that the course we took protected the public interest and security and at the same time permitted the intensive F.B.I. investigation then in progress to go forward. No other course could have been -- could have served both these purposes.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR:

It is a blunt fact from which there is no escape that in the teeth of the November 8th warning from the F.B.I. the developed evidence indicated a substantial spy ring operating within the government and involving Harry Dexter White. And a documented report delivered to the White House on December 4th some six weeks later. President Truman, on January 23, 1946, then publicly announced his nomination of Harry Dexter White for appointment to the International Monetary Fund. I just don't understand this. It still seems completely incredible to me.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Today, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover testified that he told Attorney General Tom Clark that White was unfit to serve his country. Hoover also said that the F.B.I. had never suggested that a man should be changed from one job to another in order to check upon him. It seems to us that some of us may perhaps be in danger of becoming so much concerned with the internal dangers of communism and also with the prospect of bombardment from the air with atomic weapons, we have forgotten the real and continuing threat from another source, mainly submarines. Hitler started the late war with 55 submarines - the Russians now have 350. If we lose control of the Atlantic, our Allies will be overrun and our bases abroad will wither away, and we might as well lose the war. We are going to conduct a small examination of this problem of submarines and its dangers after this word from Alcoa.

HUGH HOLDER:

SEE IT NOW continues from the Flight Deck of the U.S.S. Gilbert Islands in a simulated attack on the United States East Coast. Now speaking from the carrier is Edward R. Murrow.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We are about 150 miles off the East Coast. We are standing on the Flight Deck of a carrier Gilbert Islands. This is part of what is called a hunter-killer group. We are looking for a submarine. The group is made up of this aircraft carrier, 14 aircraft, 4 helicopters and a string of 5 destroyers.

ED SCOTT:

This is the destroyer U.S.S. Owen. The Owen is the flagship of the contingent of 5 destroyers operating in this hunter-killer group off the Atlantic Coast. For this operation her code name is Firefly.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The code word for the Carrier is Dragon. We now go over just to our right a bit here and consult an expert on this hunter-killer group. Commodore Fitzhugh Lee, where would you be likely to get your first information regarding the presence of a submarine in this area?

COMMODORE FITZHUGH LEE:

A. Mr. Murrow, I usually hang out in that green house up there. The word would come to me up there.

Q. And from what source generally?

A. Well, any number of sources. We might get a sighting from a ship at sea or from Intelligence sources not known to us but we would get the dope or one of our planes on the signal front.

Q. And what is your first action after you receive that signal, sir?

A. Well, we are sort of like a football team. We have a lot of pre-arranged signals, and based on the situation that existed at the time, I would call one of the signals.

Q. Well, wouldn't all this electronic gear you have, what is the basic difficulty in detecting a submarine? Thats a simple question, isn't it?

A. No. Thats a very tough question. The basic difficulty is that the submarine has a lot of advantages. Physics gets us. There are certain laws of physics that make it very difficult for us to solve the problem. In the first place, we have a lot of devides for listening under water.

MURROW: Yes.

A. And detecting under water and we have others such as radar, radio and other electronic devices for detecting atmosphere but there is a plane that separates the two and joining the intelligence that you get from both of them together and finding a solution to the problem is really a difficult one as you will see on this ship. Its a very complex place full of complicated machinery which I can't understand.

MURROW: Well, I certainly can't.

LEE: We operate to try to search out, detect, and finally kill any submarine that is threatening our control of the sea.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Somewhere between the Southern point of Greenland and the East Coast of the United States is a U.S. Navy submarine simulating an enemy craft. Reporter Bill Downs is aboard.

BILL DOWNS:

H hour always seems to come at the most miserable part of the day... at dawn. This is the U.S. Navy Submarine Becuna. We are now located some 400 miles east of Boston. Thats straight ahead at a spot called latitude 42-30 North, 62-30 West. 32 hours from now we will be within guided missle range or torpedo range or rocket range of Cape Cod, the Boston Harbor, Boston Navy Yard, Harvard University, the Commons, Old North Church, Beacon Hill and Bunker Hill. Its possible for such a submarine to make this journey, be it friendly or enemy. We are going to try.

BILL DOWNS AND CAPTAIN SHEAR:

Q. Captain, you know more about this operation than I do. Would you tell us about it?

A. Our mission is to make an undetected approach on the Port of Boston. In just 5 minutes we are going to dive and continue on snorkel. We will run on snorkel as long as possible. That is, until air or surface activity becomes so intense that we are forced to completely submerge and run on battery power.

DOWNS: Ed, Captain Shear had planned to submerge just after dawn, but before he could, an unidentified liberty ship crossed the horizon. They could not see us much less bother to report us, but the Captain took no chances and ordered the dive.
The Engine Room shuts down the diesel engines.

In the Maneuvering Room here, the batteries take over from the diesels.

The Control Room.
VOICE: 55. Aye sir.
Shut off vents.
All vents shut.

DOWNS:

At 55 feet, the submarine levels off. That bubble is like a carpenter's level. The Captain's only means of observation is by

BILL DOWNS:

periscope. Its an excellent radar target. He makes his sweep in a matter of seconds.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Back on the Carrier, there is an incoming message. The Liberty ship through the Eastern sea frontier, has notified us there is an unidentified submarine 400 miles away. The message goes to Flag Plot.

MESSAGE:

S.S. LIBERTY REPORTS SIGHTING SUBM RINE LAT 42-30N LONGITUDE 62-30W XRAY SUBMERGED AFTER BEING SIGHTED XRAY NO FRIENDLY SUBMARINES THIS AREA XRAY LOCATE AND DESTROY

COMMODORE LEE: The course we will take is about 066.

DUTY OFFICER: Yes, thats the course.

COMMODORE LEE: Speed 18. Tell the ship to launch searches right away. Get the ship first.

DUTY OFFICER: Aye, aye, sir.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Although the Commodore commands the Task Force, the Carrier has its own Commander. This is Captain Joe Ruddy.

BOX:

Put planes in condition. One. Over.

DOWNS: This is the bridge.

VOICE: Mr. Bridges, warn the engineers we are coming up to 18 knots. Prepare for a course change.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

On the Gilbert Islands, the Bosun's pipe sounds action stations.

BO TSWAIN: Flight quarters. Flight quarters.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The CIC board ... the nerve center which collects, evaluates and plots all combat information.

BOX:

060 for a distance of 366 zero miles searching for a submerging submarine. Prepare to raise.

BRIEFING ROOM - LIEUT. GEORGE BUKER:

A submarine has been reported at 42-30 North - 62-30 West, proceeding in a westerly direction. Our present position is 40-30 North, 70 degrees west. Our course is 060 - speed 18. Are there any questions before the briefing on the search plan?

The plan for the first launch will be 10 Queen. Team number 1 - 20 miles on the north. Team number 2 20 miles to the south. Plan axis 060. Track spacing 20 miles. Length of the legs -- 150 miles ahead of the Task Group. Are there any questions? No questions. Pilots and crewstand by to man your planes.

BOX:

Pilots and crews, man your planes. All clear up all loose gear about the deck. Stand by to start engines. Stand clear of propellers. Start engines. Start engines. Pilot to crew, stand by. This will be a catapult shot.

PILOT: Prepare for a catapult shot.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the Catapult Room. A hydraulic piston shoots the planes into the air. The first search flight is made up of two teams of Grumann Guardians. The planes spread out in pairs, in a preconceived search plan.

BILL DOWNS:

This is the submarine Becuna again. We don't know whether the liberty ship reported us or not, but we are running on snorkel.

BILL DOWNS:

Captain, we have been running on snorkel for about an hour. Thats an hour out of 42-30 North and 62-30 West. Now, where would that put us right now? At this moment?

SHEAR: Right now that puts us about 150 miles Southeast of Halifax and about 400 miles due East of Boston.

DOWNS: This would be on the great circle route from the Arctic. Say, if a submarine were coming from say Murmansk, would this be a logical course to follow?

SHEAR: That is correct.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Three hours out from the Carrier, one of the teams picked up a radar signal. Radar is carried in that belly under the fuselage. In this case the radar operator thought he had picked up a signal from the sub's periscope.

MCDONALD: Dragon, this is ... contact.
Bearing 4530 miles. Over.
Combat aircraft search 21 reports periscope bearing pilot.
Radar has picked up a plane overhead and has ordered a depth charge.

LIEUT. COMM. SHEAR:

100 feet left full rudder.
Left full rudder. Aye.

LIEUT. COM. SHEAR: Overhead standards.
Overhead standards, aye.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Whatever the planes' radar had picked up, he lost.

PILOT: Hello Dragon, this is Able. Request permission to return to base. Make sure supply 40 minutes. Hold it.

Very well, Dragon. Return immediately to base.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

About an hour later, the planes were back on the Carrier. Two more teams went out before darkness came, and that night another flight went out. They used their radar to look but saw nothing, and the next morning all flight operations were cancelled, because of rough seas from Halifax to Cape Hatteras. Not even all that radar gear can control the sea. But on the afternoon of the second day, the weather began to clear just a little, and finally, the eager Commodore was able to get his planes into the air and resume the search. He is up there on his Flight Deck now. The first flight reported radar contact 30 miles to the Northeast. In this case, the Commodore ordered the planes to return, the helicopters and destroyers out for the kill.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We are talking to you now from one of the Dragon's 'copters. The copter's job is to go out ahead of the destroyers and lead them to the submarine, if we can find it.

ED SCOTT:

This is the bridge of the Destroyer Owens - the leader of the group.

PILOT: This is Firefly. This will be a hunt to kill.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The 'copter team is made up of two 'copters, each with sonar detection gear. Almost like deep sea fishing, the 'copter drops a line with a big ball, crammed with sound equipment.

VOICE: Ball in the water.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

What that"ball in the water" hears, is registered on this scope and in the earphones.

BILL DOWNS:

Down here in the sub we have picked up a ping, and our sonar man says it could be a helicopter overhead. Captain calls General Quarters.

PILOT: Sonar contact bearing 128 range. 1 - 6 double 0.

PILOT: Dragon, this is 36 - Dragon - sonar contact

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Dragon hears the message but the Destroyers hear it simultaneously and maneuver for the kill.

ED SCOTT:

This is the Sonar Room of the Destroyer. The more incessant those noises get, the closer we are to the submarine.

BILL DOWNS:

Now the sub hears not only the ping but the actual sound of the Destroyer's screws.
The Destroyer again - 600 yards now and closing rapidly..destroyer directly overhead right now.

ED SCOTT:

Out on the deck, the Ordnance men load the hedgehogs.
But no hedgehogs until the sonar contact so directs.

LIEUT. COMM. SHEAR:

Steady. 060. Rudder left full.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The signal to fire comes from the Destroyer's Sonar Room. Incidentally, those hedgehog-loads have plaster heads instead of the usual high explosive, but if they're on target, they'll hear them down in the submarine.

VOICE: Fire hedgehog.

BILL DOWNS:

At this stage in the sub ... you hope.

LIEUT COMM. SHEAR: Good attack - really had us then.

BOX:

Load and fire one black smoke

BILL DOWNS:

In this maneuver, the submarine Captain considers the hit to be lethal. He orders a black smoke flare to be fired to the surface.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The submarine Captain is both enemy and umpire and a smoke flare means a direct hit. Back on the Carrier we asked the Commodore the big question.

MURROW:

Q. In case of war with the Soviet Union, how do you think we would do against their submarines?

COMMODORE FITZHUGH LEE:

A. Frankly, Mr. Murrow, I don't know but we would do our best and I hope that our best would be good enough. I think it would be but we have to remember that America's control of the sea is one of the most interesting facets of her security. Kaiser Bill almost won World War I with his U-boats. The battle of the Atlantic raged for months before we knew who was going to be the victim - us or Hitler. Our own submarine campaign against Japan was a major factor in the downfall of Japan. This hunter-killer group is one of the tools that will be needed to control the sea. There are many other tools needed too. The job will be long and tough and expensive, and the first months of war will be bad for us because the enemies' U-boats will be disposed at sea already. But I think if we have the tools to do the job, we will do it well, and it will be important for America that we recognize the magnitude of the task.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We have taken you out to the Atlantic and the gruesome defense going on against the potention thrust of the enemies' submarines.

This program is sponsored by Alcoa, the Aluminum Company of America.

Good night and good luck.

* * * * *

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

Page 6
Brecht

This is the news:

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has rejected a plea for "immediate" high government price supports on cattle. The Secretary met today with a group representing the "Cattleman's Caravan" that had gone to Washington to ask for government aid. He later told reporters he knows of no "practical" way to run a rigid high price support program on cattle. He said he'd be glad to look at a workable plan, if anyone showed it to him. And he said the visiting cattleman, from 32 states, did not present a plan. The Secretary also indicated that not all of the cattlemen's delegation actually raised cattle - and he showed reporters a number of telegrams urging him not to submit to "pressure tactics." He said the nation's livestock industry is "overwhelmingly opposed" to rigid supports. But representatives of the 350 cattleman said they were disgusted by what they called "the brush-off." James Patton, president of the Farmers Union said: "The fight is just beginning. And if the government does not act I expect to call a conclave that will make this one look like a very small affair." Other members of the "caravan" said they would go home to build a grass roots fire "under Benson."

The Department of Agriculture reports that this year the nation's farmers will wind up with a total net income one billion dollars under their 1952 income. The Department estimates that the farmers' 1953 net income will be seven percent below last year.

Here in New York City we are in the second day of a milk strike - and almost out of fresh milk. Some 13-thousand AFL teamsters are striking against 200 milk firms. The teamsters want a 15-dollar a week wage increase. They now make from 82 to 125-dollars a week. Normally, more than 5-million quarts of milk are consumed in this city daily. Today thousands of mothers waited on long lines at milk depots for a final ration for their children. Many are using powdered and

evaporated milk. Mayor Impelliteri says "some tangible progress" is being made in strike negotiations.

At the United Nations today, Israel unexpectedly offered to suspend work on its Jordan River hydroelectric project while the Security Council tries to settle a dispute with the Arabs. Syria has complained that the Israeli project diverts water from Syrian farms. The Israelis have offered to cooperate with the council in everyway. Earlier, the United Nations truce supervisor told the council that serious trouble is ahead in Palestine unless the armistice agreements are followed strictly.

Secretary of State Dulles today refused to tell reporters how or on what terms we would restore economic aid to Israel. We banned such aid on the charge that Israel had defied a U.N. ruling to stop building the Jordan hydro-electric project.

The Secretary did tell reporters that there could be a five power conference on Trieste before the United States and Great Britain withdraw their troops from Zone A. Mr. Dulles said the sooner such a conference is held the better it will be for western defenses against Communism in South Europe.

Mr. Dulles alsp said that we do not contemplate any withdrawal of American forces from Europe. He is glad to repeat this because of rumors to the contrary in Europe. And Defense Secretary Wilson told reporters: "We have no immediate plans for taking troops out of Europe." Wilson said his recent remark that we might be able to take troops out "in the long run" because of the development of new weapons - this remark has been misunderstood.

Prime Minister Churchill told the House of Commons today: "There are few things I would like better than to have a few quiet and informal talks" with President Eisenhower. He assured the House that the President would receive an enthusiastic welcome whenever he came to visit Britain. And to visitors at Number Ten Downing street Sir Winston - who'll be 79 at the end of November - said there are many things he would like to do but cannot do "what with work that does not diminish and strength that does not increase."

In Hungary, Communist Premier Nagy has told agricultural experts that his country needs bread. He said: "Insufficient bread production is the first and most important problem we face." He said present production "cannot satisfy the needs of the people."

Andrei Vishinsky told United Nations Correspondents here in New York that Russia is agreeable to a meeting of the chiefs of state of the big powers. But, in reference to President Eisenhower's April speech demanding proof of good intentions and sincerity, Vishinsky said: "Those who speak of preliminary tests do not want agreement." Vishinsky made it clear that Moscow still insists on neutrals being represented at the Korean peace conference.

And in Korea today the Communist Chinese and North Koreans insisted on the same proposal even though our ambassador, Arthur Dean, pointed out that this is contrary to what they wanted when the Korean armistice was signed. At that time the enemy insisted that the conference be limited to those who fought in Korea. Again Dean warned the enemy that if a Korean peace conference is not held it will be the fault of the Communists. And Indian sources indicate that there may not be another large-scale exchange of prisoners because of the disagreement on how "explanations" should be conducted to those prisoners who do not want to go home.

In Washington, Senate Republican Leader Knowland says he expects congressional leaders to sit in with the President and cabinet members for final decisions on the Administration's new legislative program.

Socialist Leader Norman Thomas called on the President today and then told reporters that Mr. Eisenhower told him Socialists should not be excluded from federal civil service jobs.

The President today gave the nation's highest award the Congressional Medal of Honor to seven servicemen who won them on the field of battle in Korea. He expressed the hope that the time will come when such medals will not be needed because there will be peace in the world.

Thirty-five years ago tomorrow Czechoslovakia was proclaimed a free

republic. Since then, first under the Germans and now under the Communists the people of Czechoslovakia have had many difficult years. Tonight we asked a leader of the free Czechs in this country to record a brief message for you. He is Dr. Peter Zenkl whom I knew before World War Two as Lord Mayor of Prague - a man I was to see later when American troops liberated him from six years in German concentration camps at Dachau and Buchenwald. After the war Dr. Zenkl became deputy prime minister of his country. Then when the Communists crushed Czechoslavakia's independence he escaped to America. Here is Dr. Zenkl:

DR. ZENKL: Thirty-five years ago the Republic of Czechoslovakia came into being. It was founded with the help of the Allies but chiefly by the blood and sweat of its own sons and daughters.

The first twenty years of the Republic were happy years. Under the guidance of the first two presidents, Masaryk and Benes, political life showed extraordinary stability. The nation adopted and lived up to a modern constitution. Human rights were safeguarded to all citizens. With a stable economy and currency, industry and agriculture prospered and trade flourished. There was a healthy balance between agriculture and industry. The trademark "Made in Czechoslovakia" had an excellent reputation. Czechoslovak schools were progressive; courts were just. There was great cultural and social progress. In her foreign policy Czechoslovakia strove for peace and upheld scrupulously all treaties. As one of the most loyal members of the League of Nations Czechoslovakia defended the principle of collective security until the very day of Munich which turned this principle into mockery and led directly to World War II.

From 1938 onward fifteen tragic years followed: first the partition of the Republica, then the Nazi occupation and the massacre of the finest Czechoslovak men and women. Then followed the so-called "liberation" by the Red Army which gave the Communists such a head-start that the struggle by democratic means was lost beforehand.

The Communist putsch by force in February 1948 has meant the end to democracy in Czechoslovakia; it has also meant the beginning of a new struggle for the values for which the Czechs and Slovaks have been fighting for a thousand years; for freedom and humanitarian ideals.

Czechoslovak democracy was not defeated because of inner weakness: both times it was conquered by enemies from without: first the Naxis, then Moscow. It took the whole free world almost six years to defeat the Nazis in war. As to Moscow, it has swallowed up 600 million people since 1939.

It should be remembered that it was Czechoslovakia which, though surrounded by dictatorships long before Munich, nevertheless resisted fascism the most. After 1945 she held out against communism at her doomed outpost for three years. Her subjugation was the fault of short-sighted world politics. In 1939 the policy led straight to the attack on Poland and to world war. After the war it led to the present situation: Moscow now has the atom bomb made from the uranium of the Jachymov mines of Czechoslovakia and in Indochina weapons made by the Skoda Works of Pilsen are being used against the French.

Whenever the Czechoslovaks are not masters in their own house, things are not well with the world. Czechoslovakia has been a beacon light to freedom and justice pointing the way to peace; there cannot be peace unless and until the beacon is lighted again and Czechoslovakia celebrates her birthday anniversary in her own family and in the family of free nations.

MURROW: That was Dr. Peter Zenkl, former deputy prime minister of Czechoslovakia. And today, Secretary of State Dulles in a message to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, said that Czechoslovakia's traditions "so deeply rooted and so expressive of aspirations will survive."

The Secretary said: The development of the concept of European unity holds out assurance to the people of Czechoslovakia. An assurance that once they are again free to elect their own government they will have the opportunity to share in the life and benefits of this community."

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. But first, a word from Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: As Doctor Zenkl pointed out, Czechoslovakia has not lost its will, hope or determination to be free again. Bertolt Brecht, a German poet - and an exile himself - once put it this way: "A man can be free even within prison walls. Freedom is something spiritual. And whoever once had it, can never lose it. For while the body can be bound with chains, the spirit can never."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

SEE IT NOW SHOT # 5 OCTOBER 20, 1953

MILO J. RADULOVICH - DEXTER, MICHIGAN

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. A few weeks ago there occurred a few obscure notices in the newspaper about a Lieutenant Milo Radulovich, a Lieutenant in the Air Force Reserve and also something about Air Force Regulation 35-62. That is a regulation which states that a man may be regarded as a security risk if he has close and continuing association with communists or people believed to have communist sympathies. Lieutenant Radulovich was asked to resign. He declined. A Board was called and heard his case. At the end, it was recommended that he be severed from the Air Force although it was also stated that there was no question whatsoever as to the Lieutenant's loyalty. We propose to examine, insofaras we can, the case of Lieutenant Radulovich. Our reporter, Joe Wershba:

JOE WERSHBA:

This is the town of Dexter, Michigan ... population 1500.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This statue is at the head of Ann Arbor Street. "Erected by the citizens of Dexter to the heroes who fought and the martyrs who died that the Republic might live." This is the story of Milo Radulovich .. no special hero, no martyr. He came to Dexter one year ago after ten years in the Air Force..won a general commendation for working on a secret weather station in Greenland. Now he is a Senior at the University of Michigan eight miles away. His wife works nights at the Telephone Company. They live at 7867 Ann Arbor Street. This is Milo Radulovich.

MILO RADULOVICH:

The Force does not question my loyalty in the least. They have reiterated that on several occasions. They have presented me with allegations against my sister and father that they have - to the effect that my sister and dad have taken - have read what are now called subversive newspapers, and that my sister and father's activities are questionable. Thats the specific charge,or allegation I prefer to call it, against them. Against me, the actual charge against me is that I had maintained a close and continuing relationship with my dad and my sister over the years. I had spent the last seven years studying or actually working in meteorology. That is weather forecasting - and now for the past approximately year and a half or two, I have been studying Physics at the University of Michigan. Well, I think I am being a realist about it. Anybody that is labeled with a security risk in these days especially in Physics or Meteorology simply won't be able to find employment in his field of work. In other words, I believe that if I am labeled a security risk - if the Air Force won't have me - I ask the question - who else will?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Selfridge Field, Headquarters of the 10th Air Force, where the Radulovich hearing took place. There was a Board made up of three Colonels whose recommendation was that Radulovich be separated from the service as a bad security risk, quote for having maintained a close, continuing association with your sister and your father unquote. The Board also stated, "No question as to your loyalty is involved." No reporters were permitted at the hearing and the Air Force refused to provide us with a transcript of the hearing. (It was unclassified, however).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Lieutenant Radulovich was defended by Attorney Charles C. Lockwood, and this is his report on the hearing.

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD:

When this case started, the President of the Hearing Board placed a sealed envelope in front of him and said: "These are the allegations. Now proceed to exonerate yourself." There were twelve charges made by the Air Force - eight of them against the sister and four of them against the father. We put in several disinterested witnesses who testified definitely and positively upon the allegations made by the Air Force. These witnesses gave unchallenged testimony and they gave it under oath. The Air Force did not produce a single witness. We were not told who the accusers were. We have no right to confront them or cross-examine them. But at the conclusion of the trial, although we had met the allegations, the Air Force made findings at the conclusion of the hearing that every single allegation was true. They disregarded every bit of testimony we introduced and the statements of all our witnesses. As a matter of fact, we have had no hearing at all. We have had no day in court. In all the thirty-two years that I have been a practicing attorney in Detroit, I have never witnessed such a farce and travesty upon justice as this thing has developed. Now this whole theory of guilty by relationship is something that was adopted back in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and then abandoned as being inhuman and cruel. It was later revived in Germany under Hitler and Himmler and it died when they did. Now the Air Force, for

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD:

some unknown reason, has revived this intolerable guilty by relationship and the whole country is shocked as a reason - by reason thereof.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Dexter has been a town for over one hundred years ... has had no spectacular news stories, no cause celebres ... But they are vitally concerned with the case of Milo Radulovich ... and they are willing to discuss it. This is John Palmer, Chief Marshall of the town. He has known Radulovich a year.

JOHN PALMER:

I find him to be a good fellow here and the people were quite shocked in Dexter when they found out about it - and as I read about it more in the papers, why its still a mystery to me why they are condemning him for something that his father did. Certainly, he can't condemn his father and cast him aside just because he read a paper that he wasn't supposed to read. I couldn't do that. Neither could any other boy who had a father.

WERSHBA: Is there any talk about his moving out of town?

PALMER: Yes I hear he is moving out of town. You know, I'd stick around and see it through. I wouldn't run and I don't think he should. If he could get employment - why stick around and stay with it - still be a good neighbor to us like he has been in the past. We would like to have him here if he'd stay.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Next we went down Ann Arbor Street to the dry cleaning store managed by Mrs. Madeleine Lewis.

MRS. LEWIS:

Well, I felt like so many others in Dexter that Milo really was getting a pretty bad deal on this and we had quite a lot of faith in the boy - and so I started a Petition and had - well the biggest share of the business people sign the Petition that his loyalty wasn't questioned and we thought that it would be better if only the people that knew him personally signed, and every signature on the Petition were people that are his friends.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

After Mrs. Lewis we went to see A. G. Wall, the town dentist. For twenty-nine years he was Dexter's Mayor.

DR. A. G. WALL:

The information that I have the only thing they seem to have on this boy is the fact that some of his relatives are communist or communist inclined, and from my viewpoint I can't see how they can hold a man responsible for the views and actions of his relatives because of the fact that you can't control them.

ERNST ALSASSER: (GAS STATION)

I don't see why he should be held responsible for what his father and sister did. I know I wouldn't want to be held responsible for what my father did.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was Ernst Alsasser. He runs a gas station. From there we traveled two blocks to talk to Steve Sorter. He is Post Commander of the American Legion and drives a beer truck.

STEVE SORTER:

I wouldn't know him if he came down the middle of the street. And thats beside the point. What I want to say is this - that I do believe that if the Air Corps or United States Army or whoever they are that are purging him gets away with it, they are entitled to do it to anybody. You or me or anybody else. If it comes to the point where you and I are held responsible for the activities of any member of our family, then we all better head for cover - or we better uncover what is already started.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Detroit is 53 miles from Dexter. Milo and Nancy Radulovich go there every six weeks (according to the testimony) to visit his father, John Radulovich... The older Radulovich has for the past 26 years worked for the Hudson Motor Company. Before that he worked in the coal mines. Reporter Wershba went to see Claude Bland, an officer of Radulovich's Local U.A.W. He was a character witness at the hearing.

WERSHBA: Hello Mr. Bland. I understand you are Recording Secretary for Local 154 of the Auto Workers Union. I was wondering if you would answer a few questions about old John Radulovich. What is your Union's position and your position on Communists in the Union?

BLAND: We don't want any part of them and if we find any we should have the purpose of removing them from our midst.

WERSHBA: Well, Mr. Bland, what about these charges against John Radulovich?

BLAND: I think its preposterous from what I know of the case from its inception.

WERSHBA: What about this paper he was supposed to be reading?

BLAND: I heard reports that he read papers, which to me doesn't mean a thing, because naturally people of foreign extraction will naturally read papers printed in the language with which they were more familiar. Thats ... they said he read Serbian papers.

WERSHBA: Do you think John qualifies as a subversive in the plant?

BLAND: I would never classify John Radulovich as subversive in any way, shape or form.

WERSHBA: Then you have known him quite a while, eh?

BLAND: I have known him since 1937. I worked with the man in the Department for 2 years - in '45 and '46 - ate lunch with him on many occasions. I never heard him say one word regarding the Communist philosophy.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Milo Radulovich's father lives at 3953 Nottingham Street. He owns his own house. According to Milo, his father denies subscribing to the Daily Worker and said he subscribed to the Serbian newspaper which is pro-Tito because he liked their Christmas calendars. This week John Radulovich and his wife decided to send a letter to the President of the United States.

JOHN RADULOVICH:

Dear Mr. President: I writing to you with heavy heart. I am an American citizen who come here 39 years ago from Serbia. I serve America in the army in the first world war. My boy Milo was in this last war. My whole life, my whole family is American. Mr. President, I writing to you because they are doing a bad thing to Milo. They are wrong. The things they say about him are wrong. He has given all his growing year to his country. Mr. President, I am an old man. I have spend my life in this coal mine and auto furnaces. I ask nothing for myself. I ask is justice for my boy. Mr. President, I ask your help.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the sister, Margaret Radulovich Fishman. She neither defends nor explains her political activities.

MARGARET RADULOVICH FISHMAN:

I do feel very personally. I feel very badly about the thing. I feel that he is being forced to undergo a strain for a very unjust cause. I -- I feel that my activities be what they may -- my political beliefs are my own private affair and I feel that the charges leveled against me and by reason of which they are trying to purge him from the Army just seem to me to be a fantastic trend in this country. Its ... I mean you know since when can a man be adjudged guilty, which is in effect whats happened to him, because of the alleged political beliefs or activities of a member of his family.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Back in Dexter, we returned to the wooden frame house on Ann Arbor Street and talked to Milo's wife.

WERSHBA: Nancy, considering you are a mother with two kids, in your heart of hearts, wouldn't you have preferred that Milo would have kept sort of quiet about this and maybe it would have passed over? And nobody would have known about it?

NANCY: Well no. I wouldn't want him to take it lying down. If he did, he would be admitting something that we aren't guilty of, and I don't see how this should have happened to us when we have done nothing to warrant it.

WERSHBA: Do you think you might have avoided all trouble if Milo would have said: "Well, I will resign and quit?"

NANCY: No. No. I wouldn't want him to do that. As far as the publicity is concerned, it makes the rest of the country know whats happening and they all feel for us and want to help us. I don't regret anything at all - him coming forward and fighting it.

WERSHBA: Well Milo, what about this close and continuing relationship that the Air Force talked about in terms of you and your father and sister?

MILO: That charge is defined by the Air Force as visiting frequently, writing frequently, or living at the same address as the accused. In my case - I don't mean to apologize or anything like that for my relationships or my relatives, but I have maintained throughout this entire hearing that what my sister does, what political opinions or activities she engages in, are her own affair because they certainly do not influence me. She is a woman ... married, about to have a child ... 29 years of age .. perfectly capable of making her own decisions .. a mature adult. The close association I have maintained in the hearing and this is what the Air Force hung its removal decision on - I told them in the hearing that I felt that yes I was close to my sister and my father and that I was born into it. I mean she is my sister and he is my father. I am his son and I am her brother and I certainly can't cut the blood tie nor do I wish to cut the blood tie and they quoted me directly those words in their findings. In other words, the implication seemed to me at least to be that

MILO: if I had said "I will cut the blood ties, et cetera" everything would have been beautiful with the Air Force. Well, I simply cannot see that type of reasoning. Furthermore, as far as a physical, close association goes, I didn't have it. It was impossible. I was in the Service since I was 17 years of age and we proved in the hearing that no - that is no physical close continuing association was present between myself and my sister. However, the Board felt that-they must have felt that there is still a feeling of goodness toward her or brotherly love you might say rather than an antagonism because I was actually asked why I did not denounce my sister's views. Well, the word "denounce" in the dictionary means not just denouncing views. It means saying something to punish an individual and to actually attack the individual.

WERSHBA: I guess a lot of people must have asked you from time to time -- wouldn't it have been a lot easier for you if you had - well just sort of kept quiet about the whole thing - maybe resigned and nobody would have known anything about it at all. This trouble wouldn't have come to you?

MILO: Yes. Thats right. I could have signed a resignation form which was titled RESIGNATION IN LIEU OF ELIMINATION FROM THE SERVICE and this would have given me an honorable discharge. However, the honorable discharge would have stipulated that I have been discharged because the Air Force could not trust me. In other words, because I had been discharged as a security risk.

MILO: And I certainly didn't believe in my own heart that I was a security risk. I didn't believe in view of my past record with the Air Force that I was ... that I should take this lying down.

WERSHBA: What happens to your two children - your 5 year old and 5 month old in terms of you?

MILO: Yes. If I am being judged on my relatives, are my children going to be asked to denounce me? Are they going to be asked on what their father was labeled? Are they going to have to explain to their friends why their father's a security risk? I see absolutely that this is a chain reaction if the thing is let stand as first recommendation sent out by the Board. I see a chain reaction that has no end to anybody for anybody.

WERSHBA: Maybe you thought about this too. Just what is your view of democracy?

MILO: Well, I believe that democracy is a state of being where the society is free. Each individual is free to do as he chooses as long as it does not bring physical harm or physical danger or impoverishment or anything like that to other individuals. I think that people in a democracy should be the ultimate authority over everything. That is over the military and over the civilian branches of the government. The people in a true democracy have and always should have the final say. I don't believe that this

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the transcript of the hearing. It is not classified. We got it from the Lieutenant's lawyers. I would like to read you just a bit of it. The lawyer says: "This whole proceeding is taken over objection."

The President of the Board says: "That is understood and adequately shown in the record. Will the Recorder introduce the government's evidence.

RECORDER: I would like to introduce into evidence as Exhibit F, the classified investigative file.

PRESIDENT: It will be received and will be considered by the board.

THE LAWYER: Is it being received as a closed envelope?

PRESIDENT: It is a confidential investigative file.

LAWYER: It is a report to the Air Force by someone or some agency, is that right?

PRESIDENT: It is a consolidation of reports by various investigative agencies of the government.

THE LAWYER: Of which the respondent is not informed, does not see and has no way of knowing what it is except as found in the statement of reasons?

PRESIDENT: That is correct.

MURROW: Later the President says: "It is not in a sealed envelope in a strict sense."

MURROW: The lawyer replies: "May the record show it is an envelope approximately 9 x 12 inches with a rubber band placed around same and scotch tape along the edges which have been broken up, that is the scotch tape, which we can fully see from where we are sitting, with no right to examine it."

MURROW: Then the lawyer says to the President of the Board? "Do you think we all have the right to transmit our views and publish them?"

MURROW: And the President of the Board replies: "I might decline to answer that question in that I am not on trial for my views and my personal views might not be the views of the Air Force."

MURROW: Perhaps you will permit me to read a few sentences just at the end because I should like to say rather precisely what I mean. We have told the Air Force that we will provide facilities for any comments, criticism or correction it may wish to make in regard to the case of Milo Radulovich. The case must go through two more Air Force Boards routine and channels before it reaches Secretary Talbott who will make the final decision. We are unable to judge the charges against the father or the Lieutenant's sister because neither we nor you nor the Lieutenant nor the lawyers know precisely what was contained in that manila envelope. Was it hearsay, rumor, gossip or hard, provable fact backed by

EDWARD R. MURROW:

creditable witnesses; we do not know. There is a distinct difference between a loyalty and a security risk. A man may be entirely loyal, but at the same time be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure, which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of national security. In the case of Lieutenant Radulovich, the Board found that there was no question of his loyalty, but that he was regarded as a security risk. The Security Officers will tell you that a man who had a sister in Warsaw might be entirely loyal, but would be subjected to pressure as a result of threats that might be made against his sister's security or well being. They contend that a man who has a sister in the Communist Party in this country might be subjected to the same kind of pressure, but here again, no evidence was adduced to prove that Radulovich's sister was a member of the Party, and the case against his father certainly was not made. We believe that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," even though that iniquity be proved beyond all doubt, which in this case, it was not. But we believe, too, that this case illustrates the urgent need for the Armed Forces to communicate more fully than they have so far done, the procedures and regulations to be followed in attempting to protect the national security and the rights of the individual at the same time. Whatever happens in this whole area of the relationship between the individual and the state, we do ourselves - it cannot be blamed upon Malenkov, Mao Tse Tung or even our allies.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

It seems to us that - that is to Fred Friendly and myself that that is a subject that should be argued about endlessly.

You may have noticed we left out the middle commercial and saved it for the end. We hope you might find it interesting now.

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EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

The President said today that he has no objection to a conference of world leaders. But first he'd like to see some evidence of good faith from Moscow. When the President was asked by reporters about Prime Minister Churchill's recent suggestion for a high level conference, he said he wants valid deeds from the Russians; he's seen no evidence of their good faith or sincerity. He's willing to take almost any chance to promote world peace. But the President said that unless he's mistaken, the quick rejection of our truce proposal by the Communists in Korea indicates a sort of "fixed attitude" on their part.

The 20th meeting of the truce negotiators begins some hours from now. And, as General Harrison, our chief negotiator puts it: "There is a complete difference of opinion on the major points." The enemy has flatly rejected our proposals for exchanging war prisoners. And we have asked the Communists to explain why they illegally sent some allied prisoners to prison camps in Manchuria and why they forced others to work as labor troops. The State Department says it is "disappointed" at the enemy's rejection of our truce proposal. And Republican Senator Ferguson has called on the President to speak out now, to win British support for a firm policy towards the Communists in Korea and elsewhere.

The President, at his news conference, took note of differing American and British attitudes. He told reporters he dows not believe that the rift with the British over Korea is as wide as it might appear. And in answer to a question about Former Prime Minister Atlee's recent statement that some elements in America do not want a Korean peace, the President said: "I have met no one in America who does not want peace in Korea."

Senator McCarthy took the floor of the Senate today to attack Clement Atlee. He feels the British should apologize to the President and the American people for Atlee's remarks. He called it an insulting speech, although he made

no reference to the Atlee suggestion that he didn't know who was more powerful in this country's foreign policy, the President or the Senator. McCarthy notified Atlee that, as he put it, "the days of treason and appeasement are passed in America." McCarthy said if the British want to back out of the Korean war, let them be damned, this nation "has the guts and strength" to fight it alone; we want peace with honor, without surrender.

In London, Mr. Atlee replied with a statement: He said he and his Labor Party have been fighting Communism long before McCarthy was ever heard of. He made no attack on America. He has seen some statements by some Americans who think an all-out war against China is desirable. He pointed out that his speech recognized America's great service to the world. And just as McCarthy said Atlee doesn't represent the British people, Atlee said no Briton judges America by McCarthy.

There was more of this on both sides of the ocean. Republican Senator Jenner said the British are now showing their thanks for twice saving them from defeat and from bankruptcy. Republican Senator Dirkesen of Illinois said the knife will go deeper into the foreign aid budget as a result of the appeasement note he says appears to be rising in Great Britain. Dirksen wonders if we have been "played for a sucker" and he threw in an appeal for full freedom for Ireland.

Republican Senator Cooper of Kentucky appealed for moderation on both sides of the ocean. He said Atlee's speech could hinder the Korean truce negotiations, "but so could immoderate rash remarks" in the Senate.

And in London: Tom O'Brien, a member of Parliament and leader of Britain's 8-million member Trade Union Congress said Senator McCarthy is "a greater gift to Communism than Judas Iscariot was to the high priests and pharisees." And left-wing Laborite Richard Crossman challenged America to cut off British aid; he called it the greatest infringement on British sovereignty they have ever had.

And the Moscow press and radio carried lengthy reviews of what it called the "ever growing dissatisfaction" in the House of Commons with various aspects of

American policy. I'd like to add a foot-note to this debate in a few minutes.

The President, at his news conference today, also spoke of domestic matters. He plans a radio speech next Tuesday night to explain to us the problems of national security, the budget and taxes. He disagreed with a suggestion that his choice of Admiral Radford to be the new chairman of the joint chiefs of staff means a new emphasis on Asiatic problems. The President said: the World is round, it has no end, there may be tactical shifts from time to time, but our basic thinking has to be global, or it's bound to go wrong. Mr. Eisenhower said Defense Secretary Wilson wanted an entirely new team, and the President agreed.

Senator Taft said today that he didn't influence the President's choice of the new Joint Chiefs of Staff, although Defense Secretary Wilson consulted him in advance about the selections. Taft is particularly pleased with the choice of Admiral Radford to head the Joint Chiefs. "Because" Taft says, "he's man who has said we are capable of fighting an aggressive war in the Pacific."

Our deputy delegate to the United Nations, James J. Wadsworth, says "only one soldier out of five in the line in Korea today is an American." Most of them are South Koreans.

The Illinois Parole Board has refused to free Nathan Leopold who has been in prison for 28 years for the murder of Bobby Franks.

Egypt today issued orders making it difficult for the British in the Suez Canal Zone to buy such things as food, alcohol and building materials from Egyptians.

Secretary of State Dulles left Israel today calling it a dynamic country and later in neighboring Jordan he refused to associate himself with an Arab official's criticism of the Truman Administration's aid to Israel. He said Americans do not criticize each other abroad.

Anglo-American relations are passing through a rather turbulent time, a period when the thoughtful citizen might well fasten his seat belt and wait for the storm to subside; (there have been worse ones before.) Sir Winston Churchill suggests that there ought to be a small high-level meeting. We don't think the

time is ripe for such a gathering. It is his right to propose and our right to disagree. Mr. Attlee, the leader of the Opposition in England, suggests that our Constitution is not a perfect instrument of government, and that some Americans are rather fond of the idea of an all-out war with China. In the first place, our Constitutional procedure is, and will probably for a long time remain a mystery to European politicians. In the second place, there are people in this country who favor policies that would risk if not ensure an all-out war with China. In the first place, our Constitutional procedure is, and will probably for a long time remain a mystery to European politicians. In the second place, there are people in this country who favor policies that would risk if not ensure an all-out war with China. And so now the transatlantic name-calling is in full cry. And it is not to be doubted that the men in Moscow find the sound most pleasing. Fortunately, relations between nations do not depend upon speech-making and name-calling. Such relations are determined by cultural, economic and geographical facts. The British need us to survive, and we need them, unless we are prepared to face squarely the prospect of becoming merely a great island off the coast of Kamchatka, with the rest of the world either united against us, or indifferent to our fate.

In the course of the current name-calling it would be well to remember that it is the Russians rather than the British who are the architects of our tribulation. The British have no monopoly on being right, neither have we. The two nations are joined in alliance not because of mutual love, but because of mutual necessity. Disagreement, even on basic policies, is not necessarily bad, so long as we don't accept the Russian invitation to hold our coats while we fight. When the British say our President says one thing, and then Mr. Dulles appears to change the course; when they ask whether Eisenhower or McCarthy dominates our foreign policy, they merely echo similar questions raised here. When we say the British have too much appetite to trade behind the Iron Curtain, that's a sentiment you can hear echoed in Britain. Some of us contend that the British are trying to nudge us towards a "Far Eastern Munich." The British had their Munich, and a thundering controversy it created at the time, inside Britain.

Anyone who was there at the time was obliged to report that the Chamberlain Government acted at that time in accordance with the desires of the majority of the British people. In the course of the following year the nation changed its mind, went to war with almost a sense of relief, and once in, it stayed, stayed for a year alone while we debated - and no Briton forgets that fact.

In the postwar years this nation has given to Britain and to our former enemies generous and unprecedented assistance. But that aid has not bought the silence or acquiescence of either our allies or our former enemies. We have had only about six years' experience in trying to make a peacetime alliance work. The British have been trying to adjust themselves to a power position vastly inferior to the one they occupied for hundreds of years. The adjustment on both sides is difficult. At the height of British power they were too strong and too fat to be universally loved, respected and catered to. That's the position we now occupy. We contend that we neither have nor want satellites. The British are engaged in proving that that is so. Their policies like ours, are based upon that mysterious thing called the ebb and flow of public opinion, the slow business of a nation making up its collective mind. It is true that the minority and often irresponsible voices carry as clearly across the Atlantic as the voices with greater restraint and responsibility. The keystone of relations between Britain and this country is not complete harmony of view about Korea, or trade, or conferences. The basis of the relationship is that the people in both countries desire to live in the same kind of world - share together a common concept of the relationship between the individual and the State. Until one nation or the other departs from that common concept, the alliance will stand. The current transatlantic caterwauling may give our enemies some comfort, but unless both nations have taken leave of their senses and their traditions, it represents nothing more than a lusty argument as to how best to achieve a common objective.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: We and the British seek a common goal. William Sumner once said: "Doctrines are the most frightful tyrants to which men ever are subject, because doctrines get inside of a man's own reason and betray him against himself." The Greek philosopher Chrysippus warned: "Anger is a blind thing; it often prevents our seeing obvious matters or obscures matters already understood."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

Pg 1
E.B. White

This is the news:

The State Department said today that an agreement on a truce in Korea and an Austrian peace treaty would help to demonstrate Russia's sincerity and "help pave the way to a high level conference." I would like to discuss the Department's statement in a few minutes.

Prime Minister Churchill's suggestion for such a conference and his remarks on Korea today prompted Republican Senator Knowland of California to warn his colleagues of what he called a Far Eastern Munich. He said the Churchill speech and another by former prime minister Atlee make it clear to him that the British have told us that if we don't accept their advice, and Communist China persists in the Korean war, then "we must be prepared to go it alone." The Senator said the British want to seat Red China in the United Nations. He feels we should not accept a Korean truce unless we get a binding pledge, from Russia and Communist China, for free elections in North Korea. And Democratic Senator Douglas of Illinois says he feels the British are "nudging us into the position" where we will have to accept the main features of the enemy's truce proposal.

There were other reactions to the British speeches: Republican Representative Short of Missouri says Congress is tired of taking "dictation" from so-called allies."

Chester Bowles, our former ambassador to India, says that if we agree to a Korean truce, and general peace in Asia follows, "we must seriously consider" admitting Red China to the United Nations. He said we would not be able to withstand pressure for this from the rest of the world.

Adlai Stevenson, now in India, says he endorses Sir Winston Churchill' call for a big power meeting.

General Ridgeway in Paris told reporters that from a soldier's viewpoint, "there is no information known to him that indicates a lessening of the

threat from Russia."

The Russian press today published a 600-word summary of the Churchill speech. The papers ask if the British "intend to continue the policy of remilitarization of West Germany.

The Chinese Communist radio says North Korean General Nam Il has rejected the allied plan for a truce in Korea. Radio Peiping says the plan is ridiculous, part of our "stalling tactics" and Washington knew it would be unacceptable. Our latest proposal called for all North Korean prisoners, who do not want to go home, to be set free when an armistice is signed. We object to the enemy plan to have the Poles and Czechs, among others send troops to Korea to supervise the armistice. We would permit only Indian troops to do this job. We also refuse to permit the fate of prisoners who do not want to go home to be settled by a political conference after an armistice is signed. And we want to make sure that the enemy will not threaten the prisoners they talk to in their attempts to convince them to return home. There will be another truce meeting tonight.

Today about 200 of our fighter-bombers attacked an enemy troop and supply center near Sinanju. Not one Mig came up to fight us.

The Pentagon reports that we suffered 153 casualties in Korea last week: 46 killed, the rest wounded or missing.

In Moscow today, Ambassador Bohlen asked Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to release from the Soviet Union the Russian wives of American citizens. They are now denied exit visas.

Egypt charges that the British have killed seven Egyptians and wounded 24 others in the Suez Canal zone since the first of March. The British say two of their people have been killed, two wounded, since the first of April. And the chief of staff to Premier Naguib said today that unless the British get out of the Suez area, within two or three months, there might be a popular uprising against them. The British ordered Marine Commandoes and a squadron of destroyers to the Suez zone.

In Washington the army issued a draft call for 23-thousand men in July; the lowest quota since last June. The Defense Department says this is in line with the new reduced military budget.

The House today passed and sent to the White House a bill that confirms the states' ownership of oil-bearing lands under the marginal seas. The House also passed a bill giving the federal government control of all submerged lands beyond the boundaries of the states.

Chairman Hickenlooper, of a Senate Committee that has been investigating the Voice of America, said today: we must strengthen the Voice; he's going to try to stop an order that would kill broadcasts to Latin America; he thinks our world-wide propaganda has greatly improved. The Senator says: there is nothing wrong with the Voice that cannot be straightened out. And he made no mention of Senator McCarthy's claim in another investigation of the Voice that it has been sabotaged by Communists. Senator Hickenlooper says he favors making the Voice semi-independent from the State Department, which now controls it.

Foreign aid officials today told Congress that about one-third of the arms we have earmarked for our overseas allies have not been delivered. And shipments of the rest are being "materially speeded."

The Census Bureau says seven million 105-thousand persons are now on federal, state or local government payrolls. That's one out of every 22 persons in the country. The largest number of government employees work for the local governments: cities, counties, townships and school districts.

Republican Senator Dirksen of Illinois said today that the budget could be balanced if members of Congressional appropriations committees "show a little guts, reduce federal grants to states and a take a big cut in foreign and military spending.

Our State Department is gradually making it clear that we take what the British would call a "dim view" of Sir Winston Churchill's proposal for a high level conference. A spokesman for the Department calls the Churchill speech "a further manifestation of his own high purpose and the fervent desire of all

peoples of the free world to achieve peace." The spokesman for the State Department today reaffirmed President Eisenhower's willingness to meet the Communists halfway, "when and if there is concrete evidence that such a meeting would produce positive results." The State Department does not consider that there is now such evidence. A truce in Korea and a Peace Treaty for Austria might possibly be regarded as evidence of good faith.

It is necessary to remind ourselves that there is such a thing as domestic politics in Britain - that Mr. Churchill's Party suffered substantial losses in the recent municipal elections - and that he has been under pressure to take the initiative in foreign affairs. There is some evidence that the British Foreign Office does not share Sir Winston's belief that useful results might be achieved through a meeting of Presidents and Premiers. He made the speech without consultation with his foreign policy experts.

The French Government is distrubed, mainly because it fears the French might be excluded from the meeting. But the fact remains, and the evidence is now overwhelming that Churchill spoke the mind of his nation, and probably of most of Western Europe as well. It is also a fact that nothing that has been said by the State Department or by various Senators has effectively answered the major question raised by Sir Winston. He said, in effect, "I am not sure what the meeting would produce, but I can see no reason why we should be afraid to have a try at it." Our State Department says, "we will sit down and talk with the Russians when we have concrete evidence that the talks will produce positive results. This is rather like a fighter who says he will enter the ring, providing one or the other wins a clear-cut decision - it could be a draw - in this case it might well be, no one knows. But in terms of the impact upon millions of minds, if we are going to refuse to sit down and talk with the Russians, we had better find a better answer than the one so far advanced; and also an answer to Churchill's question: "Why should we be afraid to have a try at it?"

What follows is a little poem. It may be contended that poetry has no place in a news broadcast. This came from the typewriter of E.B. White, and

appears in the current issue of that excellent magazine "The New Yorker." Here it is:

THE ABC OF SECURITY

Said Mr. A. to Mr. B,
"I doubt the loyalty of C."

Said Mr. B to Mr. A.
"I'm shocked and stunned by what you say;
We'd better check on him today.
And since you've brought up Mr. C,
I feel that I must mention D.
I rather doubt his loyalty."

Said Mr. F to Mr. G,
"G, have you ever noticed B?
What do you make of his loyalty?"

Said Mr. G to Mr. F,
"Lower your voice - people aren't deaf!
I wouldn't want you quoting me,
But sure, I've always noticed B."

Said Mr. C to Mr. A,
"I saw a funny thing today;
At least, it seemed quite odd to me.
I saw F whispering with G
And I just caught the name of B."

"No, really?" answered A to C.
"Well, anyway - I don't know B.
I guess it's just as well for me."

And so the subtle poison spread
Until there rose a Mr. Zed.
The lightening played around his head.
"My fellow-countrymen," he said,
"The past, as you'll observe, is dead,
The alphabet's discredited;
You can't trust teachers now to teach,
You can't trust minister to preach,
And it has been my special labor,
To prove that none can trust his neighbor.
In fact, it's amply clear to see
There's no one you can trust but me.
And by a happy turn of fate
I've come to purify the state.
My methods will be swift and strong
Against the crime of thinking wrong.
I know the cure for heresy
And you can leave it all to me.
Leave everything to me!" he said.
"Hurrah!" they cried. "Hurrah for Zed!"

That was a poetic and penetrating comment on the current scene, written by E.B. White for "The New Yorker." It seemed to this reporter that what Mr. White had to say deserved wide circulation. And the reading of his verse was my effort to contribute to that end.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: It is not very often that the occasion justifies our reading some poetry on the air. The exception was Mr. White's recent effort in the New Yorker. John Ruskin once remarked: "A poet is a person who puts things together, not as a watchmaker steel or a shoemaker leather, but who puts life into action." E.S. Dallas contended: "Good poetry has a latency of meaning beyond the simple statement of facts." For these reasons, we quoted E.B. White.

Good Nite and Good Luck!

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

Pg 3
Churchill

This is the news:

The President today named Admiral Arthur W. Radford to become the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Mr. Eisenhower also announced a number of other changes in our top military command. Admiral Radford will take over from General Bradley who is eligible for retirement when his term expires in August. General Ridgeway will come home to be the army chief of staff replacing General Collins. And Ridgeway's job, as head of the North Atlantic treaty forces, will go to Lieutenant General Grunether, now chief of staff to Ridgeway as he was to General Eisenhower. The new chief of naval operations will be Admiral Robert B. Carney who is now commander in chief of the Mediterranean area under Ridgeway. Carney replaces Admiral Fechteler whose term would not have expired for another two years. He will be given a new assignment. Like General Bradley, Admiral Fechteler and General Collins are eligible for retirement.

The Defense Department indicates these men will take over their new jobs as soon as possible, before the official dates, so they can become better acquainted with Pentagon problems. Senator Taft, who has called for just such a change in the personnel of our top military leadership says all of today's appointments are "excellent." He's satisfied they will take a complete new look at the entire military program.

Britain's former Prime Minister Atlee today announced his complete support of Sir Winston Churchill's proposal for an informal meeting of the Big Power leaders. And Atlee charged that the hands of the Eisenhower Administration are tied, in seeking a Korean peace, by "elements that do not want a settlement." In a few minutes we'll hear direct reports on the Churchill and Atlee views from both London and Paris.

Pope Pius said today the world leaders should hold frank and loyal discussions as "the first and indespensable condition of peace." He said if

this does not happen "one would not know how to take any step towards" the attainment of peace.

The White House has no comment on either the Churchill proposal or the Pope's suggestion. A British-American group, after two years of study, reports that Russia's peace offensive may intensify differences between Washington and London. Dispatches from Moscow say diplomats there believe the Russians will regard Sir Winston's suggestion as a "proposal" while they regard recent Administration speeches as a "challenge."

In Korea tonight, allied negotiators will offer the enemy a new truce counter-proposal. General Clark took it to Seoul today. A South Korean official says it may "modify or reject" the enemy's plan to put Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia on a repatriation commission.

The new Secretary General of the United Nations - Dag Hammershold - says he believes there is "a very long way to go" before a Korean armistice is reached.

Seven American civilians held through most of the war in North Korea arrived in West Berlin today. And in Germany, Theodore Kaghan, the deputy director of the office of public affairs, has resigned. He said: "When you cross swords with Senator McCarthy, it is impossible to remain in the State Department." Kaghan says his recent appearance before the McCarthy committee in Washington, and "the very little support" he received from his superiors, has been "disillusioning."

Two Eisenhower cabinet members disagree on when the government expects to balance the budget. On Monday Defense Secretary Wilson said he didn't think it could be done for two or three years. Today, Treasury Secretary Humphrey said that's "unduly cautious"; he thinks the budget might be balanced by July of next year. But later at a news conference Wilson said he doesn't expect a balanced budget until July of 1955. Mr. Wilson also told reporters: he wants increased production of atomic artillery; he feels there has been greater improvement in nuclear weapons than in any other type of weapon.

The Weather Bureau predicts that there may be more tornadoes in wide areas of Texas and Louisiana. At least seventy persons have been killed in Texas.

In Argentina, the government has ordered a ban on American news agencies receiving news from abroad. The radio teletype receivers of the United Press, Associated Press and International News have all been shut down by postal inspectors

And now for recorded reports from Great Britain and France on Prime Minister Churchill's proposal for a big power meeting. First we'll hear Paul Niven reporting from London:

NIVEN: There is no doubt now, Ed, that Prime Minister Churchill has all of Britain behind him. It was fairly clear, even yesterday, when that fifty-five-minute speech of his held the House of Commons enthralled and brought cheers on all sides. This afternoon ex-Prime Minister Clement Attlee made it official. On behalf of the Labor Party he gave an enthusiastic welcome to what he called "Churchill's remarkable and realistic speech." He specifically endorsed the proposal for a high-level conference with Russia. Then Attlee went on with some observations that Sir Winston hadn't made, but to which he nooded agreement. "The United States," said the Laborite leader, "is greatly handicapped in formulating and executing foreign policy. The Administration may think one thing, the Congress another. One sometimes wonders" (and this is quoting Mr. Attlee) "who is more powerful - President Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy? - or even within the Executive Branch. The President makes a speech and then Secretary Dulles seems to contradict him. Then there's the Chiang Kai-Shek lobby and elements in the United States which, far from wanting a truce in Korea, hope for an all-out war with China." Now, those are the statements of Clement Attlee today, but they help explain why Churchill spoke as he did yesterday, why the nation wanted him to speak as he did.

It was felt here that a positive Western response to the Soviet peace offensive was long overdue. No important Englishman suggests that the West should lay down its arms, nobody is invoking Chamberlain's phrase "peace in our time." On the other hand, everybody in Britain wants to grab whatever the Russians offer

in this or that trouble spot and make the most of it. For some weeks now, London has waited for Washington to do so. Despite one or two speeches by the President, it's felt here that no clear lead has come. Perhaps most Britons would give the same reasons for American inaction that Attlee gave this afternoon. So, all last week newspapers and politicians were calling on Churchill to take the lead himself. The old statesman is a well-known advocate of personal diplomacy and, indeed, the world's foremost veteran of it. Furthermore, he had set up as his last goal in life a contribution to making peace between East and West.

I spent this morning trying to find out whether Churchill had communicated yesterday's speech to Washington before he made it. The few people in a position to know were tight-lipped. The best evidence suggests that he did. One gathers that he got from the State Department the same cold reception that has come from those quarters today, after the speech. But Churchill thought it worthwhile to go ahead anyway, to urge a high-level meeting with Russia and then spell out his proposal in some detail. The next move is up to Washington, unless Moscow moves in first. And such is the climate of opinion here in London tonight, that if the Kremlin should now propose a date for the conference, Churchill would find it very difficult to resist.

MURROW: That was Paul Niven recording from London. And now a report from Paris, David Schoenbrun reporting.

SCHOENBRUN: The French and the Germans, the two biggest and strongest of the nations meeting here, are the most critical of Sir Winston Churchill's call for a meeting with the Russians. The Germans are almost obsessed by one overriding fear that Churchill will make a deal behind their backs, will enter into negotiations without consulting West German statesmen and perhaps reach momentous decisions about <u>their</u> frontiers and <u>their</u> future.

German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer will leave here for London on Thursday to see Sir Winston and plead with him to help Germany become a good neighbor in a free community of Western Europe. Churchill himself, when he was leader of the opposition, raised his powerful voice for such European unity. He

urged the French and the Germans to bury the past and to accept themselves as partners. Churchill, the Queen's First Minister, has been a Briton first, a European second - a distant second, they say in Paris.

The French, even more than the Germans, are alarmed by the avenues opened up by Churchill's offer to the Russians. There is no starry-eyed belief here in Paris in Russia's sudden shift, overnite, from a will to power to a will to peace. That's the exact phrase used this afternoon by the French Premier before Parliament, as he asked for more proof of Russia's peaceful intentions. The French, as much or more than other peoples, ardently desire and need peace. They welcome today the words of Pope Pius as they welcomed similar messages of peace from Eisenhower and Churchill. But, an eminently practical people, the French want to be sure of what they're getting. As one high-ranking French official put it to me, "The best way to make peace is to stop waging war." By that he meant, of course, a cease-fire in Korea and Indochina. He said: "You see, peace is not only wonderful, it is indivisible. You cannot make peace and war in two parts of the world at once. And then, the next big step towards peace," said this French diplomat, "is disarmament, controlled disarmament. How can you deal with the German problem," he asked, "how can you talk about any arrangement with Russia so long as there is an Iron Curtain behind which powerful armies rove at will, poised at any moment for attack?"

The French are convinced that both Churchill and Eisenhower have underestimated this essential point. They told Mr. Butler and Mr. Dulles so, two weeks ago, right here in Paris. For two weeks now, the French have been preparing a private message to their Allies, asking for a common approach to Russia along these lines. They were dismayed by Mr. Churchill's personal initiative; for them, a breaking of the common front. More than anything, they were dismayed and angered by his statement that the meeting with Russia should be kept as small as possible. What does that mean, they're asking. A two-power conference? A three-power conference? Perhaps only America, Britain and Russia, leaving the French out, as they were left out at Potsdam? My French source repeated, with a thin and joyless

smile, a phrase once uttered by a marshal of Napoleon: "I will protect myself from my enemies; may God protect me from my friends."

MURROW: That was David Schoenbrun reporting from Paris. And one more reaction to Prime Minister Churchill's speech from Egypt. Premier Naguib said in Cairo that his country is determined to rid itself of British soldiers in the Suez Canal zone "completely." The Egyptian press says the United States has joined Britain "in a conspiracy" of evil against Egypt.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: There can be no question that the nations of the free world are united in their search for peace. But how to move, and when, that is something else. Those favoring an aggressive approach would seem to feel as Horace did when he said: "Seize now and here, the hour that is, nor trust some later day." Others may take Goethe's more cautious outlook that "the right man is he who seizes the right moment."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

See pg 4

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

Sir Winston Churchill believes that "a conference at the highest level should take place between the leading powers without long delay." In a one-hour speech to the House of Commons the Prime Minister said: this conference should have the smallest number of powers and persons possible. It should be informal, private, without a long agenda, without a jungle of details. Maybe no hard agreement would come of it. But it might produce better understanding. Sir Winston believes that if two problems could be settled, Korea and Austria, this would be a definite gain. It might lead to less tension. He feels its a mistake to think that all East West problems can be settled by one stroke. A piecemeal solution is better than none at all. And these men at the conference might get the general feeling that they might do something better than tear the human race into bits. "I do not see," Sir Winston Churchill told the applauding House, "why anyone should be frightened at having a try for this."

The Prime Minister reviewed Moscow's activities since Stalin's death this way: He thinks the so-called peace offensive is "a supreme event" but the West must continue its defense efforts. He doesn't want to discourage what he says might be "a profound movement of Russian opinion." The British welcome every sign of improved relations with Moscow. Sir Winston regards "some of the internal manifestations in Russia, and apparent change of mood, as far more important and significant than what happens outside." He doesn't want to give Soviet leaders ground for suspicion. He would reserve judgment on the widely expressed opinion that the invasion of Laos was inspired by Moscow. He would have both East and West do agreeable rather than disagreeable things.

Sir Winston regards Korea as the major problem. He sees no reason why the enemy's truce proposal cannot be the basis for agreement, if the Communists

are sincere, if we demonstrate "patience and sympathetic understanding." The Prime Minister says there is no disagreement on the principle of exchanging prisoners of war; just on the method and the procedure. He has doubts that Korea can be unified at this time. He's settle for a truce, and hopes that time will be a healing factor. Sir Winston covered a great deal of ground: he is prepared to have the British leave the Suez Canal if the British can maintain a small force there. If the British are attacked by Egyptian forces they will fight back. He hopes Israel and the Arab states will come to peace; Britain is "with" the federal European system, "but not of it." He says no nation ever took such risks as the British are taking now to support the common defense effort; they have less than one division in their domestic force. Britain will not fail in her obligations to West Germany. She feels the French would have less trouble in Indo-China if they had a two year conscription period, and the power to send conscripts abroad, as the British do. I'd like to discuss Sir Winston's speech in a few minutes.

As the Prime Minister addressed the House of Commons, the British announced that they have invited the United States, Russia and France to send their deputy foreign ministers to London for another conference on an Austrian peace treaty.

In Egypt, Secretary of State Dulles, in the first stop on his 20-day tour of the Middle East, conferred with Premier Naguib. They agreed that the British should gradually withdraw their troops from the Suez Canal zone. Mr. Dulles says Naguib agreed that the area would be available to the free world in event of war

In Indo-China, the French say they killed 25 soldiers and captured another dozen in sharp fighting in the heart of Laos, the first major clash since the enemy's invasion of Laos. And today both Laos and her sister state of Viet Nam protested the sharp devaluation of their currency by the French.

In Korea, where our negotiators are prepared for another truce meeting later tonight, we will again insist that the Communists tell us: what they plan

to do, eventually, with prisoners who do not want to return home. We have asked this question four times, without an answer.

In Washington today, Defense Secretary Wilson told a House committee that the Eisenhower Administration believes it will be two or three years before the budget can be balanced. He said its been decided that to balance the budget in fiscal 1954, starting in July, or fiscal 1955, would "seriously reduce the rate of build-up of our defense capabilities." The Secretary then revealed that it has been decided to abandon the 1955 goal of a 143-group air force. The new target will be 120 groups. But the number of groups that actually will be activated in the future will depend on the changing military situation. Mr. Wilson also revealed that the Pentagon plans to cut the monthly draft calls in half, and reduce the military's manpower goal by 291-thousand men.

The Secretary's warning that it may not be possible to balance the budget for at least two years came after Republican Representative Reed of New York charged that the Administration has "surrendered to the spenders and run up the white flag" on its goal of balancing the budget.

Robert J. Francis, director of the Voice of America, told a Senate committee today that the Communists now spend more money trying to keep the Voice's signal out than we do to put it in. He told the Senators: "I only wish the American people knew what a loyal, competent and devoted staff they have" at the Voice of America.

The Department of Agriculture says retail food costs have dropped to the lowest level since December of 1950 (largely because of lower farm prices.)

Whenever Sir Winston Churchill makes a major speech in the House of Commons he manages to convey the impression that his Island is too small a stage for him to play upon. He did it again today. When he sat down, after ranging the world for nearly an hour, he wiped hiw brow, and then putting on his new old-fashioned ear trumpet he looked anxiously about the Chamber to study the reaction of political friends and foes. Most of the faces bore clear evidence of a

Churchill triumph. It is unlikely that the Prime Minister has spoken the mind of the nation more clearly or more eloquently since the end of the late war. Churchill came back to power in 1951 saying that his final ambition was to "help gentler breezes to blow upon this weary earth", a hope that he repeated today.

Clearly the British believe that a new tide is running in Russia. It is equally clear that Sir Winston Churchill believes that the Western Powers as well as Russia must "prove their sincerity by deeds." The single sentence that drew the most applause in today's speech was when he said, "it would be a mistake to assume that nothing can be settled with Soviet Russia unless or until everything can be settled." The proposal for the meeting of heads of state does not come from a man who is inexperienced in such meetings. He does not predict the outcome but is persuaded that the effort must be made. This is a view that is shared by the French Government.

In assessing or comparing the attitude of our allies and ourselves regarding a possible war with Russia, it is imperative to remember that they would not survive, regardless of the final outcome. Most of us think we would. From that difference in attitude stems differences in policy. Moreover, our European allies have knowledge of war at first hand, and we have not. They desire to explore even the slightest possibility of compromise before reaching the grim alternative that collision is inevitable. They fear that we do not share that desire.

Sir Winston today paid tribute to this country for expending most of the blood and treasure in Korea, but he also implied concern lest we lose the opportunity for a truce through insistence upon details which have nothing to do with the actual stopping of the shooting.

As a reporter with some knowledge of Churchill's words and writings, I would presume to suggest what he was saying between the lines today. He believes that there does exist a real chance to negotiate at least a temporary agreement with the Russians. And he is fearful that the inflexibility of our

policy may prevent it. He is concerned that our hatred and hysteria may prevent our administration from engaging in secret and unpublicized conversations with the Russians. And he is worried lest our intransigeance cause our allies in Europe to come to believe that we don't really want to ease the tension or achieve an agreement. Many of them already feel that way.

In weighing the words of Sir Winston Churchill it is necessary to remember that this is a man of war who has twice been near the hub of events when World War came. His political opponents in Britain have constantly accused him of being too belligerent. He obviously sees himself now as standing in clear view of a more complete and terrible war than man has ever witnessed. He does not pretend to discern the full shape of the future - he holds to the traditional British view of the inevitability of gradualness, and is determined that history shall not record of him that as the Queen's First Minister he failed to do what he could to prevent another slaughter or the collapse of the free world alliance.

As a result of today's speech, no one in Britain will suggest that Sir Winston is a "Pinko", soft towards Communists, or that he has faildd to put the interests of his country first.

His knowledge of this country is considerable. British Intelligence regarding what is going on in Russia is at least as good as ours. And the British Prime Minister is clearly worried about the possibility that we have the bit in our teeth, determined to follow a path where the Russians must make all the concessions while we make none. He sees the chance for a deal. It might be partial, it could be temporary, but he is convinced the chance is there. In considering his proposals it might be useful to remember that this gallant old man has not always been wrong in his assessment of the direction in which the affairs of men and nations move.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON. COMMERCIAL

MURROW: While some in this country might not agree with Sir Winston's speech, the Prime Minister obviously believed as John Lyly once did when he said: "I have discharged the duty of a friend, in that I have not winked at thy folly." However. bluntly Mr. Churchill stated his case, he, like Aristotle, apparently feels that "many a friendship can be lost for lack of speaking."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 27
March 8, 1953

MR. MURROW: Good evening. We did not know that Malenkov was going to succeed Stalin, and we have had no camera crews with him for the past 48 hours. We don't know what kind of job he will do, whether he will have trouble in consolidating his power.

The principal fact about Malenkov is that he is and was Stalin's man, has come up each time Stalin rose to increased power, and so we thought we might find out where he was going by examining a little where he has been, or rather where Stalin has been, because Malenkov is and was Stalin's man and must rule in his shadow.

This is Moscow. The subway--they call it the Metro. Above and adjacent is Red Square, the arena or parade ground that has seen so much Russian history. It is 4,100 miles from Vladivostock and 400 miles from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

The Church is Saint _____, built by Ivan the

Terrible in 1555. The bells you hear was Stalin's funeral dirge, and it was recorded from the Moscow Radio on Friday. The films were shot a few years ago by our Charlie Mack, one of the last U.S. cameramen permitted in Russia. To our right, the Kremlin. Actually, it is a collection of big palaces. This is the nerve center of the Soviet Union. Stalin had his apartment on one of the upper floors. Malenkov will probably occupy those rooms now.

Directly below the Kremlin wall is the sacred shrine of Nicolai Lenin. The other original Bolsheviks are buried beneath the walls.

Red Square did not get its name from the Communists. For the ancient Tartars and Cossacks it was an execution ground whose victims' blood stained its surface red.

This was 1912 when Czar Nicholas II was Emperor of all Russia's extreme wealth and extreme poverty. Nicholas was a handsome, pleasure-loving autocrat who ruled lavishly and badly. This was his son and heir, who suffered from hemophilia and, according to the Czarina, was kept alive by Rasputin's hypnotism.

By 1914 the Russians were at war with Germany. Badly led, miserably equipped, it was probably the worst-fed

army in history. While his troops starved and gave way before the Kaiser, the Czar held lavish nude bathing parties at his summer palace in the Crimea, and when he was cabled that his armies were dying, cabled back "Can't be bothered by such nonsense. Wonderful here. Hope you are all well. Love. Nick." But there was no love for Nicky in the streets of Moscow or Petrograd on February 22, 1917.

The revolution began in early March. Nicholas abdicated. The firing squads worked overtime. The lucky ones were sent to Siberia. The troops did not stop the mob, but joined them in the streets. The blood-letting was endless as Russians killed Russians.

The first Socialist leader was Alexander Kerensky, whose first official move was to throw open the prisons.

Joseph Stalin walked and stole rides all the way from Siberia, where he had been several times before.

Leon Trotsky, another old Bolshevik, came back from his exile in the Bronx.

Nicolai Lenin, who was to be the father of the new Soviet, came from Switzerland. The German High Command gave him safe passage through the lines in the hope that he could talk the Russians into a surrender.

[Shot of Lenin addressing crowd]: Comrade Red Army men, the capitalists of England, America and France are waging war against Russia. They are sending money and military supplies to the Russian land-owners who are leading troops from Siberia, the Don and the North Caucasus against the Soviet power.

Kerensky pledged his armies to fight on, and they did, for a time. But he was stacked up against the triumvirate of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, and on November 7th Russia was virtually out of the war; Kerensky was out; and what has come to be known as "The Ten Days That Shook the World" began.

The first council of People's Commissars was organized and Lenin was the key man. Lenin's bible was Karl Marx. His two chief deputies were Trotsky and Stalin.

The struggle of the first three years was against hunger from within and the combined assaults of the Allied powers from without. Wilson sent U. S. troops into Archangel. The Japanese were in Vladivostock. By 1922 the intervention was over, but the battle against hunger continued.

That same year Lenin was recovering from a stroke, and the battle for his mantle began. Trotsky was, like Lenin, a brilliant mind and a colorful orator. Stalin was cold,

colorless, ruthless, but patient. Lenin knew they hated each other. He died in 1924, in this house in Gorki, without being able to dictate his successor, although both Stalin and Trotsky claimed it.

On the day of Lenin's death, Trotsky was on a train bound for a resort in the Crimea, where he was going because of his health. He heard the news of Lenin's death at a railway station en route, and cabled back, "When is the funeral, I am returning immediately." Stalin cabled back, "Comrade, the Politbureau feels your health is more important. Proceed on your trip." The fact that Trotsky was not at Lenin's funeral doubtless hurt his prestige. Stalin was not only there but organized it, and was the chief mourner. Lenin's widow wanted him cremated. Stalin ordered him to be embalmed, to be preserved forever in the tomb in front of the Kremlin. The Lenin funeral [?] was the first great demonstration in the Red Square. More than four million people waited all day in the bitter 30-below weather. Beards and eyebrows turned white, and a mass of congealed breath rose like a heavy fog. That's Molotov, another early Bolshevik. Massed bands played the Internationale in slow time. And the western world watched and waited for panic to destroy the new Soviet government.

Stalin was now secretary-general of the Communist

Party. Trotsky returned to fight for his political life. But Stalin now virtually controlled the only political party in Russia, and Trotsky's place in that was now being reduced to secondary position.

Three years after Lenin's death, he was sent into exile and Stalin's rise to power was complete and confirmed. That [shot of Stalin] is the nearest thing to a close-up Stalin ever permitted. The pock-marks are from smallpox.

That same year Stalin began to execute one of the dreams for which he had banished Trotsky: the first five-year plan. Industrialization and collective farming began. The Kulaks tried to revolt, but eventually lost their land, and in the interim period famine and hunger returned to kill three million peasants.

In 1935 Joseph Stalin achieved the most complete working majority in history. That's Malenkov on Stalin's left. Through his inquisitors, Andre Vishinsky and Yagoda, he purged most of the early Bolsheviks. Trotsky and Kerensky, now exiled even from Europe, were in New York and Mexico, respectively, and in complete agreement on the purges.

[Shot of Trotsky, reading:] "This trial developed not from Communism, not from Socialism, but from Stalin--that

is, from the irresponsible despotism of the bureaucracy over the people."

VOICE: "What about these reported purges in Russia, Mr. Kerensky?"

MR. KERENSKY: This purges is inevitable consequences of Stalin personal dictatorship.

VOICE: "What are the conditions in Russia today, as you see them?"

MR. KERENSKY: Terrible, and I am sure that the Stalin regime will fall.

MR. MURROW: But in 1939 Stalin's time-table ran into something that neither he nor Lenin had ever counted on. Another dictator had arisen one thousand miles to the west, and Stalin could not ignore Adolph Hitler. This is perhaps oversimplification, but after flirting with both Berlin and London ..... and he had Molotov sign a 10-year nonagression pact with Von Ribbentropp. But in those years, both dictators learned the same lesson--that you can't trust the dictators. This is Joseph Stalin just a few days after Hitler sent his legions towards Moscow. Hero[?], no orator, this is his famous "scorched earth" speech.

This is Stalin's birthplace at Gori in the Crimea,

where it all began. Now it's a shrine. It's a long way from Gori to Moscow, to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam, to a tomb in the Red Square. The route is littered with the corpses of former comrades and of murdered nations. No one knows how many millions died. Those who lived tried to make Stalin a god. He was extremely cruel, cunning and ruthless. He wanted only the world. He made great and telling use of Lenin as a symbol. Others will so use Stalin. They will rule in his shadow. Their tactics may change, but their objective must remain the same. For unless they are willing to deny their doctrine and their dogma, unless they are willing to reverse their revolution, to commit public political suicide, they must go on down that road that Stalin charted.

It may have been a twist, many twistings and turnings as it has had in the past, but there is no excuse for us not understanding where these evil men propose to end up. For Stalin wrote it in a book, spelled it all out, so that we may all read and see. And this is what he wrote on the subject of Lenin: "But the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat in one country does not yet mean the complete victory of socialism. After consolidating its power and taking the peasantry into the prole-

tariat, the victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does this mean that it will thereby achieve the complete and final victory of socialism? That is, does it mean that with the forces of only one country, it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against interventionism or restoration? No, it does not. For this the victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution in the victorious country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity but as an auxiliary, as a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries. Lenin expressed his thoughts succinctly when he said that the task of the victorious revolution is to do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries. These in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution."

There you have it: revolution in all countries. That is the word of Lenin, Stalin and of Malenkov. They will obviously settle for the world.

[Commercial announcement for Alcoa.]

MR. MURROW: Another little-known book was in the

news this week--"King Football", written by Reed Harris, now an official of the Voice of America--a book written 21 years ago. Sentaor McCarthy's committee is investigating the efficiency and effectiveness of the Voice of America. It is obviously impossible to present the full hearing of any committee. We have edited this as fairly as possible, dealing with that part that had to do with King Football.

We hold no brief for the book, for Mr. Harris, or for Senator McCarthy. This is merely an example of investigatory technique. The efficiency and the effectiveness of the Voice of America is a legitimate matter of concern for all of us, but whether this interrogation eliminates the basic ... involved, is something you can decide as well as we.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris. Your name is Reed Harris?

MR. HARRIS: That's right.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You wrote a book in '32; is that correct?

MR. HARRIS: I wrote a book, and a lot of this-- ... written books 10, 20, 25 years ago, of which we aren't proud any more, or which we wish we had never written.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The question was: Did you write

a book?

MR. HARRIS: Yes, I wrote a book, Mr. Chairman. I am giving you background in connection with the book. At the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly affected by the great depression then in existence; the attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment. And for one thing, there certainly was no awareness, to the degree that there is today, of the way the Communist Party works.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties; is that right?

MR. HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?

MR. HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR McCARTHY: And were you expelled from Columbia?

MR. HARRIS: I was suspended from classes on April 1, 1932. I was later reinstated, and I resigned from the University.

SENATOR McCARTHY: And you resigned from the

University. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?

MR. HARRIS: I had many offers of attorneys, and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The question was, did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?

MR. HARRIS: They did supply an attorney.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The answer is yes?

MR. HARRIS: The answer is yes.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front doing the work of the Communist Party?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, this was 1932.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Yes, I know this was 1932. Did you know they have since been listed as a front doing the work of the Communist Party?

MR. HARRIS: I don't know that they have been listed. I heard that mentioned, and read that mentioned.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now shortly after you were suspended, a Mr. Donald Henderson was removed as a professor at Columbia; is that correct?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct; and I was told that

a major reason for his being so disciplined was that he had supported me in a freedom of the press and academic freedom fight.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I see. And did you know that Mr. Henderson was a Communist at that time?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I did not know that this man had any connection whatsoever with the Communist Party.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now you very actively defended the right of Mr. Henderson to teach at Columbia at that time?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, two weeks ago Senator Taft took the position that I took 21 years ago, that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens that nowadays I don't agree with Senator Taft as far as Communists teaching in the schools are concerned, because I think Communists are in effect a plain-clothes auxiliary of the Red Army, the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I don't recall that Senator Taft ever had anything of the background that you've got, sir.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I consider that a most unfair innuendo.

SENATOR McCARTHY: In other words, you apparently have changed your mind substantially since 1932?

MR. HARRIS: I declare I have changed my mind. I am not merely claiming it; I can prove it.

SENATOR McCARTHY: The only thing I want to do at this time, Mr. Harris, is read into the record a number of excerpts from your book, a book which would indicate to me that anyone who has the ideas expressed therein would be completely unfitted for the job that you hold. You wrote a book in 1932. I assume that expressed your feelings as of that date. You were editor of the "Spectator", the Columbia newspaper. I assume what you wrote then expressed your feelings as of that time?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Now I am going to ask you again: At the time you wrote this book, did you feel that professors should be given the right to teach sophomores that marriage--let me quote, "should be cast out of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena"? Was that your feeling at that time?

MR. HARRIS: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any

subject, whatever they were, sir.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Let me ask you this question again--

MR. HARRIS: That they should have the right to teach anything that came to their minds as being the proper thing to teach.

SENATOR McCARTHY: I will ask the question again.

MR. HARRIS: I will answer yes, but you put an implication on it and feature this thing out of this book, out of context, and it doesn't give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of that book, bad as it is, from what you are quoting from it.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Let's continue to quote from your writing--

MR. HARRIS: 21 years ago.

SENATOR McCARTHY: We will try to bring you down to date, if we can.

MR. HARRIS: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my public neck that you are, I think, very skilfully trying to wring, but I say it because there are thousands of able and

loyal employees in the Federal Government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies, as I was, unless the new regime... I know I was before.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Mr. Harris, let me ask you: At the time you wrote the book, you actually believed a professor had a right to teach any theory of life or philosophy of life or government or anything else he thought he believed in?

MR. HARRIS: That is correct, sir.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Was that the position you took then?

MR. HARRIS: Then, yes.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Do you still hold that view?

MR. HARRIS: No, sir.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: When did you change?

MR. HARRIS: That was a moulding process.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: At what period in your life, what time, was that when your views began to change on these subjects?

MR. HARRIS: Recalling mental processes and trying to probe those back in your mind is a very difficult thing.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Well, you have some general idea. You say you're changed. This is--it's 21 years later. What I am trying to determine, is that change just recently or was it immediately afterwards?

MR. HARRIS: It would certainly go back as far as 1935, 1934--something like that.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: All right, 1934 or 5--within two or three years after you wrote the book. You're just chnaged on these subjects; that correct?

MR. HARRIS: That's correct.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: And you entertain diametrically opposite views now?

MR. HARRIS: On the matter of Communists on college faculties, I certainly have diametrically opposed views throughout, yes, I do.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: Just one other question: Do you think this book that you wrote then did considerable harm? Do you think its publication might have had an adverse influence on the public by an expression of the views contained in it?

MR. HARRIS: The sale of that book was so abysmally small, it was so unsuccessful, that the question of its influ-

ence-- Really, you can go back to the publisher. As you can see, it was one of the most unsuccessful books he ever put out. He's still sorry, as I am.

SENATOR McCLELLAN: I think that's a compliment to American intelligence, I will say that.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Whenever we start to expose Communists, it's said we hurt innocent people. Do you know of any innocent people being hurt as a result of the Velde Committee up to this time? ..... You have been talking about how your mind was affected by the teachers at Columbia, and in your book you talk about your friends who were Communists and teachers. Do you think up to this time the Velde or the Jenner Committee have injured any innocent teacher?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I certainly would hesitate to say no at this time. I have not followed the testimony closely enough, but I think the process of putting people in public hearings, many of whom have only slight charges made against them, and subjecting them to public degradation, when they may easily be proved innocent at a later time, is not an American way to carry on the work of the Congress.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Name one of those individuals against whom very slight charges have been made who has been

degraded by public sessions, by either the Jenner or the Velde committee.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I can't do that at this time.

SENATOR McCARTHY: You don't know of any at this time?

MR. HARRIS: I do not, no.

MR. MURROW: Extracts from the investigation into the Voice of America, which speaks to the rest of the world on behalf of all of us. It would seem that an analysis of the actual content of what is said by professional newsmen and experts in the field of public information might give us perhaps as much illumination on the kind of job the Voice of America is doing as does a prolonged discussion of the content of a book called "King Football." Good night and good luck.

P. 45

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1950
7:45 - 8:00 PM EDST

This is the news:

Allied forces are making progress on all fronts in Korea. The Marines have started to to test the enemy defenses at Seoul. We have no word yet of any attempt to cross the Han river in force. But men and supplies, coming in from Inchon, are now stretched out along about nine miles of the Han opposite Seoul. There is no sign of any enemy troops coming down from the north to help defend the city. There are many reports of enemy forces coming up from the south. . retreating before attacks by our troops in the long-held perimeter. But just where these North Koreans are going we don't know. The Navy reports they are streaming north and east. My colleague Bill Costello, just back in Tokyo after a few days on the Inchon beachhead, tells me that Navy flyers have seen the enemy moving east. "The inference," he says, "could be that the enemy has no intentions of reinforcing Seoul... but rather hopes to get back above the 38th paralell before our forces cut across the pehinsula." If true, this is a race against time. And at any event, the Seventh Division, still being unloaded from the invasion ships at Inchon, is now driving southwest of Seoul...prepared to defend the right flank of the Marines who are about to attack Seoul.

In the southern beachhead we have captured Waegwan...a dozen miles north of Taegu. And we now have made three crossings of the Naktong river. The enemy has withdrawn in the Massan area. South Koreans have entered Pohang...(at the northeastern end of the perimeter.) And headquarters reports the arrival of Philippine troops.

French officials in Indo-China say two more of their outposts on the Communist China border are now under attack. They say the attackers are Viet Minh forces...equipped with arms from China...some of them American-made, presumably captured from the Chinese Nationalists.

Here in New York, the United Nations General Assembly opened its fifth session today. Acting President Romulo summed up the task for the delegates. We've recorded an except of his speech for you:

ROMULO: Today we are gathered at a desperate hour to save peace of world. Men will hang upon the words we speak here. Yet experience will have taught them that mere words are a cruel mockery while men are dying for the sake of peace and the United Nations. They have a right to expect more, much more than words. Not by what we say but by what we do here shall their anxiety be allayed and their faith restored.

As soon as General Romulu had finished, the Indian delegate proposed that the Chinese Communists be seated..replacing the Nationalists. Mr. Vishinsky offered a similar motion of his own. Secretary of State Acheson appealed to the delegates "to vote the proposal down and vote it down quickly." After three hours of debate, the Assembly decided not to seat the Chinese communists. Thirty-three nations opposed the plan...16 favored it...ten abstained. The Assembly decided to name a committee to study the question. And then the Assembly elected its new president: He's Nasrollah Enteh-zem...the Iranian ambassador to Washington.

In Washington, the Senate Armed Services Committee has approved General Marshal to be secretary of defense. The vote was nine to two... Republican Senators Cain and Knowland voting against the general.

A Senate-House committee has finished work on a new tax bill that's expected to bring the government an additonal 5-billion dollars a year.

In Houstan, Texas, W. Averill Harriman, the president's foreign policy advisor, told the A.F. of L. convention that Senator Taft "follows policies in line with the Communist objectives". Mr. Harriman said: If Congress had adopted Senator Taft's positions on foreign policy matters, Communist objectives would thereby have been furthered." Senator Taft has no comment. His colleague, Senator Wherry of Nebraska calls the Harriman statement..."a lesson from the Pravds textbook....the old Russian dodge to

charge one's guilt to others."

Senator Kefauver said today that the same Big City gangs that ran crime in this country in the 1920's are now running a 15-billion dollar gambling industry.

Five years ago at Potsdam, the victorious Allies decided to reduce Germany to a powerless, strictly controlled, defenceless, semi-agricultural state. The United States, France and Britain have now agreed to restore Western Germany to an almost equal and independent status. Today the three powers agreed that any attack on West Germany, or Berlin, will be regarded as an attack on themselves. The Three Powers agree to reinforce their troops in Germany; to end the state of war with Germany; to remove the restrictions on the construction of cargo ships; and to permit steel production to go above the present limit of eleven million tons per year. The West Germans are to have a mobile, mechanized police force of forty thousand. An American official says this police force is not a disguised move to meet the East German police force. At least one difference will be that the police force in the Western part of Germany will not be either as numerous or as well equipped as that in the Communist zone. The French and British Defence Ministers are coming to Washington to talk with General Marshal about means and methods of creating German units for use in a combined defence force to protect Western Europe.

Richard C. Hottelet cabled me from Berlin tonight that all West German political parties, except the Communists, welcome the agreement reached here in New York; regard it as real progress toward Germany's political rehabilitation; welcome it as a sign that the Western Allies are not solit on basic policy. The joint guarantee that we will fight for Berlin has had an excellent psychological effect at the beginning of a difficult winter.

Five years ago, as we sat outside the barbed wire at Potsdam while the Allied leaders debated the future of Germany, neither the most far-seeing reporter nor the most optimistic German could have foreseen that

in such a short time West Germany would be well on the way to equality - the recipient of sloemn promises of defence and practical partnership. The whole history of World Communism - in that five years demonstrates that when expansion is blocked in one area, it erupts in another. While we are gaining ground in Korea, planning the defence and rehabilitation of Germany, there is a familiar note in the news;...from the borders of Indo-China, where Communist forces have launched a new attack, supported by modern heavy weapons, which the French allege have been supplied by the Chinese Communists. Even though Communism may have been thwarted for the time being in Western Europe, and in Korea, it still has a bewildering variety of opportunities for probing and bleeding actions without committing Russia to an overt act of agression.

There was a noisy and in many ways unprecedented sight in the British House of Commons today. Some Members arrived in ambulances: there were stretchers in the corridor outside, and a doctor in attendence. Britain's Labour Government, headed by Clement Attlee had decided to risk its life on the nationalization of Britain's huge steel industry. This legislation had passed the House of Commons nine months ago, and is due to come into force shortly after the first of the year. Mr. Winston Churchill had moved a vote of censure against the Government for proceeding with its plans; had then agreed to withdraw the motion if the Labour Government would postpone nationalization until after the next election. That government, since it was elected last February, has been working with a knife-edge majority that varied from one to seven. Today, at the end of a turbulent, bitter debate, the government won - three hundred and six, to three hundred. Everyone who could walk or be carried, on both sides, was there.

Mr. Churchill accused the government of dealing a deadly blow to national unity by nationalizing steel when Britain is preparing to re-arm. He was repeatedly interrupted and heckled, and in turn accused the Labourites of "disreputable behavior." Labour spokesmen accused the Conservatives of

Russian tactics", suggested that the steelworkers might strike, if the government didn't go ahead with the Nationalization of steel.

This was undoubtly the most impassioned debate in the House of Commons since Munich, and the period preceding the outbreak of war. Howard Smith told me from London a few moments ago that there were times when the speakers couldn't be heard above the shouting.

The British press was not impressed by the performance, and will be generally critical of it tomorrow. The Manchester Guardian will remark: "This reliance on rounding up the ill must end. The situation must end. We must hold new elections immediately and get ourselves straightened out."

The division of Britain at the last election was so narrow, and will be generally critical of it tomorrow. The Manchester Guardian will remark: "This reliance on rounding up the ill must end. The situation must end. We must hold new elections immediately and get ourselves straightened out."

The division of Britain at the last election was so narrow, and at the same time so deep, between Socialists and Conservatives, as to cause both Parties to hesitate to press for a new National Election. Nothing that has happened since that election last February has, on the surface at least, altered the political complexion of the country. The nationalization or non-nationalization of steel is not an issue about which the electorate would become very excited.

Fortunately for us, there has been no substantial disagreement between the Socialist and the Conservative Parties on matters of foreign policy. But the fact remains that we must anticipate a continuing state of political instability on the part of our principal Ally. This prospect need alarm no one unduly, since the British have a record of flying into great calm and great unity at a time of real crisis.

This is Ed Murrow; I'll be back in a moment with the Word For

Today. Now here's Bob Dixon.....

COMMERCIAL

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These are days when much time and space is devoted to discussing and speculating upon what Russia can or may do. To a considerable extent our policy has been based upon fear. Plutarch once gave us some good advice about this. He said: "We are fallen among our enemies, said a soldier to Pelopidas, who replied: How are we fallen among them, more than they among us?"

Good night and Good Luck!

SEE IT NOW SHOW # 5 OCTOBER 20, 1953

MILO J. RADULOVICH - DEXTER, MICHIGAN

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. A few weeks ago there occurred a few obscure notices in the newspaper about a Lieutenant Milo Radulovich, a Lieutenant in the Air Force Reserve and also something about Air Force Regulation 35-62. That is a regulation which states that a man may be regarded as a security risk if he has close and continuing association with communists or people believed to have communist sympathies. Lieutenant Radulovich was asked to resign. He declined. A Board was called and heard his case. At the end, it was recommended that he be severed from the Air Force although it was also stated that there was no question whatsoever as to the Lieutenant's loyalty. We propose to examine, insofaras we can, the case of Lieutenant Radulovich. Our reporter, Joe Wershba:

JOE WERSHBA:

This is the town of Dexter, Michigan ... population 1500.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This statue is at the head of Ann Arbor Street. "Erected by the citizens of Dexter to the heroes who fought and the martyrs who died that the Republic might live." This is the story of Milo Radulovich .. no special hero, no martyr. He came to Dexter one year ago after ten years in the Air Force..won a general commendation for working on a secret weather station in Greenland. Now he is a Senior at the University of Michigan eight miles away. His wife works nights at the Telephone Company. They live at 7867 Ann Arbor Street. This is Milo Radulovich.

MILO RADULOVICH:

The Force does not question my loyalty in the least. They have reiterated that on several occasions. They have presented me with allegations against my sister and father that they have - to the effect that my sister and dad, have taken - have read what are now called subversive newspapers, and that my sister and father's activities are questionable. Thats the specific charge,or allegation I prefer to call it, against them. Against me, the actual charge against me is that I had maintained a close and continuing relationship with my dad and my sister over the years. I had spent the last seven years studying or actually working in meteorology. That is weather forecasting - and now for the past approximately year and a half or two, I have been studying Physics at the University of Michigan. Well, I think I am being a realist about it. Anybody that is labeled with a security risk in these days especially in Physics or Meteorology simply won't be able to find employment in his field of work. In other words, I believe that if I am labeled a security risk - if the Air Force won't have me - I ask the question - who else will?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Selfridge Field, Headquarters of the 10th Air Force, where the Radulovich hearing took place. There was a Board made up of three Colonels whose recommendation was that Radulovich be separated from the service as a bad security risk, quote for having maintained a close, continuing association with your sister and your father unquote. The Board also stated, "No question as to your loyalty is involved." No reporters were permitted at the hearing and the Air Force refused to provide us with a transcript of the hearing. (It was unclassified, however).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Lieutenant Radulovich was defended by Attorney Charles C. Lockwood, and this is his report on the hearing.

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD:

When this case started, the President of the Hearing Board placed a sealed envelope in front of him and said: "These are the allegations. Now proceed to exonerate yourself." There were twelve charges made by the Air Force - eight of them against the sister and four of them against the father. We put in several disinterested witnesses who testified definitely and positively upon the allegations made by the Air Force. These witnesses gave unchallenged testimony and they gave it under oath. The Air Force did not produce a single witness. We were not told who the accusers were. We have no right to confront them or cross-examine them. But at the conclusion of the trial, although we had met the allegations, the Air Force made findings at the conclusion of the hearing that every single allegation was true. They disregarded every bit of testimony we introduced and the statements of all our witnesses. As a matter of fact, we have had no hearing at all. We have had no day in court. In all the thirty-two years that I have been a practicing attorney in Detroit, I have never witnessed such a farce and travesty upon justice as this thing has developed. Now this whole theory of guilty by relationship is something that was adopted back in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and then abandoned as being inhuman and cruel. It was later revived in Germany under Hitler and Himmler and it died when they did. Now the Air Force, for

CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD:

some unknown reason, has revived this intolerable guilty by relationship and the whole country is shocked as a reason - by reason thereof.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Dexter has been a town for over one hundred years ... has had no spectacular news stories, no cause celebres ... But they are vitally concerned with the case of Milo Radulovich ... and they are willing to discuss it. This is John Palmer, Chief Marshall of the town. He has known Radulovich a year.

JOHN PALMER:

I find him to be a good fellow here and the people were quite shocked in Dexter when they found out about it - and as I read about it more in the papers, why its still a mystery to me why they are condemning him for something that his father did. Certainly, he can't condemn his father and cast him aside just because he read a paper that he wasn't supposed to read. I couldn't do that. Neither could any other boy who had a father.

WERSHBA: Is there any talk about his moving out of town?

PALMER: Yes I hear he is moving out of town. You know, I'd stick around and see it through. I wouldn't run and I don't think he should. If he could get employment - why stick around and stay with it - still be a good neighbor to us like he has been in the past. We would like to have him here if he'd stay.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Next we went down Ann Arbor Street to the dry cleaning store managed by Mrs. Madeleine Lewis.

MRS. LEWIS:

Well, I felt like so many others in Dexter that Milo really was getting a pretty bad deal on this and we had quite a lot of faith in the boy - and so I started a Petition and had - well the biggest share of the business people sign the Petition that his loyalty wasn't questioned and we thought that it would be better if only the people that knew him personally signed, and every signature on the Petition were people that are his friends.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

After Mrs. Lewis we went to see A. G. Wall, the town dentist. For twenty-nine years he was Dexter's Mayor.

DR. A. G. WALL:

The information that I have the only thing they seem to have on this boy is the fact that some of his relatives are communist or communist inclined, and from my viewpoint I can't see how they can hold a man responsible for the views and actions of his relatives because of the fact that you can't control them.

ERNST ALSASSER: (GAS STATION)

I don't see why he should be held responsible for what his father and sister did. I know I wouldn't want to be held responsible for what my father did.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was Ernst Alsasser. He runs a gas station. From there we traveled two blocks to talk to Steve Sorter. He is Post Commander of the American Legion and drives a beer truck.

STEVE SORTER:

I wouldn't know him if he came down the middle of the street. And thats beside the point. What I want to say is this - that I do believe that if the Air Corps or United States Army or whoever they are that are purging him gets away with it, they are entitled to do it to anybody. You or me or anybody else. If it comes to the point where you and I are held responsible for the activities of any member of our family, then we all better head for cover - or we better uncover what is already started.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Detroit is 53 miles from Dexter. Milo and Nancy Radulovich go there every six weeks (according to the testimony) to visit his father, John Radulovich... The older Radulovich has for the past 26 years worked for the Hudson Motor Company. Before that he worked in the coal mines. Reporter Wershba went to see Claude Bland, an officer of Radulovich's Local U.A.W. He was a character witness at the hearing.

WERSHBA: Hello Mr. Bland. I understand you are Recording Secretary for Local 154 of the Auto Workers Union. I was wondering if you would answer a few questions about old John Radulovich. What is your Union's position and your position on Communists in the Union?

BLAND: We don't want any part of them and if we find any we should have the purpose of removing them from our midst.

WERSHBA: Well, Mr. Bland, what about these charges against John Radulovich?

BLAND: I think its preposterous from what I know of the case from its inception.

WERSHBA: What about this paper he was supposed to be reading?

BLAND: I heard reports that he read papers, which to me doesn't mean a thing, because naturally people of foreign extraction will naturally read papers printed in the language with which they were more familiar. Thats ... they said he read Serbian papers.

WERSHBA: Do you think John qualifies as a subversive in the plant?

BLAND: I would never classify John Radulovich as subversive in any way, shape or form.

WERSHBA: Then you have known him quite a while, eh?

BLAND: I have known him since 1937. I worked with the man in the Department for 2 years - in '45 and '46 - ate lunch with him on many occasions. I never heard him say one word regarding the Communist philosophy.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Milo Radulovich's father lives at 3953 Nottingham Street. He owns his own house. According to Milo, his father denies subscribing to the Daily Worker and said he subscribed to the Serbian newspaper which is pro-Tito because he liked their Christmas calendars. This week John Radulovich and his wife decided to send a letter to the President of the United States.

JOHN RADULOVICH:

Dear Mr. President: I writing to you with heavy heart. I am an American citizen who come here 39 years ago from Serbia. I serve America in the army in the first world war. My boy Milo was in this last war. My whole life, my whole family is American. Mr. President, I writing to you because they are doing a bad thing to Milo. They are wrong. The things they say about him are wrong. He has given all his growing year to his country. Mr. President, I am an old man. I have spend my life in this coal mine and auto furnaces. I ask nothing for myself. I ask is justice for my boy. Mr. President, I ask your help.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the sister, Margaret Radulovich Fishman. She neither defends nor explains her political activities.

MARGARET RADULOVICH FISHMAN:

I do feel very personally. I feel very badly about the thing. I feel that he is being forced to undergo a strain for a very unjust cause. I -- I feel that my activities be what they may -- my political beliefs are my own private affair and I feel that the charges leveled against me and by reason of which they are trying to purge him from the Army just seem to me to be a fantastic trend in this country. Its ... I mean you know since when can a man be adjudged guilty, which is in effect whats happened to him, because of the alleged political beliefs or activities of a member of his family.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Back in Dexter, we returned to the wooden frame house on Ann Arbor Street and talked to Milo's wife.

WERSHBA: Nancy, considering you are a mother with two kids, in your heart of hearts, wouldn't you have preferred that Milo would have kept sort of quiet about this and maybe it would have passed over? And nobody would have known about it?

NANCY: Well no. I wouldn't want him to take it lying down. If he did, he would be admitting something that we aren't guilty of, and I don't see how this should have happened to us when we have done nothing to warrant it.

WERSHBA: Do you think you might have avoided all trouble if Milo would have said: "Well, I will resign and quit?"

NANCY: No. No. I wouldn't want him to do that. As far as the publicity is concerned, it makes the rest of the country know whats happening and they all feel for us and want to help us. I don't regret anything at all - him coming forward and fighting it.

WERSHBA: Well Milo, what about this close and continuing relationship that the Air Force talked about in terms of you and your father and sister?

MILO: That charge is defined by the Air Force as visiting frequently, writing frequently, or living at the same address as the accused. In my case - I don't mean to apologize or anything like that for my relationships or my relatives, but I have maintained throughout this entire hearing that what my sister does, what political opinions or activities she engages in, are her own affair because they certainly do not influence me. She is a woman ... married, about to have a child ... 29 years of age .. perfectly capable of making her own decisions .. a mature adult. The close association I have maintained in the hearing and this is what the Air Force hung its removal decision on - I told them in the hearing that I felt that yes I was close to my sister and my father and that I was born into it. I mean she is my sister and he is my father. I am his son and I am her brother and I certainly can't cut the blood tie nor do I wish to cut the blood tie and they quoted me directly those words in their findings. In other words, the implication seemed to me at least to be that

MILO: if I had said "I will cut the blood ties, et cetera" everything would have been beautiful with the Air Force. Well, I simply cannot see that type of reasoning. Furthermore, as far as a physical, close association goes, I didn't have it. It was impossible. I was in the Service since I was 17 years of age and we proved in the hearing that no - that is no physical close continuing association was present between myself and my sister. However, the Board felt that-they must have felt that there is still a feeling of goodness toward her or brotherly love you might say rather than an antagonism because I was actually asked why I did not denounce my sister's views. Well, the word "denounce" in the dictionary means not just denouncing views. It means saying something to punish an individual and to actually attack the individual.

WERSHBA: I guess a lot of people must have asked you from time to time -- wouldn't it have been a lot easier for you if you had - well just sort of kept quiet about the whole thing - maybe resigned and nobody would have known anything about it at all. This trouble wouldn't have come to you?

MILO: Yes. Thats right. I could have signed a resignation form which was titled RESIGNATION IN LIEU OF ELIMINATION FROM THE SERVICE and this would have given me an honorable discharge. However, the honorable discharge would have stipulated that I have been discharged because the Air Force could not trust me. In other words, because I had been discharged as a security risk.

MILO: And I certainly didn't believe in my own heart that I was a security risk. I didn't believe in view of my past record with the Air Force that I was ... that I should take this lying down.

WERSHBA: What happens to your two children - your 5 year old and 5 month old in terms of you?

MILO: Yes. If I am being judged on my relatives, are my children going to be asked to denounce me? Are they going to be asked on what their father was labeled? Are they going to have to explain to their friends why their father's a security risk? I see absolutely that this is a chain reaction if the thing is let stand as first recommendation sent out by the Board. I see a chain reaction that has no end to anybody for anybody.

WERSHBA: Maybe you thought about this too. Just what is your view of democracy?

MILO: Well, I believe that democracy is a state of being where the society is free. Each individual is free to do as he chooses as long as it does not bring physical harm or physical danger or impoverishment or anything like that to other individuals. I think that people in a democracy should be the ultimate authority over everything. That is over the military and over the civilian branches of the government. The people in a true democracy have and always should have the final say. I don't believe that this procedure that I have been subjected to by the Air Force is in that democratic tradition.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the transcript of the hearing. It is not classified. We got it from the Lieutenant's lawyers. I would like to read you just a bit of it. The lawyer says: "This whole proceeding is taken over objection."

The President of the Board says: "That is understood and adequately shown in the record. Will the Recorder introduce the government's evidence.

RECORDER: I would like to introduce into evidence as Exhibit F, the classified investigative file.

PRESIDENT: It will be received and will be considered by the board.

THE LAWYER: Is it being received as a closed envelope?

PRESIDENT: It is a confidential investigative file.

LAWYER: It is a report to the Air Force by someone or some agency, is that right?

PRESIDENT: It is a consolidation of reports by various investigative agencies of the government.

THE LAWYER: Of which the respondent is not informed, does not see and has no way of knowing what it is except as found in the statement of reasons?

PRESIDENT: That is correct.

MURROW: Later the President says: "It is not in a sealed envelope in a strict sense."

MURROW: The lawyer replies: "May the record show it is an envelope approximately 9 x 12 inches with a rubber band placed around same and scotch tape along the edges which have been broken up, that is the scotch tape, which we can fully see from where we are sitting, with no right to examine it."

MURROW: Then the lawyer says to the President of the Board? "Do you think we all have the right to transmit our views and publish them?"

MURROW: And the President of the Board replies: "I might decline to answer that question in that I am not on trial for my views and my personal views might not be the views of the Air Force."

MURROW: Perhaps you will permit me to read a few sentences just at the end because I should like to say rather precisely what I mean. We have told the Air Force that we will provide facilities for any comments, criticism or correction it may wish to make in regard to the case of Milo Radulovich. The case must go through two more Air Force Boards routine and channels before it reaches Secretary Talbott who will make the final decision. We are unable to judge the charges against the father or the Lieutenant's sister because neither we nor you nor the Lieutenant nor the lawyers know precisely what was contained in that manila envelope. Was it hearsay, rumor, gossip or hard, provable fact backed by

EDWARD R. MURROW:

creditable witnesses; we do not know. There is a distinct difference between a loyalty and a security risk. A man may be entirely loyal, but at the same time be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure, which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of national security. In the case of Lieutenant Radulovich, the Board found that there was no question of his loyalty, but that he was regarded as a security risk. The Security Officers will tell you that a man who had a sister in Warsaw might be entirely loyal, but would be subjected to pressure as a result of threats that might be made against his sister's security or well being. They contend that a man who has a sister in the Communist Party in this country might be subjected to the same kind of pressure, but here again, no evidence was adduced to prove that Radulovich's sister was a member of the Party, and the case against his father certainly was not made. We believe that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," even though that iniquity be proved beyond all doubt, which in this case, it was not. But we believe, too, that this case illustrates the urgent need for the Armed Forces to communicate more fully than they have so far done, the procedures and regulations to be followed in attempting to protect the national security and the rights of the individual at the same time. Whatever happens in this whole area of the relationship between the individual and the state, we do ourselves - it cannot be blamed upon Malenkov, Mao Tse Tung or even our allies.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

It seems to us that - that is to Fred Friendly and myself that that is a subject that should be argued about endlessly.

You may have noticed we left out the middle commercial and saved it for the end. We hope you might find it interesting now.

* * * * *

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1954
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

The President has ordered "a blank wall to be placed between Dr. Robert Oppenheimer and any secret" government data on our atomic or hydrogen developments. Dr. Oppenheimer is the man who directed the building of our first atomic bomb. Now a special three-man panel is considering security charges against him - charges that he associated with Communists and tried to block the development of the hydrogen bomb. In a few minutes I'd like to discuss some of these charges and Dr. Oppenheimer detailed reply in which he holds that he is not unfit for public service.

Dr. Hans Bethe, president of the American Physical society and a pioneer in the theoretical work that led to the H-bomb, said today he is shocked by the charges against Oppenheimer. He told reporters: "Without Dr. Oppenheimer, the United States might not have the atom bomb because it was his insight and devotion more than anything else that led Los Alamos to success during the war." Representative Holifield a member of the Congressional atomic energy committee says committee members have known about the charges for years. Senator McCarthy says the suspension of Oppenheimer was long overdue. Should have been taken years ago. General Leslie Groves, who picked Oppenheimer to head the work on the atomic bomb, says he thinks his choice was sound. A reporter asked if he now considers Oppenheimer trustworthy. The general said: "I don't know. How can you tell if your own husband or wife is trustworthy." And Herbert Maass, chairman of the board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton where Oppenheimer is director said today: "Throughout his service with the Institute we have never had any occasion to doubt his complete loyalty and sincerity."

The Mundt Committee that will investigate the McCarthy-Army row suggested today that it might have to postpone the opening of the hearings now set for a week from Thursday. Chairman Mundt says this is a possibility. Today, Roy Cohn and Francis Carr, two members of the staff who are key figures in the inquiry with

Senator McCarthy, promised full cooperation in the committee's effort to get an agreement on the scope and rules for the inquiry.

Former President Truman told Westminster College students today to guard our form of government and "don't encourage a man on horseback to take it away from you." Mr. Truman also said: any president who sits idly by and lets Congress run over him gets what he deserves."

In London today, the United States and Great Britain agreed to push for a new 10-nation military agreement in the Pacific like the North Atlantic Treaty organization. Secretary of State Dulles and British Foreign Secretary Eden agreed to "examine the possibility" of such an organization with other countries. In the House of Commons, left-wing laborites charged that Eden has made a "deliberate attempt to sabotage the Geneva conference." Aneurin Bevan said Eden has "submitted to a surrender to American pressure." Eden replied: "Mr. Dulles will be criticized in the same terms in his own country." Secretary Dulles flew on to Paris for more consultations and said the western allies want to end the war in Indo-China "on conditions that will guarantee liberty and justice for all the people" of southeast Asia. Authoritative sources in London say that while there, Secretary Dulles "never even mentioned the possibility of a joint warning to Communist China."

In Indo-China, French planes parachuted tons of ammunition to the garrison at Dien Bien Phu. And the French announced that their forces have sealed off the enemy's main communication route into south and central Laos. The operation was carried out in the past ten days without a fight.

Australian Prime Minister Menzies announced today that the Soviet embassy's third secretary in Canberra has fled the Russians asked for asylum and turned over to the Australians a number of documents naming Australians as participating in a Soviet espionage network. A royal commission has been appointed to investigate.

The case is similar to that of Igor Guzenko who left the Russian embassy in Ottawa in 1945 under similar conditions. Today, the Jenner committee revealed that in its recent questioning of Guzenko in Canada he gave them no new information.

The President today threw an over-hand pitch at Griffith Stadium to open the baseball season officially. And after the game the President left by plane for a golfing vacation at Augusta, Georgia. The Washington Senators beat the Yankees five to three.

The charges against Dr. Oppenheimer fall into two categories. Some are old and have been repeatedly investigated, without affecting his employment by the government. The others are charges that have developed more recently. Some of them challenge Dr. Oppenheimer's answers to the earlier charges. The others deal with the hydrogen bomb, and bear on the question whether his conduct and views delayed its development. Two facts can be stressed. The charges now published are charges only. The public has not seen the evidence on them. The other is that Dr. Oppenheimer was given the opportunity to resign. Had he done so, he would not have been suspended and be undergoing a formal security hearing. It should be pointed out that the decision to press the charges against Dr. Oppenheimer was made last December. At that time the limelight was on former President Truman for having promoted Harry Dexter White when many accusations of communist association had been made against him. It is also to the point to say that the charges about a delay in making the hydrogen bomb were under investigation last year, before Senator McCarthy was heard on this theme. So the suspension of Dr. Oppenheimer and the A.E.C. security hearing are not in any way the consequence of Senator McCarthy's remarks a week ago. Dr. Oppenheimer had admitted repeatedly his association with left wing persons, before the start of the atomic project. His brother and his brother's wife had been communists. His own wife had previously been married to a communist, who fell in the Spanish Civil War, and she had been a member of the party. "I didn't know in those days" he writes, "who was and was not a member of the communist party." He confesses that he was without knowledge or experience of the political world for many years. He did not even hear of the stockmarket crash of 1929 until months after it occurred. His first contact with political realities was colored by the left-wing persons he associated with. He had been virtually engaged to the daughter of a leading professor. She was a communist, though not

active in the party. When he married his present wife her attachment to the Spanish Loyalist cause affected his outlook.

In the charges against him the names are given of seven persons who testified that he was a member of the party who had to work without identification as such. "I have no knowledge what these people might have said," he writes. "What I do know is that I never was a member of the party, concealed or open." Two of the seven persons, he says, are strangers to him. He may have met a third, while two others were the most casual acquaintances. Because of the associations he admits, and his financial contributions, Dr. Oppenheimer says: "I might well have appeared at the time as quite close to the Communist party - perhaps even to some people as belonging to it. But I never was a member. I never accepted Communist dogma or theory, in fact it never made sense to me." One charge is that a closed meeting of the Communist party actually was held in Dr. Oppenheimer's Berkeley house. He wracked his memory, he says, for anything that might have given rise to this report but could come on nothing. He could not even remember having lent his house to young people on the campus for a meeting. Then he was able to establish that he had left Berkeley nineteen days before the approximate date given for this meeting.

It was charged that Dr. Oppenheimer employed known Communists at Los Alamos. He answered in detail about those named. Two of them, he says, never worked at Los Alamos. If he recommended the others, he says, it was only with the knowledge that they would have to pass the normal security check. It is charged that he said that he knew of several persons employed at Los Alamos who had been Communists. The only one he knew, he says, was his wife, of whose loyalty to the United States at the time there could be no question. As to the hydrogen bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer himself had been one of the pioneers in calling attention to the possibility of making it. Study of it was progressing at the time the Soviet bomb exploded. That event brought up the proposal to concentrate on the hydrogen bomb. Eight members of the advisory committee of the A.E.C. voted against it. The ninth member was absent. "I think I am correct in asserting" says Dr. Oppenheimer, "that the unanimous opposition we expressed was based on conviction, to which technical and

other considerations contributed, that because of our over-all situation at that time, such a program might weaken rather than strengthen the position of the United States." "It would have been my duty so to report" he remarks, "had I been alone in my views." As Chairman of the committee he had to explain the position taken on several occasions, once at a meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee. "This," he writes, "is the full story of my quote 'opposition to the hydrogen bomb' unquote. It is a story that ends once and for all, when in January 1950 President Truman announced the decision to proceed with the program. I never urged anyone not to work on the hydrogen bomb project. I never made or caused any distribution of the advisory committee report, except to the commission itself." The closing paragraph of Dr. Oppenheimer's 47 page letter is highly quotable: "In preparing this letter" he writes, "I have reviewed two decades of my life. I have recalled instances where I acted unwisely. What I have hoped for was, not that I could wholly avoid error, but that I might learn from it. What I have learned has, I think, made me more fit to serve my country." His fitness will be judged in due course by the proper authorities.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the word for today. But first, a word from Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: The newest controversey concerned with our security and involving Dr. Oppenheimer will be resolved only when the truth is established and made known. John Milton once remarked: "Let truth and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter. For as W.R. White concluded: "There is no problem in dealing with error if truth is presented intelligently."

Good Night and Good Luck!

EDWARD R. MURROW

This is Carnegie Hall, home of the New York PhilharmonicSymphony Orchestra, one of the great orchestras of our time. From time to time on SEE IT NOW, we bring you a report on men at work, men who work with their hands in coal mines, aircraft factories, and automobile factories. Tonight, we choose to bring you a report on a hundred and four men who also work with their hands -- the members of this great orchestra. They make, oh, about five or six thousand dollars a year, roughly, the same as a good machinist. They are all members of a union and all members of this orchestra. We chose the Philharmonic because for 24 years we have listened to their Sunday afternoon broadcasts. In the course of the hundred and twelve years of the history of this orcheatra, it has been conducted by many famous men. By Arturo Toscanini, by Bruno Walter, by Leopold Stokowski, and now we are going to put a few questions to the current conductor of this orchestra -- Dmitri Metropoulis. Good evening, Mr. Metropoulis.

METROPOULIS

Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW

I notice in your rehearsals that you do not use a baton or a stick. Why is that?

fad

METROPOULIS

I don't know. I felt that way and I believe that there is some kind of communication through the expression of the hands of what you feel. But I just got used to my hands. I think I can express myself better with my hands but lots of people disagree from technical point of view. I don't know. I have to do what I feel and I can't help it if some people disagree with me.

MURROW

Then perhaps I should have said that there a hundred and five men who work with their hands in this orchestra.

METROPOULIS

Yes, I think so.

MURROW

Now, on this matter of the use of the hands to control the orchestra, I wonder if you could illustrate to us and tell us what you are doing. For example, when you have your left hand out like this, and you are rather reaching with your right hand, can you explain a few of these gestures to us?

METROPOULIS

Yes. It's a little difficult to explain but the only thing I could tell you, except the usual, universal gestures which are used by every conductor, regardless of whether he uses a baton or not. You ask me about what I am doing.

(MORE)

fad

METROPOULIS (CTD)

When I have the one hand down is when I want to keep some group of the orchestra down so that another one can come through, and this naturally gesture is to reach. I make an appeal, I mean...when I try to reach the soul of my musician who plays the solo at that moment, and it's just a kind of a gesture that I couldn't do with my baton, and naturally, I could use my left hand but I have two hands to use, and I feel happier that I can reach for somebody's soul. For somebody in an amorous way, let us say -- somebody to give me whatever he has, to give me more than his soul - his love, maybe.

MURROW

Now, when you are standing there conducting, do you have a sense of the audience? Do you have a feeling that it's warm and sympathetic, or it's cold and hostile?

METROPOULIS

Oh, yes. Certainly. My goodness, that's one of the most important things. I get more inspired, on the contrary, if I feel that my audience is jittery and unreceptive.

MURROW

And you sort of feel it through your back, so to speak?

METROPOULIS

Yes. Certainly. They hypnotize me sometimes.

fad

MURROW

I notice in rehearsal that some of the men do not appear to be watching you all of the time. How do you communicate with them? Or is this....

METROPOULIS

Even if they don't look directly at me, they watch me, I am sure. And sometimes naturally during rehearsals, either they are tired, or they are unwilling to be receptive. I mean, there are such moments to every human being. But naturally when I catch them, I just insist to the point that they have to look at me.

MURROW

Well now, you have a hundred four men out there. How many of the men in the orchestra do you know by name, Mr. Metropoulis?

METROPOULIS

Practially all. I have to.

MURROW

Mr. Metropoulis, I wonder if you would tell us a little about this composition you are going to conduct on Sunday?

METROPOULIS

Certainly. First of all, I have to tell you the name of the composer. It's Manuel DeFalla, a famous Spanish composer. Before he died, he wrote this piece. It is one of his last pieces and it is a kind of tribute to some of his friends whom he admired very much. Comtemporaries, naturally, and it has quite such opportunities, and I always love to play like a man in a circus plays with balls - sort of catches them like that. It's very interesting.

fad

MURROW

This is a report on how this newly published work of DeFalla is processed from a cold, printed score into a live, integrated performance.

This is the musicians' locker room, a kind of musical bull-pen, complete with rosin bags and warm-ups.

This is Saul Goodman, the Tympanist, 26 years with the Philharmonic.

This is the concert master, John Corigliano.

James Chambers, First French Horn.

Jack Fishberg, 29 years with the Philharmonic. During the war he was a policeman.

CELLA PLAYING CHESS

EDWARD R. MURROW

A man named Cella who plays the harp...been here 34 years. He also plays chess. There are those who say this chess game has been going on for 34 years.

CELLA

What are you talking about? You can't win this game anyhow no matter what the hell you do. This is a lost game.

EDWARD R. MURROW

William Lincer, First Viola.

Manuel Zegler, Second Bassoon.

Stanley Druker, Clarinet. They call him Junior.

(MORE)

fad

Laszlo Varga, First Cellist. Born in Hungary 29 years ago. His cello is 203 years old.

Tuba player Bill Bell, Creston, Iowa. Once played in Sousa's band.

Rehearsals begin at 9:30. At 9:27 Joe De Angeles (used to be a bass player, now acts as the First Sergeant of the Orchestra) summons the musicians by ringing three times.

They say this chess game never ends. Just has an occasional intermission.

The locker room is directly behind the stage and one flight up. It takes the 105 musicians exactly three minutes to file down these stairs and take their places on the stage.

These men rehearse on this stage four days every week. Play three concerts every week - sometimes four. The rehearsals are long -- often tough. We set up five cameras and eavesdropped on a six hour session devoted entirely to this new work of DeFalla. That which follows is a distilled essence of that long day.

Maestro Metropoulis comes out of his dressing room, followed by Franco Autori, Associate Conductor of the Orchestra, who acts as a "second" for Mr. Metropoulis. During rehearsals, he sits in the front row of the house, and follows the score for errors.

DeAngeles activitates a tradition as old as symphonic music. He signals the oboeist to sound an A. The concert master repeats it. Then the entire orchestra echoes their A. The oboe starts it because it has the most constant A Note.

fad

DE ANGELES

Maestro. Maestro.

METROPOULIS WALKS ON STAGE

DMITRI METROPOULIS

The same value of A but slower so we have, let us say, four last bars or five last bars.

METROPOULIS HUMMING

Are you are quite loud. And please be careful about your 2 against my 3.

MUSIC

That's my fault. I was listening to something else. Listen...

EDWARD R. MURROW

After working on the fanfare, they moved on to the second movement.

METROPOULIS

No. No. No. No. I do it here - not you. Please, may I have the 6 bar? Will you take the 6 bar of 1. The 6 bar of 1. Number 1 - 6 bar. No. NO. No. No. It's a mistake.

VIOLINIST

Is it a mistake? (EXPLAINING) It's a mistake.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The musicians are always delighted when the mistake isn't their fault. This confusion about a wrong note turned out to be a mistake in the printing of the score.

fad

DMITRI METROPOULIS

I am sorry, gentlemen. That was a mistake. See, you don't finish like before. You have like this...

METROPOULIS HUMMING

They continue the first round. You play but the second time...so correct that please, gentlemen.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Everybody pencils in the correction.

DMITRI METROPOULIS

Number 2. Number 2. No. No. No. I am not free to stay as long as I like. Let me stay. Be patient gentlemen. This piece needs that kind of virtuoso. Let's take now 3, eh? All right. 2. 2.

MUSIC

No accusation. We have to get together. That's all. It's a rubato piece. 4 please. There is no need to go back again on 4. Let's take the fourth bar of 4. This is straight. Please -- the beginning -- quite fast.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Now they move on to the final movement - the Pedrelliana.

DMITRI METROPOULIS

A little more harp. Voce contabile.(contable.) Listen. It's a different mood - a new mood. Not too fast but still take a rhythmical beginning. 8. 8, gentlemen. 8. Be ready on the fourth bar of eight, please. 8. Ready.

(MORE)

fad

DMITRI METROPOULIS (CTD)

I shall turn down from this tempo to a new temp but joining. May I have 2 bars? Will you take 2 bars before eleven or the fourth bar? Take the fourth bar of ten. The fourth bar of ten. 3 - 4 bars. May I have it? It's the same thing. Gentlemen, don't make it so... Sixth bar before 17.

A little relaxation before we go on. Five minutes with a little cigarette maybe.

METROPOULIS MOPS BROW

EDWARD R. MURROW

The rehearsal ran until after four o'clock that afternoon. The maestro never looked at the score. Three days later we went back for the final performance. For reasons of time we bring you only the first and last movements.

JIM FASSETT

Here in Carnegie Hall once again for another one of these regular CBS radio broadcasts by the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. This is Jim Fassett speaking from his place of vantage above the stage here in Carnegie Hall. Mr. Metropoulis is coming on stage now. The orchestra has risen. He is bowing to the audience. Now, they are seated and Mr. Metropoulis will conduct Homenajes by Manuel De Falla.

MUSIC

fad

EDWARD R. MURROW

The final movement.

APPLAUSE

You have just been listening to the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra. We thought that you might like it too. We also desired to do one report that has nothing whatever to do with the cold war, with current crises, or with the retreat into unreasoning fear that seems to be part of the climate in which we live. We shall try to deal with one aspect of that fear next week. We are indebted considerably to Local 802, the American Federation of Musicians, for making this report possible. We have moved Alcoa's middle commercial, and we commend it to you.

COMMERCIAL

fad

EDWARD R. MURROW:

...the usual step of going out to Akron, Ohio. They went out to solicit the opinion of citizens who oppose changes in the United Nations Charter. Our cameras went out with them. The Chairman was Senator Wiley of Wisconsin. The meeting was held in a schoolhouse.

SENATOR ALEXANDER WILEY:

We meet today in this beautiful City of Akron to receive testimony from representatives of various organizations and from individuals who have indicated an interest in the work of this Special Sub-Committee on the United Nations Charter. Review of the Charter of the United Nations is a matter which concerns the security and the well-being of everyone of us - all the American people. This Committee proposes to consult the American people.

MRS. MAX JOHNSTONE:

Probably, the outstanding question in our minds is the blocking of decisions and actions by use of the veto after nations have debated and studied the problem for weeks, or even a whole session in some instances - then put it to a vote only to be defeated by one negative vote. What a waste of time and energy and money. How frustrating for the nations who agree, only to be hamstrung by one negative voice. I want to see the United Nations strengthened into the sort of organization it can be if we review the United Nations Charter with the idea of revising it to make it an effective instrument for helping to maintain the peace.

ta

REVEREND C. WILLARD FELTON:

Certainly, the veto of the power in the United Nations has been abused. Yet, we would not advocate eliminating it. Perhaps this rule could be restricted so that the veto could not be used to block such matters as voting on peaceful settlement of disputes, or the admission of New Mexico to the United Nations. If this meant that it would then be possible for Red China to become a member of the United Nations, we would be willing for this to happen. Only though, I don't think it is a foregone conclusion that an abolition of the United Nations at this point would mean facing the reality of the world situation.

SENATOR WILEY:

Do you believe that there are advantages of having a national organization of universal membership composed only of like-minded nations?

REVEREND C. WILLARD FELTON:

Well, as a Christian minister, I feel that we must seek solutions to our problems in terms of universalities, and therefore, we must have an organization of inclusive membership, including those whose minds are different than ours. I believe that one of the things we have been able to learn in the past decade is that we must think in terms of relatives rather than absolutes; that not all of the good is on the side of those nations who are like-minded, and that certainly, not all of the evil is on the other side. We need to learn to accept what other nations have to give, as well as give what we have to offer.

ta

MRS. GERALD DURYEE (D.A.R.):

I might state first that the objects of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is to cherish, maintain, and extend the institutions of American freedom; to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty.

SENATOR WILEY:

How you doing?

MRS. GERALD DURYEE:

Well, you can keep trying.

SENATOR WILEY:

That's right. That's a good slogan. Does the D.A.R. believe the U.N. is helpful and has been helpful on the world stage in certain quarters of the globe?

MRS. GERALD DURYEE:

I think that they feel maybe that they have gone far afield of some of the purposes for which it was set up to keep the peace and they have gone into different aspects.

SENATOR WILEY:

Well, but don't you think they have accomplished a number of things -- withdrawal of the Soviet Forces from Iran, the containment of the Communists in Greece?

MRS. GERALD DURYEE:

Yes.

ta

SENATOR WILEY:

And they had something to do with the present uncertain armistice between Israel and Arab States, establishing the independence in Indonesia.

MRS. GERALD DURYEE:

Then we always come back to Korea.

SENATOR WILEY:

Then we come back to Korea.

MRS. GERALD DURYEE:

Where we lost over twenty-five thousand dead, and the next highest, I think, was seventeen hundred -- seven hundred and seventeen. Britain lost seven hundred and ten.

THOMAS G. MACGOWAN:

I think it would be one of the supreme tragedies in the history of the race if we were to withdraw from the United Nations or if that organization were to go on the rocks. I think we have to have it. It's not a perfect instrument. Is would be a very strange thing, indeed, if a perfect instrument for this purpose could have been created at one stroke. It was never thought when it was created that it was perfect. It represented a compromise. It was the best that could have been done under the circumstances.

SENATOR WILEY:

Your full name, sir?

ta

RAYMOND HARDIN:

My name is Raymond Hardin.

SENATOR WILEY:

And what is your business or work?

RAYMOND HARDIN:

I am an Engineer.

SENATOR WILEY:

Engineer. Where? Sit down.

RAYMOND HARDIN:

State Highway Department. I don't think anybody else had to give their occupation here. Did they?

SENATOR WILEY:

Oh, they are in the statements.

RAYMOND HARDIN:

I am a member of the American Legion and I'm a veteran.

SENATOR WILEY:

If we said anything that irritated you, we apologize. We are but servants of the nation. We come here looking for information. If you have such - carry on.

RAYMOND HARDIN:

Ladies and gentlemen, I think the United States should get out of the United Nations, and get the United Nations out of the United States. I think it has done us more harm than good. For instance, when General MacArthur was fighting Communism in Korea, he had to report to a Russian officer.

(MORE) ta

RAYMOND HARDIN: (CONT'D)

Now, my friends, that just simply doesn't make sense. Furthermore, it has enabled the Iron Curtain countries to have big delegations here who many times have constituted spies. I cite you the instance of the Russian who was expelled - who was a friend of Judith Coplon who was stealing documents out of the Department of Justice for him. Furthermore, the war in Korea - what did the United Nations do? United States officials in Korea permitted the North Koreans to arm and did not arm the South Koreans. Here's another case. The scandalous treatment of a millionaire people who have been chased off their land to establish the State of Isreal. I don't think the United Nations can be proud of that. We are giving a hundred million dollars a year to Israel. We are giving the Arabs a few tents and a few loaves of bread, and barely enough to keep them alive while we are building whole cities in Israel with your money and mine. Ladies and gentlemen, I don't think we have accomplished much if we bring a million refugees in and make another million refugees in turn. The United Nations has also attempted to influence our schools. So much U.N. propaganda was being carried on in the schools of Los Angeles that the people complained against it and rebelled and stopped the whole United Nations educational program in the Los Angeles schools. Los Angeles, you know, is one of our major cities. If the people in a city like Los Angeles do not want to support the United Nations, I don't see why the people of Akron should want to support the United Nations - or the people of Ohio. That is all.

ta

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Well, not everything that is said may be wise. No two people are obliged to agree. But through this process of talking, of listening, of reading, and of arguing, somehow in a mysterious fashion, the national mind is made up and national policy is formed.

Time now for ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

George Washington, whose birthday we celebrated yesterday, once said to his officers: "Impress upon the mind of every man from the highest to the lowest the importance of the cause and what it is they are contending for. Mr. Eisenhower, as a General and as President, has said substantially the same thing. General Dean, when he came back from Korea, said that during his imprisonment he thought primarily of two things - the mistakes he had made and also that he had not spent enough time telling and teaching his troops why they were in Korea, and why it was necessary for them to fight. General Al Greuenther has said that it is quite as important for soldiers to understand the threat that impends as it is for them to be able to handle their weapons properly. In the next few minutes, we are going to examine what sort of teaching and training the Armed Forces give about Communism to the men who may be called upon to defend.

(MORE)

ta

EDWARD R. MURROW: (CONT'D)

We will be going to Korea and to Germany, but we will begin first at Fort Slocum in New York where there is a school for officers and non-coms. The commander of that school at Fort Slocum is Rear Admiral Thomas H. Binford. He was interviewed by Joe Wershba.

WERSHBA:

Well Admiral, a little while ago, General Greunther was telling us that it is as important for the American soldier to know why he fights as how to fight. I wonder what your comment on that would be.

BINFORD:

Well, we agree with that statement. We think that a man who is informed can fulfill his duties much better if he is not informed. The objectives, I might say, of the information and education program are to render the individual efficient in his present assignment; to increase his capabilities in assuming greater responsibility; in his leisure time to satisfy his intellectual desires, and in addition, to foster a sense of the individual responsibility and obligations to serve.

WERSHBA:

Do you go very deeply into the ideology of Communism, this Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism? Is that taught here?

BINFORD:

We go at great length in this school to inform our students everything there is about Communism.

(MORE)

ta

BINFORD: (CONT'D)

The fallacy of it -- how it can hurt him, his fellow shipmates, as we say in the Navy - that the whole basic idea is not in accord with what we think and believe or practice, or ever will.

WERSHBA:

Will you give me an idea - or give the audience an idea of what is involved in the instruction along those lines?

BINFORD:

Well, that's very much in detail. I couldn't do that right now.

WERSHBA:

Do you think your program also depends on turning out good instructors, or can anybody in an outfit just get up in front of a group and talk about - say, current affairs?

BINFORD:

Absolutely not. If I picked out a sailor, or a soldier, or an airman, and I said: "You go out and conduct an I. & E. Program," the chances are, he couldn't do it at all. It takes training. It takes a man who is able to get up in front of people and talk, without being nervous, and so forth. And better still, he's got to know what he's talking about.

ta

WERSHBA:

Well Admiral, you run a school here for all branches of the Services. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force. Suppose you had a number of troops here from all branches, and suppose we said, "Well Admiral, take two minutes and tell them why they are here -- why they fight." In other words, this -- the whole mission of your command. What would you say to them if say - if you had a bunch of troops here?

BINFORD:

I can't do that in two minutes.

WERSHBA:

How long would it take?

ta

BINFORD:

Maybe take a good hour. I wouldn't attempt to do that in two minutes. That's too involved. You've got me on that one.

WERSHBA:

I was just trying to ...

BINFORD:

That sometimes takes six weeks.

WERSHBA:

Well Admiral Binford, you have probably got one of the most comprehensive teaching jobs in the Armed Forces for Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, Army. Have you had extensive teaching experience yourself along these lines?

BINFORD:

No - not particular. I believe I have a flair for public relations--public information. I have had about 15 years of personnel duty in the Navy, and of course, this has to do with people and personnel.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

One of Admiral Binford's instructors does have a natural flair for this work. This is Captain Alfred Muehlke, a line infantry officer from West Point who knows why we are fighting Communism and how to tell his men about it.

CAPTAIN ALFRED MUEHLKE:

It's just like you send a patrol out in combat - the battalion situation to learn about the terrain, the forces opposing ahead, and you make a more intelligent tactical plan. (MORE)

PF

CAPTAIN ALFRED MUEHLKE: (CONT'D)

A few less people, possibly, get killed - or you are fighting a football schedule through the Fall, and you scout the opposing teams, learn their weaknesses, their capabilities, or their limitations, so you play against them more intelligently. And for that reason, we devote time to the study of the Soviet Union and Communism. Now, lack of knowledge gives rise to lack of understanding of basic things. For instance, many times we hear that Russian expansion - troubles with the Russians would all go overboard if somebody would eliminate a Southside Chicago bunch of gangsters living in a place called the Kremlin. You wipe all those characters out -- you have no more troubles with Russia. Somebody tried to sell you that simplification. This is a little naive. OR: These issures are much more fundamental. Joe Stalin died last Spring. We don't see very much more sweetness and light coming out of Moscow since that time. We have heard a lot of talking - but talk is awful cheap unless matched with actions. Now, what are these people like? What kind of people are the Russians -- the peoples of the Soviet Union? The Russian has had a long history of autocratic rule. This effects his character, his living, his environment. He is subject to autocratic rule today because the practical result of Communism, in reality, is that life in the Soviet Union Today, under Communism, means for the individual - lack of rights and individual dignity.

(MORE)

pf

CAPTAIN ALFRED MUEHLKE: (CONT'D)

However, as all peasants, he's got a passionate love of the land - and this is part of his love of country. Now, it doesn't matter -- and it hasn't throughout Russian history, in a great measure, about the bunch of carpetbag rulers running the government in Moscow or St. Petersburg. When the foreign invader has come, regardless of them, by and large we have found the Russian peasant fighting hard and valiantly to defend his homeland. To him, country means a little more than, say, the National Anthem. National allegiance. To him country means the land - this hunk of dirt right here. Just like the infantry man, the most important piece of dirt is the one he can hide behind from and keep from getting hit behind. Same way with the Russian. That hunk of land right there is what gives him his livelihood - from his birth to his death. And he doesn't leave it very often except for military service.

PRIVATE LEONARD SCHAEFER:

You have undoubtedly heard that Americans are the best informed people in the world. That's because of certain things we have inherited.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

One of the best information jobs is being done at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, a huge Embarkation Center, that sends troops to Europe. Here, they do it with a drama - G.I. style.

pf

PRIVATE LEONARD SCHAEFER:

... curiosity without fear. As Americans going overseas, being ordered abroad, you have a right to know why you are going to Europe, and we are going to answer that question for you. Instead of starting this portion of the program with a long lecture or a movie, we are going to begin with a skit written by Sergeant First Class, Frank Thomas. The scene of this skit is an I. & E. Office, somewhere in the continental U.S.A. The first two people to enter stage are Bud and Doc.

BUD:

Details all day long. That's all that First Sergeant ever thinks about.

DOC:

That's all that First Sergeant knows. Thompson and Walsh - Thompson and Walsh. He don't know nothing else, that guy.

PRIVATE LEONARD SCHAEFER:

Two men on clean-up detail, and I am sure you have seen these men somewhere in your Army career. They are often known as first up for chow and last out for reveille time. Otherwise known as 8-balls. The third person on stage is Don, a man who is clearing for overseas shipment. The fourth person on stage is our I. & E. Sergeant. We now present, "The Guiding Light", or "Bewtiched, Bothered and Bewildered."

pf

DOC:

Hey, Serg. Don here seems to think that he can defend United States in Germany.

BUD:

Now, that's a good one. That's really a good one, Serg.

SGT:

What's the matter with that?

DOC:

Oh, get off it, Serg. What's wrong with it? Everything's wrong with it. Would you mind telling me how you are going to defend United States, say, in Germany?

BUD:

Or Austria - France - some place like that? Be practical, Serg. It don't even make sense.

SGT:

What does make sense?

DOC:

Why keep the troops here in this country? Build up a Force so strong that no nation dare attack us.

BUD:

And then if we do happen to fight - like in Korea, send them where the fighting is going on. Let the Europeans take care of themselves.

pf

SGT:

In the first place, it's not that simple because the Europeans alone aren't strong enough to defend Europe.

DOC:

All right - so then that's their problem. Let them figure out how to defend themselves.

SGT:

We need Europe for our own security. By defending Europe we are really defending the United States. The Communists would like it very much if we would withdraw all our aid from Europe - our troops, our technical - economic advisers, who are working to make Europe strong and united, so they can take over more of the job of defending themselves against Communism.

DOC:

But why spend all that money and send all those troops over there right now? I just don't see it.

BUD:

That's right. Why spend all that money in the first place? Doc has got a point right there.

SGT:

You know, we should all try to understand the importence of Europe to our security and the importance of the United States to Europe's security, which all boils down to two words - collective security.

pf

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In Berlin, every soldier is briefed on arrival.

LIEUTENANT MUELLER:

This afternoon, I want to talk to you about why you have joined other American soldiers here in Berlin. In the first place, we are all soldiers and have been ordered to duty here. I want to go into the reasons why you are here in Berlin. For that, I have a chart to assist me. First of all, TO SHOW THE BERLINERS, OUR ALLIES, AND THE COMMUNISTS, THE BEST SOLDIERS IN OUR ARMY. Second, TO PROTECT U.S. LIVES AND PROPERTY. Third, TO HELP THE WEST BERLIN POLICE KEEP LAW AND ORDER. Fourth, TO FIGHT LIKE HELL, IF NECESSARY, FOR U.S. RIGHTS AND A FREE BERLIN.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

With the possible exception of the Stars and Stripes, the best news job overseas is done by the Armed Forces Radio Network. This is Korea.

CORPORAL BEN PARSONS:

Well, that winds up another big 60 minute Hayloft Jamboree sung by America's leading folk singers and guitar pickers, presented daily on Vagabond. All request. This is your old Jamboree host Tommy Corporal Ben Parsons inviting you back tomorrow for some more of that real good picking and singing on the Hayloft Jamboree. This is the American Forces Korea Network. We need the strength of all nations still free to man the long line we must hold against the Communists. (MORE)

pf

CORPORAL BEN PARSONS: (CONT'D)

We cannot depend entirely upon political expediency to hold them by our side. We need their loyalty and friendship. The Reds will use our every unkind and discourteous act to divorce our allies from us. This is Vagabond - 4:30.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

At the front, everything is measured by how it works with a line outfit. This is Lieutenant Jack Gwyn, in his weekly I. & E. meeting with his platoon.

LIEUTENANT JACK GWYN:

The Communists would like to attain one big goal. That goal is to get us out of Korea. They accuse America of aggression when they themselves are the aggressors - both in World War II and the Korean War. They accuse us of being imperialists and of grabbing territory while they have swallowed up Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Manchuria, China, and last but not least North Korea, and are trying to get South Korea. Remember, the Communists want one thing, and that is to get us out of Korea. Do you have any questions?

SERGEANT STRAUBER:

Sergeant Strauber, sir. While this fighting was still going on, we could clearly see that Communist propaganda and aggression. Why ... what kind of propaganda are they using now?

pf

LIEUTENANT JACK GWYN:

Sergeant Strauber, although we are not fighting now, the Communists are still using their favorite angle which is propaganda. As I stated earlier in the talk, they are trying to make us dissatisfied with the Army. They are trying to make the foreign peopleswho we are associated with turn against us. This propaganda they use comes to us in many ways. Radio, newspapers, and even letters to our families and Congressmen in the United States.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Some Congressmen are concerned about the new look in our military establishment, but it is a matter or urgent necessity that citizen soldiers be informed in order that they may take an informed look at the world they may be called upon to defend.

Goodnight and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

* * * * * *

pf

SHOW # 21...FEBRUARY 9, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW

Good evening. This is the week of Lincoln's Birthday. For the literary world, this means new books and papers on Lincoln. For children in some states, it means a day off from school, and for Republican politicians, it means box lunches and oratory. On Friday of last week, the Republicans had a big meeting in Washington. Vice-President Nixon was the first speaker.

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

I want to tell you that this evening we had only one test for each of our speakers. It's a good one. It's the best one I know of, and it is that every person who speaks to you tonight will be a good Republican.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Senator Dirkson, Illinois.

SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSON

It is such an inspiration to see such a concourse of Republicans drawn together by a common purpose. It makes me feel good down to my toes. My message is short, indeed, but before I get to it, I want to tell you one thing that will probably serve as an antidote to the frustrations of spirit that you might encounter when everything is not quite all right on the political front.

(MORE)

fad

SENATOR EVERETT DIRKSON (CONTD)

In Illinois we had a farmer who did not go to church and who did not believe in God. And when the crops looked good, he sat down to write a letter to the local paper. He said, "Why is it that a man like me, founded in unbelief, not believing in God, and not believing in going to church, has such a wonderful crop, while my neighbors who are so devoted to their church and to their spiritual duties, never compare to the crops that I raise?" That was in the month of September, and in due course, he got a letter from the editor, who said, "My dear Mr. Jones, God does not make up his accounts in September. The account is not made up in February. It will be made up in November, 1954, and I am deeply confident of the result."

EDWARD R. MURROW

Speaker Joe Martin.

SPEAKER MARTIN

... in his service to the nation last year by bringing to an end the bloddy, cruel war in Korea, and many times in the past few years, I have worried about the future of our nation. I have wondered if our country could be saved; if we would be in time to stop the onrush of Socialism and Communism. Tonight, I know the answer to these.

EDWARD R. MURROW

That's G.O.P. Chairman Leonard Hall.

fad

LEONARD HALL

Who likes Ike? We can do better than that. I want to hear it from the women alone - only the ladies. Who likes Ike?

SHOUTING

Now, we will go to the bass voices - the men only. Who likes Ike?

SHOUTING

Well, of course, we all like Ike.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Senator John Bricker, Ohio.

SENATOR JOHN BRICKER

My Republican friends, I like Ike. There may be differences in the family. Republicans have never been known to take dictation, but don't let anybody else climb on, because then we will close ranks and fight the common foe.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Senator Knowland.

SENATOR KNOWLAND

We have a united Republican Party. We have a great team player and team leader in our President, Dwight Eisenhower.

fad

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

It was only a bit more than four-score and ten years ago that a very great man said, "Four-score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Now, in doing this, Abe Lincoln said something else of a very profound character. The legitimate function of government, he said, is to do for the individuals what they cannot do for themselves, or can or cannot so well do for themselves. So that here, we have really the compound - the over-all philosophy of Lincoln. In all those things which deal with people, be liberal - be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money or their economy or their form of government, be conservative and don't be afraid to use the word. If we'd do it in that way, we don't have to listen to the prophets of gloom and say that we are going to do this kind of a stumble, or fumble or fall. United States doesn't need to fall. The reason I believe in the Republican Party is because I believe it is the best political instrument available in this country to serve the United States in this kind of objective; for making certain that every individual American, wherever he is stationed, whatever his station, will recognize that he has the opportunity of a free citizen to make for himself what he can, and he will have a sympathetic partner -- big brother partner in the Federal Government. Let us be courageous. Let us lift our chins, our heads and square our shoulders and walk right square into it like Lincoln would have walked into it.

fad

EDWARD R. MURROW

At almost the exact moment that the Republicans were rallying in Washington, what might be called a minority report, was being filed at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. Mayor Robert Wagner humbly introduces Harry Truman.

MAYOR ROBERT WAGNER

And as a humble New York, and as a humble Democrat, and as a humble admirer of this gentleman, I am delighted to present one of the great men of our time ... a truly humble man ... a wonderful man - Harry S. Truman.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

One thing is clear by now after a year of the Eisenhower Administration. That is that the Republican Party is not made up of miracle workers. Along with my fellow citizens of the United States, I have been watching and waiting for those miracles to happen -- those miracles that we were promised back in 1952. But there is something wrong somewhere. There seems to be a slight delay in the miracle business.

APPLAUSE

Maybe, as that great Prophet said to the false Prophets of Baal ... big business and General Motors have taken a nap.

LAUGHTER

Elijah, as you remember said, "per adventure, your Gods sleepeth." I suggest that you read First Kings - 16 to 41.

(MORE

APPLAUSE

fad

HARRY S. TRUMAN (CTD)

The cold war is still with us and the Soviet menace has not disappeared. The budget isn't balanced and it won't be. The only tax reductions in effect are those that were enacted by the preceding Democratic Congress The cost of living has gone up a little bit, and that famous Ike hard dollar has shrunken just a little bit. It's a little cheaper than it was in 1952. The farmers have not received a hundred percent of parity yet. In fact, there seems to have been some misunderstanding about the promises made on that subject. It appears that the voters didn't hear him right. I have nothing against big business and never have. Indeed, I think that big business prospered more when I was President than ever before in the history of our country, and I am glad that's so. But I believe that the government should be by and for all the people and not just by and for one element of the population. I know the Republicans pay lip service to their Lincoln idea but it is only lip service. In fact, they charge I was hostile to business - in favor of the farmer and the laborer. Well, if I am going to be accused of favoring anybody, I rather it would be the little man instead of the big one.

EDWARD R. MURROW

You have been looking at the beginnings of the 1954 campaign. We are reliably informed that there will be more of the same in the weeks to come. Time now for ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

fad

EDWARD R. MURROW

As President Eisenhower said a few moments ago, slightly more than four score and seven years have passed since Mr. Lincoln's death. His policies altered the course of history. Tonight we would report further on the Lincoln story by taking you to a Command Post in Korea, a Maryland farm, Harlem and Shreveport, Louisiana. We will start by taking you down to Washington, D. C. on 10th Street. Your reporter is Eric Sevareid.

fad

ERIC SEVAREID:

This is 516 - 10th Street, Washington, then the home of William Peterson, a Swedish tailor, and the house where Lincoln actually died. It's straight across the street from the old Ford Theater. It looks now as it did then --the place where John Wilkes Booth fired the shot. Ford Theater has gone through a lot of changes since that wild night of April, 1865. It's no longer a theater. It's now a museum. It houses documents, memoirs of the Lincoln period. That is the floor that was the actual stage the night that Lincoln was shot, and that shows what the Ford Theater looked like on April 14, 1865 ... there on the right flanked by Washington's portrait and a flag. Mr. Lincoln was sitting there. During the third act, John Wilkes Booth entered Lincoln's box through the rear, fired a single shot derringer. It landed behind Mr. Lincoln's right eye. They brought him out of there carrying him -- two doctors and four artillerymen seeking a place to put him. So then they took him across this narrow street through the crowd, a Captain making a way with his sword. They dared not carry him all the way down to the White House over those cobble streets. They thought that would be fatal, so the two doctors and the four artillerymen carried him up here to the front of the house, through this door, and into the room down the hallway. Then they carried the President with some difficulty down this very narrow hall and into this room which was the room of the young soldier named William Clark, who had been boarding here at the home of Mr. William Peterson.

MC (MORE)

This is the room where the President died that night -- reconstituted exactly as it was even to the same kind of wallpaper. The same pictures - this is one of The Blacksmith--the washstand--the bureau. There was, I believe, that night also a small wooden stove ... and the one at the head of the bed was there that night -- Rosa Boneur's picture The Horse Fair so familiar to every one. This is the bed on which the President was laid. It was too short for his six feet four. The doctors, at first ordered that this foot of the bed be removed so they could stretch him out straight and lower his knees, but this foot of the bed was a permanent fixture. It was too difficult to do, so then they moved him -- his boots down here. They moved his long frame diagonally across the bed with his head resting on the pillow at the top on that side where the doctor stayed most of the night. The room was crowded most of the time. Mrs. Lincoln was in the parlor down that hall just to the right most of the evening. She came in once or twice. Once she screamed and fainted, andSecretary of War Stanton, who had taken charge of many things here, including the whole government, said, "Don't let her back in." She did, of course, come back in two or three more times The President never did regain consciousness from the time the bullet entered his brain. They tried to induce consciousness. Once, during the evening, Mrs. Lincoln said, "Send for Tad." That was his son. She said, "He will speak to Tad. He loves him so." But he never did, of course, speak. Consciousness never came back.

ERIC SEVAREID (CTD.)

The young Dr. Leel said he held one of the President's hands firmly nearly all evening--all night, because he knew that consciousnes does sometimes return just before death, and said Dr. Leel, "I wanted him to know in his blindness, if he could, that he was in touch with humanity and had a friend. The pulse got weaker -- the breathing lower and more labored. Consciousness never came back. It was 7:22 in the morning, April 15,1865, a cold gray, drizzly morning, that the end finally came, and then it was that Secretary Stanton said, or is reputed to have said, "Now he belongs to the Ages."

Mr. Lincoln had said "A house divided against itself cannot stand." This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. So, a terrible war was fought to preserve that government and its constitution. Mr. Lincoln lived to see the 13th Amendment which says."Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime shall exist in the United States." Five years after his death, the 5th Amendment was ratified. It says, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous servitude. Mr. Lincoln was also a politician, and perhaps he would have liked to have heard some of this Lincoln Day oratory this week. But we have an idea that he would have liked even better to have learned about how goes this course of freedom 89 years later. So, this is an unofficial report on some of those new citizens and new voters as reported. This is Korea.

mc

BOB PIERPOINT INTERVIEWING LIET. STANLEY PORTER:

PIERPOINT:

I think I will go gack to the Company Commander, Lieutenant Stanley Porter. I understand your home is Philadelphia, Pennyslvania. Is that right?

PORTER:

That's correct.

PIERPOINT:

Now that the war is over here and you have a company of men digging ditches and working on bunkers, and things like that, but not actually fighting, how is it to run a company?

PORTER:

Well, it's not as difficult as you might ordinarily think. I believe that the average, American soldier realizes what his job is, and it's the calibre of individual we get which actually determine the difficulty we encounter. And surprisingly, if we explain to the soldier what his job is and explain it in terms which he can understand, there is very little difficulty to encounter.

PIERPOINT

Well, I don't quite understand why you had a Patrol out. I thought that after the Armistice was signed, there wouldn't be any more Patrols.

mc

PORTER:

We are still required to remain on alert status. So, we have Patrols out to keep our area secure against unauthorized personnel and actually know what is going on out front of us.

PIERPOINT

I see - even on Christmas Eve.

PORTER:

Well, even on Christmas Eve.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The right to be a citizen, the inherent right to fight for it. The right to vote, and the right to demonstrate. This was Harlem.

AUDIENCE SINGING "MAMIE"

WOMAN:

Mrs. Eisenhower, in behalf of the Central Republican Club of the 11th Assembly District, and its leader Mrs. Blue, who has the distinction of being an ex-Presidential elector of the 16th, I present this token of our esteem from one wife to another.

APPLAUSE

EDWARD R. MURROW:

And the right of a tenant farmer in Maryland to speak for a President of another Party. A British reporter went to Indianhead

AIDAN CRAWLEY: How many acres of tobacco did you have this year?

SMALLWOOD: I had 14 acres.

CRAWLEY: Did you get a good crop?

SMALLWOOD: Nice crop - yes.

CRAWLEY: Now, how much do you expect to make in a year off that?

SMALLWOOD: Well, it just depends on the weight of the tobacco and depends upon how the tobacco sell.

CRAWLEY: How much did you sell?

SMALLWOOD: Well, the best year we had when they had a ceiling price on tobacco and then people got something for tobacco.

CRAWLEY: What did you make in your best year?

SMALLWOOD: Well, that year I made around -- pretty close to six thousand dollars.

CRAWLEY: Well, that's very good - very good. Do you have a vote down here?

SMALLWOOD: Yes, we do have a vote.

CRAWLEY: Do you vote Republican, or Democrat, or what?

SMALLWOOD: Well, I tell you, I vote for the best man.

CRAWLEY: You vote for the best man. That's a very good principle.

SMALLWOOD: I think every man should try to do that. Of course, it's hard to know who is the best man.

CRAWLEY: Do you listen to the radio or take an interest in what is going on in politics?

SMALLWOOD: Well, I am a man this way. I figure the fellow that's been in there .. he's a good man. I look at what he's done and then I look at what the other fellows done. Mr. Truman was a very good man and this may be a good mam. I don't know. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

gs

CRAWLEY: And he was a great man?

SMALLWOOD: Yes. He was all man and don't you think he wasn't

CRAWLEY: We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD: Did you? Yes sir. He brought -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there. Our people were starving.

CRAWLEY: And you think he did a great job?

SMALLWOOD: He did a job.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The 13th Amendment was ratified by the Louisiana State Legislature in February of 1865. We went down to Shreveport in June of 1953.

PUPILS SINGING "MY NATIVE LAND"

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This, too, is freedom. But Shreveport has made considerable progress towards making its people free. Whites and Negroes have sat down together, and worked out a community program for Negro housing, schools, law enforcement, and they have had particular success in the field of adult education.

TEACHER:

Tonight, you are going to learn how to make letters. You notice these letters on the board. Now, you might wonder why do we want to make these letters. These letters make words. Let us try to make the first six letters. This is the letter "A". Let us try to make the letter .... up, down, curve. Now, this is the letter "B". Do you notice how different from the letter "A"? Let us try to make this letter. All right, are we ready? Up, curve, down, curve, up. That's fine.

MALE PUPIL: I wants to learn to make letters where I can join them together and make words out of them.

ANOTHER PUPIL: I wants to learn how to read and write so I can read the Bible more better.

ANOTHER TEACHER:

What are some of your experiences in the coming registration?

WOMAN: I was taught to vote by my son. He is 18 now but he was 17 at the time. He was sent down to the State by the school and they really helped him out. So he came back and went to Boystown. Boystown? Pardon me, Boystown, and there they taught him to use the voting machine and do other things, you know, and he came back and kept telling me, mom, you should go and vote, and he urging me, so when it came out in the newspapers -the voting machine, and he came and sat down and instructed me, well, how to vote, and when I got to the polls, there wasn't anything to it. And I wouldn't take a pretty for that inducement from him.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

"I wouldn't take a pretty for that inducement from him." We don't know what Mr. Lincoln would thik if he were he here. He might not approve of what went on, but we might think that he might recognize and record that very considerable progress had been made.

Good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

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CBS TELEVISION

PERSON TO PERSON - EDWARD R. MURROW

FRIDAY NIGHT 10:30 PM February 5 54

Guests: Lily Pons & Nathan Pusey

MURROW: Good evening. I am Edward Murrow. The name of the program is PERSON TO PERSON. Tonight, again, we are going to do a little informal visiting. We are going up to visit the great opera singer Lily Pons and then we will be going up to Cambridge, Massachusetts to visit Dr. Pusey, the President of Harvard, and his family. We will be ready to go in just 20 seconds.

(Commercial)

MURROW: Someone once said that good things come in small packages. That can't be said about many opera singers but it might be said about Lily Pons. She is 5 feet tall, weighs 100 pounds. She is the greatest coloratura of our time, as anyone who has heard her sing Lucia can attest. Fortunately for us Miss Pons has a night off professionally anyway. Good evening, Miss Pons.

MISS PONS: Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: How are you?

MISS PONS: Very fine, thank you.

MURROW: I can tell you that I am a musical moron

so if I ask you the wrong question--

MISS PONS: You are not; you are not.

MURROW: Where is Andre?

MISS PONS: Andre is in Florida for a few days between the New York Philharmonic concert next week and Buffalo orchestra.

MURROW: Miss Pons, it seems to me in most of the roles you sing you either kill yourself or get killed or go crazy from love. Doesn't this depress you?

MISS PONS: Yes, sometimes I am very depressed because I am always poisoned or killed or strangled.

MURROW: How many complete operas do you know?

MISS PONS: About 14 but it is always three that are in demand: Lucia, Lakme and Rigoletto.

MURROW: How long does it takeyou to learn a complete opera?

MISS PONS: Many people learn a score in two or three months but I like to take my time and think over it and I take about six months, slowly.

MURROW: So this is not a matter of just remembering the words and the music but also soaking up the whole part?

MISS PONS: Absolutely.

MURROW: Do you ever forget the words?

MISS PONS: No, I have a very good photography--

MURROW: Photographic mind?

MISS PONS: Yes.

MURROW: Is Andre a top critic?

MISS PONS: A very great critic, very, and he make me work a lot, and also when he is in town and I have a performance at the Metropolitan we always run ten minutes some scales before going on the stage because I am always very nervous.

MURROW: May I ask you a personal question?

MISS PONS: Yes.

MURROW: Why is such a little girl as you sitting on such a big couch.

MISS PONS: I like. It is like small woman like big thing, big couch, big bed, big jewelry.

MURROW: You once had some trouble with a piece of jewelry?

MISS PONS: How you know it?

MURROW: I heard that.

MISS PONS: It was a new necklace and I was in vacation in Florida and I go to a party and I came a little bit late and the clasp broke. I don't know what to do so I sleep with it and it was very uncomfortable and in the morning I took my bath with it.

MURROW: I understand you have a lovely art collection. Will you show us a few of your things?

MISS PONS: Yes. This one is the Matisse. It is a very bright color. 1938, made with cobalt blue, orange, yellow, grey and black. This one is a lovely Renoir. The girl combs the hair of the other.

MURROW: I recognize that.

MISS PONS: It is very soft and the other is really what I call my little girl with the little bouquet, Jeune Fille aux Fleurs. This is a very beautiful one by Utrillo and this is a very beautiful gold and yellow and grey and mauve by Braque.

MURROW: Miss Pons, I know you are interested in auctions and antiques and that sort of things. What else do you collect?

MISS PONS: Well, I collect small snuff boxes and vanity cases. This one is very interesting. This one is for candy and this is from Admiral Nelson - a piece of wood from the ship.

MURROW: From the "Victory?"

MISS PONS: Yes, and inside is all gold and it is very lovely.

MURROW: I understand you collect butterflies. Is that right?

MISS PONS: Yes, some. Here are some that are very lovely and they are very colorful and I think when I collect those that I make the box I was thinking to try to make, a

kind of screen and put the butterflies between the glasses. I think it would be very lovely. It is something I will do a little later.

MURROW: You are thinking of doing that in your house at Palm Springs?

MISS PONS: Yes.

MURROW: Speaking of butterflies, do you get them in your stomach before a performance?

MISS PONS: Yes, I am very, very nervous and I must rest 48 hours before a performance, before going on, and it is alwasy a very great apprehension and a great emotion to go on.

MURROW: Do you spend a period of time alone before a performance and not see people?

MISS PONS: Oh, yes, I don't like to see people at all. As a matter of fact even when I am on vacation I like always to go alone and just study by myself and be in meditation and it is the same thing before a performance. I always stay alone.

MURROW: Is it true you eat garlic to prevent colds?

MISS PONS: Yes and I eat garlic at other times.

MURROW: I am told and I am sure it is true that you are one of the best dressed women. What do you think of the current short hem line?

MISS PONS: The hem line all depends on the personality I have always the same length; no matter if Mr. Dior or Mr. Fath says it should be here, mine is always mid-calf. I think it is best.

MURROW: You play the same role so much. Do you wear the same costume? How do you keep that straight?

MISS PONS: I keep everything in books. Here are all my programs put in some books and every night for every concert I always mark which dress I will wear that night so I won't be confused.

MURROW: Isn't that a harp there just in front of you?

MISS PONS: Yes, this is a lovely ancient harp that belonged to Queen Marie Antoinette. The decoration is made by Boucher. It is a very lovely thing.

MURROW: Do you have some pets around the house?

MISS PONS: Oh yes, I have dogs, one parrot and birds. I want to show you something about that.

MURROW: How many rooms do you have in the apartment?

MISS PONS: About six rooms. They are very large rooms and it is a very bright apartment and this is what I meant. These are my three doggies watching even when I am sleeping.

MURROW: I am sure I should make some sort of

comment about that but I don't know what to say. Perhaps I should say are you superstitious?

MISS PONS: No, I am not superstitious but thirteen has always been lucky for me. As a matter of fact I find everywhere I go with a number as hotel rooms it is always 13.

MURROW: Do you gamble?

MISS PONS: No, I never gamble.

MURROW: I am told you are an excellent cook. What is your favorite dish?

MISS PONS: A lot of things. I do Steak au Poivre - you know, the big grain of pepper, and also the one thing I like very much to do is the Veal-Carrot. It is very good.

MURROW: How is the new house at Palm Springs coming on?

MISS PONS: I am very anxious to go there very soon, as soon as we finish next month, and it is a Beautiful thing and I want to show you.

MURROW: You designed this new house yourself?

MISS PONS: Yes, I designed my house with Architect Wilson and have done some very beautiful things and my house will be colorful and very simple lines with Chinese and Japanese entrance which I like very much.

MURROW: What is that over there by the fireplace?

MISS PONS: This is 13th century Cambogian.

MURROW: And just behind you on the couch - are

these souvenirs from the war?

MISS PONS: Yes, these are French Generals and here is General Eisenhower and General Ghennault and many, many others.

MURROW: In all your years of singing what do you regard as your best performance?

MISS PONS: Best performance? I think the greatest emotion was when I sang the Marseillaise at Rockefeller Center and this was my most great performance.

MURROW: Speaking of Rockefeller Center: You have traveled a great deal around this country. What is your favorite city?

MISS PONS: San Francisco.

MURROW: Why?

MISS PONS: Because first the color and the atmosphere and the people and I think it is most great cultural center and they say Paris - Paris is a woman. I would say San Francisco is a beautiful girl. Do you agree with that?

MURROW: Yes, I do. San Francisco is your favorite. What would be second.

MISS PONS: Second, Paris, naturally.

MURROW: May I ask you a final question?

MISS PONS: Yes.

MURROW: How many times are you mistaken for Imogene Coca?

MISS PONS: Oh, many times, many times and since we have done that stunt together, the sister act, many times they say are you Miss Pons or Imogene Coca and sometimes I say I am Imogene Coca.

MURROW: Thank you very much indeed for letting us come to see you.

MISS PONS: Thank you. Bon soir.

MURROW: In just a moment we will be going up to Harvard to visit with Dr. Nathan Pusey, the President of Harvard, and his family.

(Commercial)

MURROW: Sixteen years after the Pilgrim fathers landed Harvard College was founded. Its 24th President is Dr. Nathan Pusey. He is 46 years old, a Harvard graduate, one of three children. His father died when he was two years old. He was born in Council Bluffs. He went through Harvard on a scholarship. He was President of Lawrence College when called to Harvard. Mr. and Mrs. Pusey and three children live in a three storey 23 room brick house in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is known simply as the President's house. It was built by President Lowell in 1912. Its second occupant was James Conant at present our High Commissioner in Western Germany, and now it is home for the Pusey's. Good evening, Mr. President.

PUSEY: Good evening.

MURROW: Mr. Pusey, is it a comfortable home?

PUSEY: Very much so. All of us I think have come to love it a great deal in the few months we have been here.

MURROW: What room are you in now, Mr. Pusey?

PUSEY: This is my study. It is the room in this house I love to escape to whenever I can get home from the office which is across the yard in Massachusetts Hall.

MURROW: This is where you work at home when you aren't working in the office?

PUSEY: That's right.

MURROW: As a man that has spent most of his time in either teaching or in an administrative job in the educational

work which of the two do you find most satisfying ore rewarding, Mr. Pusey?

PUSEY: Well, there is a great deal to be said for each of these things. I have had a great deal of satisfaction from both of them. I think I have learned a great deal from both of them. It is a little hard to choose between. I would say probably I was happiest in those years at Lawrence when I was doing both things.

MURROW: I neglected to mention when introducing you that your major field of study was ancient history. What lead you into that study?

PUSEY: I became interested in great civilizations through studies in general literature and when I came back to do graduate work for my Ph.D. it seemed a good idea to slip from literature to ancient history so I could study more about the Greeks.

MURROW: You find that helpful in your present work?

PUSEY: Oh yes, very much so. The Greeks were some of the first people to raise the sorts of questions that have been called the big questions. They knew a lot about people, individuals, and groups of people. I think some of their most gifted minds had insights about them that are valid today. At least I think so.

MURROW: In the years you have spent in the academic world who would you say were some of the great teachers you

have encountered?

PUSEY: The two years I had at Harvard there was John Livingston Lowell and Irving Babbitt. Lowell made us all feel that literature was very vital and alive and we caught some of his feeling for it. I think Irving Babbitt had a great gift for making his pupils see that learning and life were closely related. I had good teachers all along the line though. One of the best teachers who stands strongest in my memory was a high school teacher Miss Emma B- who taught me mathematics. I think I respect one of the strictest teachers I ever had but probably the one that meant most to me who was another professional teacher and a good one, and that is my Mother who taught me after I was born and until she died.

MURROW: You came back as President of Harvard after you finished your undergraduate days. I assume there has been physical changes there but what changes have there been in traditions? Do you notice any?

PUSEY: The tradition hasn't changed a great deal. Harvard has always been interested in freedom; it has been interested in using one's mind, books and study. The motto of the institution is Veritas which means truth and that has been true throughout the 300 years of its history. I think there have been some very important changes in the physical setup since I was here. The most prominent of these was the

building of the houses which were built about two years after I get out of college but they have given us the opportunity to have something like a small college in a larger community. I am very happy to see them here.

MURROW: Is running Harvard a full time 8 hour a day job or is there overtime?

PUSEY: Well, it is quite a job. I work all day and itseems to me I have worked almost every night since I have been here too. I would say 16 hours a day, seven days a week.

MURROW: When you are not "Presidenting" what do you do for fun?

PUSEY: Well, I like to try to find a little time to read which has been very difficult but more important than that I like to have an opportunity to get re-acquainted with my family.

MURROW: Where is your family now?

PUSEY: Downstairs and I would like you to go down and meet them.

MURROW: Thank you.

PUSEY: They certainly are the most impertant of this family and I would like you to see them.

MURROW: That is a lovely stairway, Mr. Pusey?

PUSEY: Yes, this is certainly one of the most important features of this house architecturally and I think

part of the house that meant most to Mr. Lowell, this front hall that goes up three floors here and the staircase has a kind of 18th century character. I suspect his idea was it should provide a proper setting for women with long trains to enter the living room.

Here they all are. I would like you to meet Mrs. Pusey.

MURROW: Good evening, Mrs. Pusey.

MRS. PUSEY: Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

PUSEY: This is my eldest son Nathan and the second boy Jamie and my third child Rosemary. We call her Missie.

MURROW: How are you, Missie.

MISSIE: Fine.

MURROW: Mrs. Pusey, I wonder to what degree being a university president's wife differs from being a house wife or could that be the beginning of a dissertation?

MRS. PUSEY: It could be. I think the chief differences are in quantity rather than quality in this particular spot. I find myself having to deal with so many more people than I ever have before.

MURROW: How big are the social affairs you arrange?

MRS. PUSEY: I simply don't know what the outside limit is going to be. Thus far we haven't had too large ones but they are large enough.

MURROW: How do you think the children like Cambridge?

MRS. PUSEY: I think you'd better ask them.

MURROW: Nathan, we will start with you. How do you like it?

NATHAN: I like it quite a bit. I miss the small town life but I like it here in the city.

MURROW: Missie, what do you think is the most fun at Cambridge?

MISSIE: I like watching the Harvard football players and I like swimming in the swimming pool and ice skating.

MURROW: We are going to get to your father on that subject of football in just a few minutes.

Jamie, it is your turn next. I understand you are the family musician. Is there any truth to this story that you play the bagpipe?

JAMIE: Yes, I do.

MURROW: Could you bring it out?

MRS. PUSEY: Jamie is very proud of the bagpipe he brought from Scotland.

MURROW: How many hours a day does he practice?

MRS. PUSEY: Too many I'm afraid.

(Jamie plays bagpipe)

MURROW: Very good, Jamie. Thank you very much.

Mr. Pusey, you have your fair share of problems with thousands of students of Harvard. In general after five months there how is business if one can put it that way?

PUSEY: It is very exciting to be back here. It is quite a lively place with a good deal going on all the time.

MURROW: What is your biggest achievement todate would you say, Mr. Pusey?

PUSEY: I think just getting around the university and just meeting some of the thousands of people who live and work here and getting myself in the mood that I feel a part of the organization again.

MURROW: Well, sir, I think it was former President Elliott who said something to the effect that Harvard was the oldest, richest and freest American institution but that the one essential element for greatness was freedom. How goes the course of freedom at Harvard?

PUSEY: Well, we are still very seriously devoted to that. Harvard has played a very large role from its founding more than 300 years ago in the development, in the growth of freedom in this country. We have enjoyed a great deal of benefit from it. We intend to go on for hundreds of years to come enjoying this freedom and through that contributing to the enrichment of our national life.

MURROW: Mr. Pusey, we hear a great deal about

academic freedom. Should the teacher have more freedom than say the doctor or the lawyer or even the broadcaster?

PUSEY: He certainly shouldn't have less freedom. I don't know as one would say he should have more. There is a great deal of misunderstanding, I think, in connection with academic freedom. People think that it is freedom to do whatever you want and of course it never was so intended. The great importance in the university is simply the freedom the professor has to enquire, to follow where his mind leads him and to be free from the necessity to try to say things that he doesn't believe or hasn't discovered for himself. He certainly doesn't enjoy any license just to go off the deep end. The discipline he is subject to all the time, of course, is the discipline of truth and his colleagues would be very quick to point out to him when he has departed from that.

MURROW: Mr. Pusey, I understand there is a rumor that football makes money and Missie was referring to football a moment ago. Have you lost track of the records of the Harvard teams?

PUSEY: Football doesn't make money at Harvard. It is a very costly business. I was interested to discover in coming to Harvard that it has as wide an interest in football as any college could have. We have something like 12 teams playing every week - a type of football - which means every

one in ten boys is involved in varsity or intramural sport and we in the Pusey family like football very much.

MURROW: Were you an athlete?

PUSEY: I played a little on the Freshman Basket Ball team but that was the end of my athletic career.

MURROW: I would like to go back a moment. No, I have changed my mind. You told me earlier you preferred to be called Mr. Pusey and I want to make it clear that this is your suggestion and not mine because I don't want to answer a lot of letters from people telling me I have been so unlettered in calling you Mr. Why do you prefer to be called Mr.?

PUSEY: Probably a sort of inverse snobbery which the academic world has. I think I prefer to be called just that and leave the "Doctor" for the medical doctors.

MURROW: You spoke a little earlier of reading. Have you read any books recently?

PUSEY: I am trying to every once in a while but it is quite difficult to read things very seriously - anything of length. Most of my reading has to do with pamphlets and reports and so forth at this time.

MURROW: Do you have any trouble from the Alumni?

PUSEY: No, I am very happy to say that the Alumni at Harvard seem to have a great loyalty for their institution. I have been a little worried that somebody has given them a false idea occasionally but all of the evidence is they know

the institution, love it, believe in it and stand by it.

MURROW: Thank you very much indeed Mr. Pusey for letting us come and visit you in the President's house in Cambridge and thanks to you Mrs. Pusey as well and your children and particularly for the first bagpipe solo ever to be heard on television from the President's house at Harvard. Thank you, very much indeed.

We will be back in a moment.

(Commercial)

MURROW: We have been visiting tonight with the opera singer Lily Pons and also with the President of Harvard Nathan Pusey and his family.

There are some of the people who contributed to this program.

Time remains to say good night and good luck from PERSON TO PERSON.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight's report is not unrelated to freedom from fear and freedom from want. The first comes from Norwalk, Connecticut where the local Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars set up a Committee to report on their fellow citizens who might be suspected of Communist activities or Communist leanings, these names to be reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This created a very considerable controversy, and on Thursday of last week, the local Post held a meeting from which photographers and reporters were excluded, but at the end of that meeting, the Chairman -- the Commander of the Post, Albert A. Beres, told us what happened.

ALBERT A BERES:

At this time, my friends from the press and television, and radio, I'd like to express my sincerest regrets that we can't -- we couldn't give you better accomodations while you waited for the outcome of our meeting. But it is nice to know that you all beared the stress of cold with us and stood along, and that now that you are here, we have got a statement to put out to America today, and this is the statement expressed by the members of this Post.

(MORE)

MC

ALBERT A BERES:

(CTD.) The Mulvoy-Tarlov-Aquino Post 603 Veterans of Foreign Wars unanimously adopted a motion at its bi-monthly meeting expressing its confidence in the progress of the American Activities Program. The motion further authorized the Commander to continue a Committee which has been working towards the objective of a strong America. The action of the Post in connection with the Americanism work received the commendation of its Commander, Charles J. Post, and the Connecticut Chairman of the Americanism Committee for the Department of Connecticut, Raymond C. Fross, a past department commander. Both of these VFW executive personally expressed their commendation at the meeting. The names of the members of the Post working on the Committee on Americanism were not disclosed at the specific direction of the membership. The VFW Post reiterates its efforts to perform the following part of a directive to perform the following part of a directive be part of the National VFW.

"Every loyal citizen can help fight the Communists. Every suspicious act should be reported to the nearest FBI office in full detail. Then let the FBI complete the investigation. Reports on suspected Communsists or subversive activities can be sent to the Americanism Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. National Headquarters, 34th Street and Broadway, 11, Missouri, for relay to the FBI.

(MORE)

MC

ALBERT A BERES

(CTD.) We now have a list of people. The statement that's going to be made here is the same that's going to be put out and there are no questions other than this. That's been published in the paper of course. The facts have to be picked up from there. Right now this is the statement that's going to be published and their answers. Other than that we will not give now.

Q, Do you now have a list of People?

BERES:

This is the statement published tonight.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Commander Beres just spoke of the Americanism program of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The National Chairman of this program is Chief Justice Charles S. Daugherty of the Criminal Courts, Cook County, Illinois. We asked Judge Daugherty what he thought of the Norwalk action.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES S. DAUGHERTY:

Well, before I go into that, I would like to make a preliminary statement regarding myself. I have been fighting Communism since 1919, so I don't think anybody can charge that I am a Johnny-Come-Lately in fighting that movement.

(MORE)

MC

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES S. DAUGHERTY:

(CTD.) Now, as to this situation in Norwalk, Connecticut, I believe that the -- my comrades at Norwalk have temporarily forgotten that the responsibility for ferreting out Communists in the United States is the responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They are experienced men and they have done a fine job in obtaining the records of Communists in America. And I think I am safe in saying that the FBI presently have in their files the record of 95 percent of all of the Communists who are in America today. These members of the Norwalk Post, imbued with the idea of the Veterans of Foreign Wars show the idea of every organization to ferret out Communism wherever and whenever it raises its head, and to expose the members of the Communist Party. But they are going at it in the wrong way. The great danger that lies in a situation such as this is that inexperienced people, having no experience in investigating matters, are not competent to pass upon these questions, and there is a grave danger in an operation of this sort that unsupported charges and non-provable charges will be made against individuals, and it's a serious thing to charge a man with being a Communist if you haven't the proof, and if all of the Posts throughout America began operating in this same style, we would be building up in America a police state where neighbor would be spying upon neighbor, and such a condition would bring out a feeling of hysteria throughout the length and breadth of the land that would be difficult to overcome.

MC (MORE)

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES S. DAUGHERTY:

(CTD.) Their approach is wrong. I am sure they don't want a police state in America. Thank God we haven't got one. And let's pray God that we never will have.

WERSHBA:

Well, Judge Daugherty, as the National Chairman of Americanism for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, how would you define - un-Americanism?

DAUGHERTY:

Well, un-Americanism is everything that Americanism isn't. Un-Americanism principally is disrespect for our laws, for our institutions, and for our traditions. There is a great amount of discussion these days about those who veer to the left, who are painted as the worse enemies of our society ... but there is just as much danger from people who veer too much to the right. They too can violate those principles which underlie the foundation of our government and they believe the ends justify the means sometimes in denying to people rights that are guaranteed them under the Constitution of the United States. The danger of denying our people the rights granted to them by the Constitution is inherent in people who shift too far to the right. They believe that the Constitution is only a matter of something between friends. It's not to be observed if observing it it acts to frustrate their purposes and aims. And those types of people know-those who veer to the extreme right as well as those who veer to the extreme left are both a danger to our institution.

mc

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Our camera has noted a degree of disagreement inside the Veterans of Foreign Wars ... Commander Beres in Norwalk, and Judge Daugherty in Chicago. Time now for ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

MC

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We find that we often fail to understand the complicated financial and legal language to be found on the financial pages of the newspaper ... such things as liquidation, recapitalization, proxies and all that sort of thing ... terms that are not readily translatable into human beings. The other day, for example, we noticed an item which said: "A Special Meeting of Stockholders of the American Woolen Company called to vote on plans to retire the preferred stock and sell eleven uneconomic mills was halted today by a legal maneuver." Now, one of the principal plants involved is in Lawrence, Massachusetts. We thought to try to translate this into human terms ... something off the financial pages and into tetms of individuals ... so we sent Ed Scott, or reporter and Marty Barnett, our cameraman, up to Lawrence, Massachusetts. And this is their effort.

ED SCOTT:

Ed, this is Lawrence, Massachusetts. We are looking at Lawrence Dam, the reason for this city's existence.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In the beginning, there were thirteen states, four of them in New England. Because of its rivers, New England became the textile center of the nation. Lawrence became the greatest woolen and worsted producer in the world because of the Merrimac River and the power she drew from it. New England has none of the one hundred sixty six hydro-electric plants like TVA and Grand Coulee, built throughout this country in recent years. The giant of Lawrence was and is the American Woolen Company ... greater even than Yorkshire and Lancashire during the British century. This is the wood plant of American Woolen - a U-shaped building more than a third of a mile long. The eye cannot see it all in one take. It's like trying to photograph the horizon.

6,500 people worked here at one time. As with all worsted companies, American Woolen had its boom during the big wars, but its peak year was 1951. More than 6,000 miles of woolen goods in a single year.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

There are 146 combing units here. At peak, 900 people worked in this department. These are the spinning frames, 347 in all. Mills like this need power and labor. (MORE)

G

EDWARD R. MURROW:(CTD)

Electric power is cheaper in the South these days, and labor is 30 cents an hour cheaper. These two facts, plus other economic considerations, caused everything virtually to stop at American Woolen this week.

Financial news - Friday, January 29th, President Francis White of American Woolen called a special stockholders meeting to retire preferred stocks and dispose of the company's eleven uneconomic mills.

BELL:

Less than 250 people hear the closing bell now, and the final pay envelope is inevitable for all of them.

Katherine McDermott, 18 years in the wood mill of American Woolen.

Henry Demerr, Yard Foreman, 32 years here.

Hazel Dorman, Web Dryer, 12 years.

Leo Burgeran, Web Dryer, 13 years.

The Lawrence Local of the CIO Textile Workers' Union once had 12,000 dues paying members. Today, there are less than 1200. In desperation, the union leaders have gone to Washington for help. Now they are back to report on their mission.

G

LEO LUTZ, CHAIRMAN:

I will now call on our area director, Arthur W. Brown.

ARTHUR W. BROWN:

Mr. President, officers and delegates of Local Union 227, I think you all know that a week or so ago we took a Committee into Washington. So, on a Tuesday morning, at 8:30 we met in the Labor Department with the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Rocco Sicliano, a very courteous gentleman, who listened attentively to our problem and said that he would convey the message to the Secretary. I pointed out as an example here in the City of Lawrence, we had in the Arlington Mill, 6500 workers, and that mill has been closed flat. We had in the Monomac Mill 1200 workers. That mill has been closed flat. We had in the Ayer Mill 2600 workers, and that mill has been closed. And the Shawsheen Mill employed 2,000 workers. That mill has been closed for ten months, and the wood mill at its peak employed 7800 workers, and presently there are only 200 working.. and we understand that they are running out. I think I can safely say this in all honesty that all of the people we visited in Washington were very courteous but as far as being optimistic myself with regards to anything that may be done through those channels, I am fearful of trying to raise your hopes. We have a problem and everybody recognizes it. It looks as though we are going to have to work out of it ourselves.

G

DONOVAN:

Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN:

Brother Donovan.

DONOVAN:

I would like to know how the textile industry wages compare with the other industries in the country.

CHAIRMAN:

Well, the textile wages, generally speaking, are substantially lower than other industries, specifically the woolen and worsted industry. The average hourly earnings currently run at about a dollar fifty six cents per hour --the average for all manufacturing industries in the United States is a dollar seventy eight cents per hour, while industries like steel pays two dollars and eighteen cents per hour, and auto pays two dollars and sixteen cents an hour. I want to state here and now that if we for a moment felt that taking a moderate wage cut in this industry would create jobs, would reopen your mill gates and send you back to work, that in spite of how unpopular such a recommendation would be, we would have no hesitancy coming before you or our other thousands of woolen workers throughout the country, and recommending to them to take a wage cut.

-MORE-

G

CHAIRMAN:(CTD)

But we cannot see that as the answer to the problem, because even if you eliminated the question of wages in this industry, and every worker worked for nothing, it would still not solve the problems, of the industry. We do not get the same performance out of a 1931 Ford as you do a 1954 Ford.

MENNIS:

Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN:

The Chair recognizes Sister Mennis.

MENNIS:

I would like to know what will become of these textile workers that are 50 years old -have put in all their life in the textile industry, and have 15 more years to go before they are eligible for pension, and they cannot get no jobs at that age anywhere.

CHUPKA:

That is one of the unfortunate social problems that occurs when there is a dissolution of any industry. And our union is attempting in cases of this type by requesting the government to extend unemployment compensation benefits to those workers, and also doing everything in their power to have other industries move into the areas where mills shut down. Of course, the union has very little influence in this respect.

G

THOMAS SPENSER:

My name is Thomas Spenser. I have worked in the American Woolen Company in the wood mill for 38 years. I am wondering what is going to become of me and thousands of others like me.

I am 64 years of age. In 8 months I would be eligible for the retirement pay that the company has been giving to the employees, but if the wood mill closes all that will be lost. I walk the streets of Lawrence. I see thousands of men standing around idling their time away with no hope for the present -and very little for the future. I think that Lawrence is rapidly becoming the city of despair. Thank you.

G

MRS. EVELYN DIFILIPPO

I am Mrs. Evelyn DiFilippo. I am a widow. I lost my husband 3 years ago, and quite a bit of our life savings went on medical expenses for him. I have been out of work now since December 12 ... have looked around but because of my age have not been able to get anything. They let us sign applications but then somehow or other we don't hear from the employers any more.

LEO LUTZ

My name is Leo Lutz. I am 56 years old. I have been employed at the wood mill for the last 37 years. I have never heard so many people wishing their life away ... wishing they were 65 so they could draw social security ... and I don't want to do that. Nobody does that. It's too foolish.

RUDOLPH LECASE

Believe me, if you think being 50 years of age has anything to do with it, you try to go around at the age of 31 and try to get a job. Lawrence holds nothing whether you are 31 or 71.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The by-products of the textile slump are many. The department stores and others on the Main Street are holding their own, but neighborhood appliance and food stores are feeling the pinch. But few people in Lawrence now cling to any false hopes of textiles coming back.

(MORE)

mw

EDWARD R. MURROW (CONT'D.)

As with all cities, which bet on a single industry, they have learned that their one hope lies in the diversification of many small industries. A planning Board has made considerable strides, and entire mill areas have been transformed into industrial arcades for small businesses.

Martin Brothers, Inc. - Woven plastics.

Essex Warehouse & Finance Corporation.

Radio Foods Corporation - Grocery Wholesalers.

Hood Rubber Company, Division of B. F. Goodrich.

The Bolta Company - Plastics.

And Western Electric is building a plant that will employ 3,000 people ... in the summer of 1955. But this will be highly skilled labor, and 18 months is a long time to wait if you're unemployed.

UNEMPLOYMENT LINE

I am the Manager of the Lawrence Office of the Division of Unemployment Security. In February of 1948, there were 28,000 people employed in the textile industry in this area. At the present time, this number has shrunk to 4800. This accounts in a large number of about 80 percent of the unemployed in this area. In addition to the nine thousand odd we are carrying on the unemployment rolls here in Lawrence, it is estimated that about 3,000 more have exhausted their benefits.

mw

EDWARD R. MURROW

Lawrence has known hard times before. Today, the civic leaders are rather more hopeful than the workers. First, the Mayor.

MAYOR JOHN J. BUCKLEY

We have been able to bring over 40 new industries here to our city, employing 3,000 people and with these people of course we bring payrolls. And that's what we are interested in here in Lawrence.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Chamber of Commerce.

ADOLPH SCHMIDT

If the wood mill should close we do want to remember this. It's the last big textile operation in Lawrence, and when that problem is solved, I think we are going to look forward to the future with a great deal of confidence and that Lawrence will be a much better city.

EDWARD R. MURROW

A Banker.

HOWELL M. STILLMAN

The retail business in Lawrence during the winter of 1953 was at least three to five percent in the average better than it was in 1952, and savings deposits in the savings accounts of the city increased during the year by 6 millions of dollars.

mw

EDWARD R. MURROW

Real Estate Operator.

RUSSELL W. KNIGHT

If anyone asks me what Lawrence means to me, I can only reply that it is the city of opportunity. It is easy for me to visualize how Lawrence, faced with the task of filling five million square feet of floor space that may be placed on the market, can readily fill that up within a few years and offer employment to every citizen now unemployed and desiring work.

EDWARD R. MURROW

A. F. of L. Leader.

JOHN J. CALLAHAN

I am quite certain that it may be a matter of maybe one or two years, but I feel certain that Lawrence will be once again back on its feet, known throughout the country as the friendliest city in the United States, and diversified industries will bring ... will pick up where the textile industry has left off.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The stockholders' meeting was adjourned due to a restraining order issued by the Massachusetts Court. Since that time two offers have been made to buy the assets of the company. We hold no views as to the wisdom of management, stockholders, or employees.

(MORE)

mw

EDWARD R. MURROW (CONT'D.)

We are concerned only to show that there are people behind the economic and financial news. The report from Lawrence had something to do with freedom from want. The one from Norwalk -- freedom from fear. We are a restless, impatient, traveling people accustomed to move. Our factories and our industries move. So do our people, but there are or have been certain bench marks -- beacons -- basic principles that have served us well. A factory may close because of obsolescence ... because of the high cost of power -- the high cost of labor ... or just because of the demise of the blue serge suit, but the closed mind has rather far more reaching consequences. It is something that only the individual can do, and it is something that Judge Daugherty of Chicago was talking about in his remarks. Good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

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mw

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 8, 1953: Report on the United States by a former Labor Member of the British Parliament

MURROW:

This afternoon, before the United Nations, President Eisenhower suggested the creation of a new international stockpile of atomic energy. . . . We will hear some of the President's concluding remarks in a few moments.

Last summer, England saw a television report on India done by a young British journalist named Aidan Crawley, former R.A.F. pilot. He is also a former Labor Member of Parliament, and we suggested to Mr. Crawley that he might come to this country and take a camera with him and wander about and make a report as to how America looks to one Englishman.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This is . . . Indian Head, Maryland . . . John Smallwood is a tobacco tenant farmer.

[Discussion of Smallwood's economic life ensued]

CRAWLEY and SMALLWOOD:

Q. Have you taken an interest in this controversy between Truman and Brownell?

A. Well, Mr. Truman was a very good man. And this may be a good man. I don't know the man. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

CRAWLEY:

We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD:

Did you? Yes sir. He brought this country -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there, and our people were starving.

Q. And you think he did a great job?

A. He did a good job. . . .

CRAWLEY:

Not everyone I met agreed with John Smallwood. In Washington, Mr. Hamilton Fish, former Congressman, had just formed a new political group.

Q. Colonel Fish, can you tell me what this new action group you formed is going to try to do?

A. Well, the group met in New York last week and they proposed to form a nation-wide organization to stop or curb this rampant internationalism or what we call "giveaway" internationalism, and promote Americanism in its place.

Q. Leaving aside the foreign aspect of your group, what are they going to do internally?

A. Well, they are going to organize in all the States of the Union . . .

Q. Have you drawn a lot of money?

A. Yes. It will be backed by a great deal of wealth and that will be the least of my difficulties. I think it will sweep the country.

Q. What do you mean by Americanism?

A. I -- well, I mean by putting the interest of America first . . .

CRAWLEY:

At Mt. Summit, Indiana, I spent several nights with Mr. Pomeroy Sinnock, a former Naval officer who is now drilling for oil.

SINNOCK:

. . . We think that you should not trade with Russia.

CRAWLEY:

Well, of course, we have got to trade to live. Obviously, if we could trade more with you, which we can't because of your tariffs, we would trade less with countries like Russia. . . . as long as you are not at war with a country, it is right to trade with it.

SINNOCK:

Yes, that would probably be true but you have to make up your minds whether you are or are not at war with Russia. . . . we have heard that Churchill proposes to visit the Kremlin . . . that may be like Chamberlain's zero-hour visit to Hitler.

CRAWLEY:

That's quite startling to an Englishman. I don't think any of us have ever dreamed of Churchill as an appeaser.

SINNOCK:

Yes, but we feel . . . that anything that might take place . . . has very little chance for fruition in favor of the West.

CRAWLEY:

Later, Mr. David Tallman, a Presbyterian minister, came in, and in another part of the room continued the discussion he had been having with Mr. Sinnock.

CRAWLEY:

I have heard a great deal about the function of the Protestant Church in relation to communism.

SINNOCK:

. . . the Church does not take an affirmative enough stand to point out the things that are bad with communism, but more often, will point out the things that are bad with their own country.

TALLMAN:

No one can do much about the sins or the failings of someone else until they take care of themselves . . .

SINNOCK:

. . . if you point out everything that's wrong with the United States . . . how can we sell the things that we believe to be true . . . We have got to be affirmative in our approach.

TALLMAN:

No one has said it's no good. . . .

SINNOCK:

You point out that it's wrong.

TALLMAN:

We don't point out that they are wrong. We point out that we are wrong, and any time that any culture . . . fails to recognize it's own sins . . . it's in a pretty sad state.

TALLMAN:

And because we slipped at that point, we lay outselves wide open . . . for instance, our treatment of the negro . . .

[Crawley then interviewed Robert Hall who had just been laid off at the Chrysler Works and who lived in an unimproved house costing $800, in three rooms, with four other people]

[He then interviewed a Mr. Porfido, a private detective, who works on the waterfront, in relation to a waterfront strike.]

MURROW:

That was an expert on the New York waterfront briefing Aidan Crawley.

* * *

MURROW:

This report on America as seen through the eyes of an Englishman,

continues. Reporter Aidan Crawley and Marty Barnett, Cameraman, kept encountering this argument about McCarthyism wherever they went - all over the country.

[Interview of Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Jenner Committee]

CRAWLEY:

Mr. Morris, I think the other day you issued an invitation to members of the public to give information, either to the Committee or the F.B.I., in private, about Communism. . . . a general invitation to become informers . . . it was just those methods that the Nazis and the Russians themselves have used. . . .

MORRIS:

. . . the term "informer" is an unfortunate choice of words. . . . evidence . . . that would indicate that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party [would be given] under oath. . . .

CRAWLEY:

But it's not yet illegal in this country to be a Communist, is it?

MORRIS:

No, but I think the records will show . . . it is at least one step in a series . . . which . . . would result in your conviction for a crime. . . .

CRAWLEY:

That same day, I asked Mr. John Stuart, a financial consultant and enthusiastic Republican, if he was pleased with the present administration.

STUART:

Mr. Crawley, on the whole, I am not. . . . not giving us the pesitive leadership . . . trying to do things in the nicely-nicely manner.

CRAWLEY:

You agree then with the criticism that Senator McCarthy made the other day - criticisms of the administration?

STUART:

Frankly, I do. I am a very strong supporter of Senator McCarthy. I may be very unpopular for that reason but I still think that he is a fine American, and what he is attempting to do is, on the whole, excellent.

CRAWLEY:

However, not all Republicans see eye to eye. I asked Senator Duff . . . whether he shared Senator McCarthy's view . . .

DUFF:

No. . . .

CRAWLEY:

From outside, one would judge that of all the free countries, this one's least likely to be captured by communists from within.

DUFF:

[paraphrased] In case of difficulty with Russia the people will take care of the communists.

CRAWLEY:

Have you any doubts or anxieties about the methods that are being used to route out communists here?

DUFF:

[paraphrased] I think the American people want all communists removed from important public offices, but do not generally want inquisitorial methods.

CRAWLEY:

Do you feel that some of the Congressional inquires border on inquisitorial methods?

DUFF:

. . . they give the appearance of it . . .

CRAWLEY:

The problem of communism goes deeper than politics. . . . Professor Robert MacIver is directing the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Professor MacIver, do you support the view that universities should not employ communists?

MACIVER:

. . . no college or university would appoint a man knowing he is actually a member of the Communist Party.

CRAWLEY:

That would be true at Columbia too. Wouldn't it?

MACIVER:

Oh, yes.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Should communism be closed to university discussion?

MACIVER:

. . . that would be a great mistake . . .

CRAWLEY:

What do you think the best way of dealing with communist ideas is?

MACIVER:

. . . free and full discussion . . .

MACIVER:

. . . when these [emotional] waves come, there are people who do their utmost to exaggerate the danger.

CRAWLEY:

My last stop in the States was on a troop transport . . . it seems to me that you still fight your battles with all the passion of pioneers. Today, it's communism that's the enemy and you hate it fiercely and perhaps a bit indiscriminately, but as an Englishman, I know that it's good that you are fighting it so strongly. . . . And if in defending the things you believe in so passionately, you occasionally do things which to some Americans and to some others seem a bit un-American, well I reckon you can look after them yourselves.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

[over loud speaker system of troop ship]

. . . the United States pledges . . . to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma . . .

MURROW:

In spite of new and fearsome weapons, it is still necessary for the youth of the country to honor our word. We have given you a glimpse through Aidan Crawley, a visiting British journalist.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

SHOW # 12 SEE IT NOW DECEMBER 8, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. This afternoon, before the United Nations, President Eisenhower suggested the creation of a new international bank or stockpile of atomic energy. This would be contributed to by all nations having atomic energy. It would be used for peaceful purposes - for medicine, for agriculture, and for power, and the contributors, he suggested, would include the Soviet Union. As a prelude to this suggestion, the President gave some rather grim facts. He said that one air group, either based on carriers or on land, could deliver the same amount of destructive tonnage as the sum total of everything that hit England in the last war. He said that the present atomic bombs are twenty times as powerful as the earlier models. And he said that the sum total of the stockpile was the equivalent of all the bombs and all the shells released on every front, in every theatre, in the last war. We will hear some of the President's concluding remarks in a few moments.

Last summer, England saw a television report on India done by young British journalist named Aidan Crawley, former R.A.F. pilot. He is also a former Labor Member of Parliament, and we suggested to Mr. Crawley that he might come to this country and take a camera with him and wander about and make a report as to how America looks to one Englishman.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This is the United States. Indian Head, Maryland is only an hour by car from Washington. A country of woods, rivers, and small farmers. John Smallwood is a tobacco tenant farmer.

Q. How many acres of tobacco did you have this year?

A. I had 13 acres.

CRAWLEY: That is a good crop - a nice crop.

SMALLWOOD: Yes sir, I had a nice crop.

Q. Now, how much do you expect to make in a year off that?

A. Now, it just depends on the weight of the tobacco and depends upon how the tobacco sell.

Q. Well, what was the best year you have had?

A. The best year we had when they had a ceiling price.

Q. They had a ceiling price?

A. Sixty-two cents. Then people got something for tobacco.

Q. What did you make in your best year?

A. Oh, tht year I made around - pretty close to $6,000. Thats sixty-two cents ceiling.

Q. Now, tell me, have you any children?

A. Me - any children? Yes, my Lord, I have 13.

Q. 13 children?

A. I had 14. One died - 13 left.

CRAWLEY AND SMALLWOOD:

Q. Really? And your wife?

A. Wife? She is dead.

Q. Yes. Well then, have you brought up all these 13 children?

A. Brought them all up. My wife died when my baby was 3 years old - my wife died.

Q. And since then, you had to manage them all by yourself?

A. No. I don't expect to get married no more.

Q. But do you put them all to bed and get them up in the morning and so, yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. Do they go to school?

A. Yes sir.

Q. What do you hope they do when they grow up?

A. I hope they grow up and work for an honest living.

Q. What sort of living - in town or right here?

A. Well, most of what I have - lots of them in town. I have four in town.

Q. And you want them to get a job in town?

A. No, not particular about getting a job in town - just so they get a better job than I got. I got a job with a pick and shovel.

CRAWLEY AND SMALLWOOD:

Q. But you get quite a good living out of it?

A. Yes, pretty good living. Young race - now they ain't going to take - stand that.

Q. They don't like to do the manual work?

A. They ain't going to. Not want to.

Q. They are going to work in an office?

A. Well, they are going to find something different from a truck driver job - something different than what we did have in our own time.

Q. Have you got some daughters?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Are they going to get a job?

A. I hope so.

Q. And they are going to offices?

A. No,for office you need college education. I ain 't going to give them a college education. As far as high school education, well, probably be able to get a waiter's job or something like that.

Q. Do you have a vote down here?

A. Yes, I have a vote.

CRAWLEY AND SMALLWOOD:

Q. Do you vote for Democrat, Republican, or what?

A. Well, I tell you, I vote for the best man.

Q. You vote for the best man. Thats a very good principle.

A. Every man should try to do that. Every man know who is that best man.

Q. Do you listen to the radio or take an interest in what is going on in politics?

A. I listen to the radio. But I am a man this way. I figure a fellow thats been in there - that he is a good man. I look at what hes done and then I look at what the other fellows has done.

Q. Have you taken an interest in this controversy between Truman and Brownell?

A. Well, Mr. Truman wa a very good man. And this may be a good man. I don't know the man. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

Q. He was a great man?

A. Yes sir. He was all man. Don't you think he wasn't.

CRAWLEY AND SMALLWOOD:

CRAWLEY: We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD: Did you? Yes sir. He brought this country -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there, and our people were starving.

Q. And you think he did a great job?

A. He did a job. He did a job.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

Not everyone I met agreed with John Smallwood. In Washington, Mr. Hamilton Fish, former Congressman, had just formed a new political group.

Q. Colonel Fish, can you tell me what this new action group you formed is going to try to do?

A. Well, the group met in New York last week and they proposed to form a nation-wide organization to stop or curb this rampant internationalism or what we call "giveaway" internationalism, and promote Americanism in its place.

Q. Leaving aside the foreign aspect of your group, what are they going to do internally?

CRAWLEY AND HAMILTON FISH:

... Well, they are going to organize in all the States of the Union the 48 States, and they are going to support members of the Congress, Senators and Governors. It is not a third party movement. We do not propose to nominate, as yet, a candidate for President.

Q. Have you drawn a lot of money?

A. Yes. It will be backed by a great deal of wealth and that is the least of my difficulties. I think it will sweep the country.

Q. What do you mean by Americanism?

A. I -- well, I mean by putting the interest of America first and keeping it uppermost all the time. Just the way Winston Churchill is for Great Britain first, and properly so, all the time. Hitherto, some people criticized Americans for being for their country first.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

At Mt. Summit, Indiana, I spent several nights with Mr. Pomeroy Sinnock, a former Naval officer who is now drilling for oil.

SINNOCK: Recently, we have heard that Eden has proposed before Parliament that Britain engage in more and further trade with Russia, in supposedly non-strategic materials. That is really

CRAWLEY AND POMEROY SINNOCK:

SINNOCK: quite perturbing to us over here. We think that you should not trade with Russia.

CRAWLEY: Well, of course, we have got to trade to live. We actually import two-thirds of our food. Obviously, if we could trade more with you, which we can't because of your tariffs, we would trade less with countries like Russia. But I wouldn't defend it on those grounds. I would say, in principle, as long as you are not at war with a country, it is right to trade with it.

SINNOCK: Yes, that would probably be true but you have to make up your minds whether you are or are not at war with Russia. If you would believe that the only kind of war there is - is a shooting war, and that what we are doing now is not a part of war, then that might be true. Otherwise, what you give to Russia may be something that could endure to your harm tomorrow. Well, for instance, we have heard that Churchill proposes to visit the Kremlin to talk over the problems. And we over here have somewhat the feeling that that may be like Chamberlin's zero-hour visit to Hitler.

CRAWLEY: Thats quite startling to an Englishman. I don't think any of us have ever dreamed of Churchill as an appeaser. Doesn't it comfort you at all that Winston Churchill has fought communism probably more consistently than any other man alive?

SINNOCK: Yes, but we feel perhaps that through the experience with Russia since 1945, and even prior to that, that anything that might take place through high level channels has very little chance for fruition in favor of the West.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

Later, Mr. David Tallman, a Presbyterian minister, came in, and in another part of the room continued the discussion he had been having with Mr. Sinnock.

CRAWLEY: I have heard a great deal about the position of the Protestant Church in relation to communism.

SINNOCK: To some of us, of which I may be the most vociferous, the Church does not take an affirmative enough stand to point out the things that are bad with communism, but more often, will point out the things that are bad with our own country.

DAVID TALLMAN: No one can do much about the sins or the failings of someone else until they take care of their own, and I would think

TALLMAN: that its nothing new, for Protestantism has been fighting the thing that communism stands for from the very beginning - from Christ on, as far as thats concerned.

SINNOCK: But yet, on the other hand, if you point out everything thats wrong with the United States as we go throughout the world that is non-Communist or even the Communist world, to show that ours is a better way of life, how can we sell the things that we believe to be true, if we say its no good and that things are wrong in this country? We have got to be affirmative in our approach.

TALLMAN: No one has said its no good. No one has ever said.

SINNOCK: You point out that its wrong.

TALLMAN: We don't point out that they are wrong. We point out that we are wrong, and any time that any culture or any religion, or any political group, or any national group fails to recognize its own sins, its own failings, loses the sense of self-examination-then its in a pretty sad state.

TALLMAN: And because we slipped at that point, we lay ourselves wide open to all of the publicity that the communists have made great capital of. In, for instance, our treatment of the negro -- if you want to take that as an issue.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

One of the problems that Mr. Tallman had in mind - though not the Negro one - lay close to his own door. This is Hospital Heights, a slum just outside the City of Newcastle, Indiana.

CRAWLEY INTERVIEWING MR. ROBERT HALL:

CRAWLEY: Mr. Hall, you have been working at the Chrysler Works, haven't you?

HALL: Yes.

CRAWLEY: Are you still there?

HALL: Yes - no, I got laid off.

CRAWLEY: How long ago was that?

HALL: Thats been about 2 or 3 weeks.

CRAWLEY: You think you will be able to go back, or are they laying more people off?

HALL: Laying more people off.

CRAWLEY: Have you got anything? Drawing any unemployment insurance or anything? What is coming in?

HALL: Yes - a little.

CRAWLEY: A little?

HALL: Yes.

CRAWLEY AND ROBERT HALL:

CRAWLEY: Did you build this house yourself or did you buy it?

HALL: No. I bought it.

CRAWLEY: How much would a house like this cost?

HALL: Eight hundred ($800.00) dollars.

CRAWLEY: Eight hundred dollars.

HALL: Yes.

CRAWLEY: Did you pay for it all at once - or ..?

HALL: Yes. I paid it for all at once.

CRAWLEY: Now, is there any water or anything like that?

HALL: No water. You have got to carry your water across the road.

CRAWLEY: From what? From a well or ..?

HALL: Yes, a well. Yes.

CRAWLEY: And how many rooms has it got?

HALL: Three.

CRAWLEY: Three rooms, and there are four of you living there?

HALL: Yes - there are five of us.

CRAWLEY: Five of you?

HALL: Yes.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

Back in New York City, under the shadow of the United Nations Building, I ran into another problem -- a strike on the waterfront. I discussed it with Mr. Porfido, a private detective who works there-- but I confess I'm still not quite clear what it was all about.

CRAWLEY: Mr. Porfido, you work down here?

PORFIDO: Yes, I work for one of the private detective agencies on the waterfront.

CRAWLEY: Is there a lot of racketeering?

PORFIDO: No. I wouldn't put it that way. I don't know what they mean by"racketeering." Shylock -- if you don't pay interest every week, you get your head hit in. Theres no such thing. If a longshoreman today borrows fifty dollars from a Shylock and he gives you a break -- he will loan it from banks and overcharged at the end of the year - there can't be more than a 6 per cent interest.

CRAWLEY: Yes. But as far as you know there is no racket in it?

PORFIDO: I don't know what you mean by racketeering - but each pier has a clique. You can't take a fellow whose been in Brooklyn 25 years work in a pit. Fellows been working 20 years. Each has their own little clique. Each to their own. They say to themselves - I have been a

PORFIDO: Brooklyn longshoremen -- years ago. What do I want to come to New York? It would be unfair for me to come to New York. Put me in there when a fellow's been there most of his life?

CRAWLEY: They each keep their own section?

PORFIDO: Thats right. Each to their own. West side - West side. Jersey - Jersey. Brooklyn - Brooklyn. Each one try to stay to their own.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was an expert on the New York waterfront briefing Aidan Crawley. We will continue with this report on how America looks to an Englishman after a brief report from the Aluminum Company of America.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This report on America as seen through the eyes of an Englishman, continues. Reporter Aidan Crawley and Marty Barnett, Cameraman, kept encountering this argument about McCarthyism wherever they went - all over the country.

Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Jenner Committee:

CRAWLEY: Mr. Morris, I think the other day you issued an invitation to members of the public to give information, either to the Committee or the F.B.I., in private, about Communism. Now, I think a sort of general invitation to become informers in that way rather sends a shiver down the spine of any European, because, of course, it was just those methods that the Nazis and the Russians themselves have used. Now, what safeguards do you think you can devise to prevent people just working off their personal grudges?

MORRIS: Well, in the first place, I think the term "informer" is an unfortunate choice of words. I think the adequate expression would be, you ask them to become witnesses to events that they have experienced. Now, in the first place, when they do come in, and if they do present evidence to the committee that would indicate that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party, they

MORRIS: must give that evidence under oath. In other words, if that is false, they can be prosecuted for perjury.

CRAWLEY: But its not yet illegal in this country to be a Communist, is it?

MORRIS: No, but I think the records will show, that's the court records will show, it is at least one step in a series of facts which if it could be demonstrated by a prosecutor, would result in your conviction for a crime. In other words, if you're a member of the Communist Party, and at the same time you know that the Communist Party of the United States, advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, as has been held now by competent authority, if you show those two facts, then I believe, in my opinion, you could be convicted for a crime under the Smith Act.

CRAWLEY: That same day, I asked Mr. John Stuart, a financial consultant and enthusiastic Republican, if he was pleased with the present administration.

STEWART: Mr. Crawley, on the whole, I am not. I frankly feel that our present administration is not giving us the positive leadership that we all voted for in the past elections. I feel that as a whole in this country, our

JOHN STEWART:

leadership are trying to do things in the nicely-nicely manner.

CRAWLEY: You agree then with the criticism that Senator McCarthy made the other day - criticisms of the administration?

STEWART: Frankly, I do. I am a very strong supporter of Senator McCarthy. I may be very unpopular for that reason but I still think that he is a fine American, and what he is attempting to do is, on the whole, excellent.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

However, not all Republicans see eye to eye. I asked Senator Duff of Pennsylvania, a prominent Republican, whether he shared Senator McCarthy's view that Communist infiltration is this country's greatest danger.

DUFF: No. I think that recent exposures have shown that there has been some danger, but I don't share his apprehension that that is the main source of danger.

CRAWLEY: From outside, one would judge that of all the free countries, this one's least likely to be captured by communists from within.

DUFF: Well, I feel very positively that if we should come to an all-out difficulty with Russia that the people at home will take care of the communists within in pretty short order.

CRAWLEY: Have you any doubts or anxieties about the methods that are being used to route out communists here?

DUFF: Well, I would think that the American people very definitely want all communists removed from places of public responsibility, and there is considerable difference as to methods. I am very sure that the generality of people don't want inquisitorial methods.

CRAWLEY: Do you feel that some of the Congressional inquiries border on inquisitorial methods?

DUFF: Well, I was going to use that very word myself - "border" on it. I don't say that they are, but they give the appearance of it, and when it comes to civil rights, I don't think you want to make the mistake of even giving the appearance of being wrong.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

The problem of communism goes deeper than politics. Professor Robert MacIver is directing the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University.

CRAWLEY: Professor MacIver, I am told the view of many universities is held that you shouldn't employ a communist as a professor because he won't have the necessary intellectual freedom. Now, do you support that view?

MACIVER: That is one of the major reasons why communists are at present, in effect, totally banned from colleges and universities in this country. As far as appointment goes, it is definite I believe, that no college or university would appoint a man knowing that he is actually a member of the Communist Party.

CRAWLEY: That would be true at Columbia too. Wouldn't it?

MACIVER: Oh, yes.

CRAWLEY: Now, does that mean that you feel that the whole idea of communism is something which should be closed to university discussion and study?

MACIVER: On the contrary, I think that would be a great mistake. The idea of communism is one of the important ideas of our times that influences enormous numbers of people. Not to have it fully discussed -- freely discussed -- would be a betrayal of the intellectual needs of our time.

CRAWLEY: What do you think the best way of dealing with communist ideas is?

MACIVER: I think the only sensible way is to allow the students free and full discussion of it. I trust that students can make up their minds in a way which is the way of integrity, and if we do that, I think the only safe course is to let them hear everything. Moreover, at present, the idea is if there is one communist somewhere in the neighborhood and there are a thousand anti-communists, the one communist will infect all the rest. That shows how little trust we have in our idea.

CRAWLEY: What - are they so afraid too these communist ideas can't be counteracted?

MACIVER: I do know - its kind of hard to explain these things.. Country's liable to waves of emotion in times of crisis and when these waves come, there are people who do their utmost to exaggerate the danger.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

My last stop in the States was on a troop transport going down the narrows of New York Harbor. They leave almost every day.
This is the United States Navy Ship Henry Gibbins carrying NATO troops bound for Bremerhaven.
Private Ralph Dugger, Corbin, Kemtucky. First time overseas.
Next, Sgt. Hugh Orr MacMullin, Hurricane, Utah. Third time overseas.
Next, Captain Roger G. Snodgrass, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This is his third time overseas.
And next, Chief Boatswain's Mate, Joseph Moore of Buffalo, New York. He's been in 25 years and he just doesn't remember how many times he's been overseas.

They don't mind going but they are all a little homesick about going at this time of year.

I confess that I feel a bit homesick myself. I have got three small children in England waiting for me to come and buy their Christmas presents for them, and yet, whenever I leave this country, I always feel a pang of regret. I don't know whether its the long historical association we have together, but coming or going, I always find myself trying to imagine what this shoreline looked like to the first settlers who came here from England. It

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

must have been a long line of dark trees - wild and inhospitable. And I like to think that if I lived in those days, I might have found myself among them. They had such tremendous courage and it was such a magnificent adventure, and of course, the adventure's going on. You can still go West in the United States and you can still strike oil. And it seems to me that you still fight your battles with all the passion of pioneers. Today, it's communism thats the enemy and you hate it fiercely and perhaps a bit indiscriminately, but as an Englishman, I know that its good that you are fighting it so strongly. And I feel thankful that these young men who are coming over to Europe to help keep my country and the other countries over there - remain free. And if in defending the things you believe in so passionately, you occasionally do things which to some Americans and to some others seem a bit un-American, well I reckon you can look after them yourselves.

P.A. SYSTEM:

Attention all troops and passengers on board. The President of the United States is making a speech to the United Nations. For the convenience of passengers and troops on board, the President's speech will be piped over the loud speaker system at 1600 this afternoon.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This afternoon, as the Commander in Chief spoke, the troops listened.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

Against the dark background of the atomic bomb, the United States does not wish merely to present strength, but also the desire and the hope for peace.
The coming months will be fraught with fateful decisions. In this Assembly, in the capitals and military headquarters of the world; in the hearts of men everywhere, be they governed or governors, may they be the decisions which will lead this world out of fear and into peace.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

To the making of these fateful decisions, the United States pledges before you -- and therefore before the world -- its determination to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma -- to devote its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In spite of new and fearsome weapons, it is still necessary for the youth of the country to go out to far places to honor our word. We have given you a glimpse through Aidan Crawley, a visiting British journalist.
Good night and good luck.

END COMMERCIAL

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

J. E. R. March 29, 1954

SEE IT NOW December 8, 1953: Report on the United States by a former Labor Member of the British Parliament

MURROW:

This afternoon, before the United Nations, President Eisenhower suggested the creation of a new international stockpile of atomic energy. . . . We will hear some of the President's concluding remarks in a few moments.

Last summer, England saw a television report on India done by a young British journalist named Aidan Crawley, former R.A.F. pilot. He is also a former Labor Member of Parliament, and we suggested to Mr. Crawley that he might come to this country and take a camera with him and wander about and make a report as to how America looks to one Englishman.

AIDAN CRAWLEY:

This is . . . Indian Head, Maryland . . . John Smallwood is a tobacco tenant farmer.

[Discussion of Smallwood's economic life ensued]

CRAWLEY and SMALLWOOD:

Q. Have you taken an interest in this controversy between Truman and Brownell?

A. Well, Mr. Truman was a very good man. And this may be a good man. I don't know the man. But we haven't had yet but one good man in that White House to do us a job, and that was President Roosevelt.

CRAWLEY:

We thought he was a great man in England too.

SMALLWOOD:

Did you? Yes sir. He brought this country -- this country was down to starvation when that man went in there, and our people were starving.

Q. And you think he did a great job?

A. He did a good job. . . .

CRAWLEY:

Not everyone I met agreed with John Smallwood. In Washington, Mr. Hamilton Fish, former Congressman, had just formed a new political group.

Q. Colonel Fish, can you tell me what this new action group you formed is going to try to do?

A. Well, the group met in New York last week and they proposed to form a nation-wide organization to stop or curb this rampant internationalism or what we call "giveaway" internationalism, and promote Americanism in its place.

Q. Leaving aside the foreign aspect of your group, what are they going to do internally?

A. Well, they are going to organize in all the States of the Union . . .

Q. Have you drawn a lot of money?

A. Yes. It will be backed by a great deal of wealth and that will be the least of my difficulties. I think it will sweep the country.

Q. What do you mean by Americanism?

A. I -- well, I mean by putting the interest of America first . . .

CRAWLEY:

At Mt. Summit, Indiana, I spent several nights with Mr. Pomeroy Sinnock, a former Naval officer who is now drilling for oil.

SINNOCK:

. . . We think that you should not trade with Russia.

CRAWLEY:

Well, of course, we have got to trade to live. Obviously, if we could trade more with you, which we can't because of your tariffs, we would trade less with countries like Russia. . . . as long as you are not at war with a country, it is right to trade with it.

SINNOCK:

Yes, that would probably be true but you have to make up your minds whether you are or are not at war with Russia. . . . we have heard that Churchill proposes to visit the Kremlin . . . that may be like Chamberlain's zero-hour visit to Hitler.

CRAWLEY:

That's quite startling to an Englishman. I don't think any of us have ever dreamed of Churchill as an appeaser.

SINNOCK:

Yes, but we feel . . . that anything that might take place . . . has very little chance for fruition in favor of the West.

CRAWLEY:

Later, Mr. David Tallman, a Presbyterian minister, came in, and in another part of the room continued the discussion he had been having with Mr. Sinnock.

CRAWLEY:

I have heard a great deal about the function of the Protestant Church in relation to communism.

SINNOCK:

. . . the Church does not take an affirmative enough stand to point out the things that are bad with communism, but more often, will point out the things that are bad with their own country.

TALLMAN:

No one can do much about the sins or the failings of someone else until they take care of themselves . . .

SINNOCK:

. . . if you point out everything that's wrong with the United States . . . how can we sell the things that we believe to be true . . . We have got to be affirmative in our approach.

TALLMAN:

No one has said it's no good. . . .

SINNOCK:

You point out that it's wrong.

TALLMAN:

We don't point out that they are wrong. We point out that we are wrong, and any time that any culture . . . fails to recognize it's own sins . . . it's in a pretty sad state.

TALLMAN:

And because we slipped at that point, we lay outselves wide open . . . for instance, our treatment of the negro . . .

[Crawley then interviewed Robert Hall who had just been laid off at the Chrysler Works and who lived in an unimproved house costing $800, in three rooms, with four other people]

[He then interviewed a Mr. Porfido, a private detective, who works on the waterfront, in relation to a waterfront strike.]

MURROW:

That was an expert on the New York waterfront briefing Aidan Crawley.

* * *

MURROW:

This report on America as seen through the eyes of an Englishman,

continues. Reporter Aidan Crawley and Marty Barnett, Cameraman, kept encountering this argument about McCarthyism wherever they went - all over the country.

[Interview of Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel of the Jenner Committee]

CRAWLEY:

Mr. Morris, I think the other day you issued an invitation to members of the public to give information, either to the Committee or the F.B.I., in private, about Communism. . . . a general invitation to become informers . . . it was just those methods that the Nazis and the Russians themselves have used. . . .

MORRIS:

. . . the term "informer" is an unfortunate choice of words. . . . evidence . . . that would indicate that a certain person is a member of the Communist Party [would be given] under oath. . . .

CRAWLEY:

But it's not yet illegal in this country to be a Communist, is it?

MORRIS:

No, but I think the records will show . . . it is at least one step in a series . . . which . . . would result in your conviction for a crime. . . .

CRAWLEY:

That same day, I asked Mr. John Stuart, a financial consultant and enthusiastic Republican, if he was pleased with the present administration.

STUART:

Mr. Crawley, on the whole, I am not. . . . not giving us the pesitive leadership . . . trying to do things in the nicely-nicely manner.

CRAWLEY:

You agree then with the criticism that Senator McCarthy made the other day - criticisms of the administration?

STUART:

Frankly, I do. I am a very strong supporter of Senator McCarthy. I may be very unpopular for that reason but I still think that he is a fine American, and what he is attempting to do is, on the whole, excellent.

CRAWLEY:

However, not all Republicans see eye to eye. I asked Senator Duff . . . whether he shared Senator McCarthy's view . . .

DUFF:

No. . . .

CRAWLEY:

From outside, one would judge that of all the free countries, this one's least likely to be captured by communists from within.

DUFF:

[paraphrased] In case of difficulty with Russia the people will take care of the communists.

CRAWLEY:

Have you any doubts or anxieties about the methods that are being used to route out communists here?

DUFF:

[paraphrased] I think the American people want all communists removed from important public offices, but do not generally want inquisitorial methods.

CRAWLEY:

Do you feel that some of the Congressional inquires border on inquisitorial methods?

DUFF:

. . . they give the appearance of it . . .

CRAWLEY:

The problem of communism goes deeper than politics. . . . Professor Robert MacIver is directing the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Professor MacIver, do you support the view that universities should not employ communists?

MACIVER:

. . . no college or university would appoint a man knowing he is actually a member of the Communist Party.

CRAWLEY:

That would be true at Columbia too. Wouldn't it?

MACIVER:

Oh, yes.

CRAWLEY:

[paraphrased] Should communism be closed to university discussion?

MACIVER:

. . . that would be a great mistake . . .

CRAWLEY:

What do you think the best way of dealing with communist ideas is?

MACIVER:

. . . free and full discussion . . .

MACIVER:

. . . when these [emotional] waves come, there are people who do their utmost to exaggerate the danger.

CRAWLEY:

My last stop in the States was on a troop transport . . . it seems to me that you still fight your battles with all the passion of pioneers. Today, it's communism that's the enemy and you hate it fiercely and perhaps a bit indiscriminately, but as an Englishman, I know that it's good that you are fighting it so strongly. . . . And if in defending the things you believe in so passionately, you occasionally do things which to some Americans and to some others seem a bit un-American, well I reckon you can look after them yourselves.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

[over loud speaker system of troop ship]

. . . the United States pledges . . . to help solve the fearful atomic dilemma . . .

MURROW:

In spite of new and fearsome weapons, it is still necessary for the youth of the country to honor our word. We have given you a glimpse through Aidan Crawley, a visiting British journalist.

Good night and good luck.

* * *

SHOW # 8 SEE IT NOW November 10, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight we turn our cameras on Trieste at the top of the Adriatic, and because neither we nor the Aluminum Company of America wishes to interrupt this report, we shall save the middle commercial until the end of the program.

Just here is the Adriatic Sea and fitting in on this side of it is Italy -- boot and all. Over on the Eastern side of the Adriatic is Tito's Yugoslavia.

MURROW INDICATES ON MAP

This is a lovely, rugged rockbound coastline, and up here where the two countries don't quite meet is Trieste, a distance of about 33 miles. When the victorious Allied Armies came in, they decided to divide this area into two zones -- Zone A to be controlled and administered by the British and by the United States Forces. Zone B to be controlled and administered by Yugoslavia. This report really divides into two parts and the breaking point is October 8th, 1953, because at that time the British and ourselves unilaterally, without consulting the Yugoslavs, decided to break those two zones in two and they decided that they would remove British and American troops from Zone A and turn it over to Italian control and administration. They would leave Zone B under the control of Yugoslavia.

Our report begins just here on this dividing line between Zone A and Zone B. Our cameraman Bill McClure and our reporter Ned Calmer at the border between Zone A and Zone B...,

NED CALMER:

Ed, we are at the frontier and our camera is looking into the Yugoslav Sector. That part of the forest, or bald strip, indicates the border. Zone B is run as a direct province of Tito's administration, and his troops patrol the border. 50,000 Slovenes live in Zone B; 20,000 Italians. It is entirely a farm area.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Now we are looking into Zone A...since 1947 administered by the British and Americans. Protected by Zone A police who are responsible to the Allied Command. Originally there was a plan to appoint an allied government but the Russians have frustrated this at every turn. It is illegal for an Italian or Yugoslavian flag to hang here, but you can find both...250,000 Italians live here; 50,000 Slovenes. It is virtually an urban population with most of them living in the vital port city of Trieste.

Trieste had its golden age when it was discharging its original economic function as the key port for the old Austro-Hungary Empire. Earlier, Caesar and Napoleon had fought for it. The Italians won it as a prize of World War I and lost it in World War II..James Joyce, who wrote "Ulysses" here, said that the Triestini lived with the sun. They still do. It is a white city that climbs up the side of the Istrian coastline towards Yugoslavia. That square down there is the Piazza dell' Unita, the social and business center of Trieste. The riots took place here. Trieste has always had a

EDWARD R. MURROW:

tradition of gaiety, good living and beautiful women. Since the Allied occupation, it has been able to afford the luxury these traditions require.

TRIO SINGING AND A DRUMMER

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is a night club - specializing in Italian cuisine and American rhythm. Normally, one of Trieste's chronic products is unemployment. Often as high as 40 percent, but as long as there were 7,000 American and British troops here, business was good enough to support a dozen night clubs. The ship building program has also created a modest boom for some of the Triestinis.

TRIO SINGING: "SUGARPUSS"

NED CALMER INTERVIEWING SGT. CLARENCE FRENCH:

Q. How long have you been here in Trieste?

A. Oh, I have been here 46 months and I like it very well, As a matter of fact, if they have to leave any troops here in Trieste at all, I would like to be one of them to stay here. I like it very much.

NED CALMER INTERVIEWING SGT. CLARENCE FRENCH:

Q. Good duty?

A. Oh, wonderful duty. Its wonderful off-duty time and you don't work too hard -- put in your normal eight hours a day and nights are your own.

Q. Have you been to other foreign ports, Sargeant?

A. Oh yes. I was stationed in Japan and Philippine Islands. I was in Germany 3 months. I have been in Austria and all around.

Q. What do you like best?

A. Right here in Trieste. I, for one, want to stay here. I don't want to go back, and if they leave any troops here in Trieste, at all, I want to be that one soldier to stay here.

Q. Sargeant, how do the British and American troops get along here, together?

A. Well, the American and British troops stationed here in Trieste get along very well together. They drink together in different bars and the main reason we get along so well together is that our basic language is the same. They speak English and we speak American. Therefore, we get along very well with them.

NED CALMER INTERVIEWING SGT. CLARENCE FRENCH:

Q. And how do you get along with the inhabitants of Trieste?

A. Well, that all depends. The local inhabitants of Trieste -- most speak Italian and if a man can speak any Italian at all, or goes to school to study Italian here, he can get along with the local population.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

As Sergeant French said, you can get along in Trieste as long as you can speak Italian. Even the Slovene minority which lives in Zone A knows this. This is a Slovene school in Zone A, and even here, the children study Italian.

The child you saw learning Italian is Berja Svab, one of the 50,000 Slovenes who, with a quarter of a million Italians, make up Zone A. The Svab family raises grapes and grows wine in a tiny village high over the Adriatic..This is the father, Karel Svab, and his 22 year old son, finishing a day's work in their vineyard. Ethnologically, Karel Svab is devoted to Yugoslavia, but his home is here amongst the Italians. In his life, he has been ruled by many men. He was born and spent his first 20 years under the Hapsburgs..then under Mussolini, then Germany..then, for 40 days the Yugoslavians, and eventually the Allied Occupation Forces. The Svab family live on top of the hill and fly the Yugoslav flag as a sign of their religion. Like all big cities, Trieste cannot

EDWARD R. MURROW:

feed itself...And it can't afford to import everything. Karel Svab and the farmers who live in the tiny village up in the hills are the one hope for survival..No stamping the grapes with bare feet here. This wine press has been in the family for half a century. The Svab family are much more interested in their daily bread than they are in politics, except on the subject of Italy's one day taking over Zone A.

KAREL SVAB SPEAKING:

MURROW TRANSLATION:

"Italy is our blood enemy. Under Italy it would mean death for my children. Under the fields near this house are four fellow Slovenes killed by the Italians during the war. The Italians stole our fishing nets. Mussolini wouldn't let us make wine because it competed with Italy. Either let Yugoslavia run Trieste or let it remain a free territory".

MAMA SVAB SPEAKS:

MURROW TRANSLATION:

"I agree with my husband. Either give Trieste to Tito or keep it a free territory."

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In spite of the Svab's prejudice, many of their best wine customers are the Italians of Zone A. This is the Luna Restaurant of Pietro Venturi..The entire family works here. Signora Venturi does the cooking. Their ten year old son does his homework here, Reporter Ned Calmer asked Signor Venturi to talk politics with him.

SIGNOR VENTURI SPEAKS:

MURROW TRANSLATION:

"I want Trieste returned to Italy. We can then start repairing the port and tourists can come here from Italy without a special passport. He also told us that he doesn't want the Yugoslavians to run Trieste because they massacred hundreds of Italians and buried them in caves during the war..but mostly he said he wants the Italians to take over because it would be good for business." Signor Venturi says "We have nothing against the Slovenes. We have many of them among our customers but I want my son to grow up to be an Italian in an Italian country."

This, then, was Trieste up until the fateful October 8th, 1953. The Hugoslavs wanted it. The Italians wanted it, and since the Big Four Conference in 1947, the United States and Britain couldn't decide what to do with it. Then on October 8th came the big announcement.

MURROW (OVER RADIO ANNOUNCER):

"We interrupt this program for a special news announcement. To bring the present unsatisfactory situation to an end, the United States and Britain have decided to terminate the Allied Military Government and withdraw their troops immediately. Italy will take over Zone A.

Neither Italy nor Yugoslavia had anticipated the announcement. For the Italians it was a moment of great triumph which they celebrated by playing Trieste's victory song - San Guisto Bells.

The announcement was so sudden it stunned both sides but neither the British nor the Americans waited for any reaction. The day after the announcement, both armies prepared to move out. This is the Trieste railroad station as General Sir John Winterton, Commander of all Allied Forces, sent his wife back to England and prepared to follow her. The British and American soldiers who had families there said their sad farewells and prepared to hand over the city to an Italian administration.

The evacuation went so far that the Allies set up a series of auctions to sell off equipment not worth shipping home. This was a warehouse in Zone A. Chairs, desks, tables, filing cabinets and some other effects of the occupation forces were sold by an Italian auctioneer supervised by a British Major.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

But peace hangs lightly in the Balkans and the balance is easily "tripped". In Belgrade, Marshal Tito (who was once reported ready for a compromise) was unprepared to settle it at this date. Even he had a tough time matching his anger to that of his people's. In Belgrade, he warned: "If Italy moves troops into Zone A, he would counter with Yugoslav troops." If the Italians moved there would be no peace in this part of Europe, and he sent his troops up to the border to support his threat. In Zone A, the Allied Command unpacked, and sent the local Trieste police up to the border. Overnight a new Iron Curtain had been created between the two zones.

NEWSPAPER PRESS

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Most of the newspapers are in Zone A - four of them in all, and like all Trieste, -- divided. We polled the editors for their solution to the Trieste problem.

DR. ZANABONI (GIORNALE DI TRIESTE):

Well, we have an Italian newspaper favoring the return of Trieste to Italy. Well, we do this because we have always been in the Italian cultural frame, and the great majority we are all Italians. And well, ethnically and historically we are in favor of this solution.

FRANK KAUS:

The best solution for Trieste would be to incorporate Trieste with Yugoslavia because Trieste is an ethnical island - ethnical territory.

For the Trieste dispute, the best solution is the constitution of the free territory, because otherwise wego into the menace of war. You see perhaps - you know perhaps that at the border in Yugoslavia, there are 13 divisions now. At the border in Italy, there are 6 or 7 divisions now. The history of Trieste must be independent.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Communists have a newspaper here too..and they have a Party headquarters. Originally pro-Tito, they now oppose Tito, Italy, the United States and Britain, but they know how to capitalize on allied confusion. This is Vitorrio Vidali, the Communist leader in Trieste..He was deported from the United States in 1927

Q. Signor Vidali, in the event Zone A and Zone B was maintained a free territory, would your Party hope eventually to establish a Communist regime in the area?

A. For us Communists the best solution for the problem of Trieste was and still is the application of the peace treaty with Italy. That means the constitution of the free territory of Trieste.

SR. VIDALI:

A. Because the constitution of the free territory of Trieste means the unification of the two zones. We agree for a referendum - a plebisdite in order to add the tabulation of all territories - Italians, Slovenians and Croatians, which is there - which will bring about the final arrangement of peace problem.

Q. Signor Vidali, if Italy should go Communist, would the Trieste Communists still favor independence for Trieste?

A. Now listen here. We Communists are realistic. I say if tomorrow Italy would become Communist, then tomorrow we would decide also about the problem of Trieste because this free territory of Trieste between Tito-Yugoslavia and Pella Italy, and controlled by the organization of the U.N. which is very good control by the United States. I don't believe its possible to create a Communist regime or to have a better chance to create it in Trieste.

Q. You mean the U.N. is controlled by the United States?

A. I believe that and you know it too.

Q. Will you repeat that? I don 't think we heard it.

A. That the U.N. today are completely under the control of the United States.

SR. VIDALI:

(INAUDIBLE QUESTION)

A. Oh well, I hope that the whole word...

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Like all Communists he would settle for the world. These people know Communism too. They have been fighting it and have fled from it in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia...there are 25,000 refugees in camps in Trieste. They were encouraged to flee by the U.N. Now they are frightened. They fear the Italians because many of them are Slovenes. They fear a Tito Coup because many of them fold from Yugoslavia or from Zone B. They know that if the allies oull out they will be beyond the protection of the U.N.

Trieste, as with all cities used to trouble, senses confusion and fears the disaster it often breeds. This is the night club we visited earlier. Since October 8th it and all of Trieste night clubs and restaurants have been virtually empty. The Triestini knows that once the allied troops leave, a big part of their economy going and they are saving their pennies as they wait for someone to decide when the other shoe will fall. The Piazza Unita which before October 8th hummed with sidewalk cafes and excited conversations, suddenly became an empty concourse of concrete and vacant tables. As with any vacuum it had to end. Early last week the rioting began.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the Piazza dell Unita again.

RIOTING

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In Zone B, the Italian minority was taking the beating, but here the Italians outnumber the Slovenes by five to one. A week earlier they were auctioning chairs and tables. Now they were throwing them. (Similar riots were going on in Rome and Belgrade.) Before the Trieste disturbance had been brought under control, 9 Italians had been killed...

As for our regular troops, far from going home, they were deployed to try to control the disturbance and to protect the frontiers.

LIEUTENANT:

All right then. This is the situation now. We are moving out to Marmar and hill 199 for the purpose of establishing Observation Posts and observing the Italian and Yugoslavian borders. To our front, you will observe the City of Malfactone - to our left - hill 199 and the city - the town of Medyatsa which is to our right front. All right. Dismissed.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The British and the United States have now withdrawn their plan to evacuate Trieste, but the danger and confusion is not withdrawn so easily. As of today, everyone including Tito and even the Italians, are sorry the whole thing was brought up at this crucial moment in the cold war.

As both sides buried their dead, the Italian government blamed the British for fermenting the trouble..Anthony Eden blamed Italian extremists...and the Yugoslav Government came out for talks with Italy....This is Leo Mathes, Yugoslavian Ambassador to the U.N.

AMBASSADOR:

Trieste never belonged to Italy in the past century and I cannot see how a point can be made on this historical reason. The Italian population in the City of Trieste is a result of the settlement of Italians on Yugoslav soil. The latest move on the side of the United States and United Kingdom government, however, being a unilateral action in violation of the peace treaty, was indeed unacceptable to our country. We believe still that it is possible to find a negotiated solution.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Back in Rome, Ned Calmer went to see Premier Pella. The original promise to give Trieste to Italy was made in 1948 by United States and Britain, in an effort to prevent Italy from going Communist. After the decision was announced, Premier Pella threatened to resign if the allies failed to carry it out.

PRIME MINISTER GUISSEPI PELLA:

Q. Mr. Premier, what about the Trieste problem?

A. I want it to be quite clear. We are not threatening anyone. We do not want to provoke war and we will do all we can to find a solution only by peaceful means. The great majority of the people in the free territory are Italian and they want to come back to Italy.

Q. Mr. Premier, what do you think is the best solution for the Trieste problem?

A. A plebiscite. That is to say let the people decide themselves. We have been accused to imperialism but we are not the imperialists. We are not afraid of consulting the people because we firmly believe in democracy.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Anglo-American decision on Trieste was an example of a miscalculated risk. It has inflamed nationalism but we couldn't make it stick. The prospect now is for a Five Power Conference on the subject. That is perhaps where the matter should have started. All dispatches from Belgrade indicate that this decision and this action has driven Yugoslavia in - not back - toward the Soviet Zone. It is another example that small nations will not do what we tell them to just because they are small and we are big.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

You may have noticed that tonight again we omitted or delayed the middle commercial. We have been doing that in complete agreement with ALCOA but we have been working on a complete story on aluminum - from the time it comes out of the ground until it becomes a finished product. And we are going to do that at length for you some day -- probably December 1st. We will take you to South America, Mobile, and Wenatchee, Washington.
Right now, we would like to show you truck wheels that are made of aluminum.

COMMERCIAL

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SHOW # 7 SEE IT NOW NOVEMBER 3, 1953

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. This is Election night in New York City. The three candidates are standing by at their headquarters but first for an over-all report, lets go to Allen Jackson at our reportorial ...

ALLEN JACKSON:

102nd Mayor, Democratic candidate Robert F. Wagner. His two principal opponents both conceded about an hour ago, and the new Mayor is Robert Wagner. Now back to Ed Murrow.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Now lets go to Mr. Halley's headquarters. Are you there, Mr. Halley?

MR. HALLEY: Hello Ed Murrow.

MR. MURROW: Good evening. How are you?

MR. HALLEY: Very, very well. Thank you, Ed.

MR. MURROW: I think we have Mr. Wagner at the other end of this circuit. Would you like to say anything to him?

MR. HALLEY: I certainly would.

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD: Mr. Wagner is here.

MR. MURROW: Thats Charles Collingwood - not Mr. Wagner.

R. COLLINGWOOD: Mr. Wagner is trying to make his way through a throng through the Ballroom of the Biltmore Hotel but whether he will get through them or not I don't know. These Democrats haven't had anything to cheer about for quite a while.

MURROW: If you can get Mr. Wagner through the crowd ..... Mr. Halley, would you care to say anything about this campaign, sir? Would you care to say anything about the campaign, Mr. Halley, or the result?

HALLEY: Yes, I think we fought a good, hard, clean campaign. I think the results show that the trend is toward Wagner. I wish him all of the best and I hope that everybody in New York City will rally behind him to do a good job for the City of New York. In that respect, we are all together.

MURROW: Now lets see if we can make contact with Mr. Riegelman's headquarters. Perhaps you would like to say something to him, Mr. Halley. There he is. Can you see him on your monitor, Mr. Halley? All right. Well, Mr. Riegelman is there. He can see you.

HALLEY: Well, I will be very happy to offer Mr. Riegelman my sincerest, best wishes and I hope we will work together behind Mr. Wagner to make New York a greater, a happy and a prosperous city for everybody who lives in it.

APPLAUSE

MURROW: And what do you say, Mr. Riegelman?

RIEGELMAN: I completely echo Mr. Halley's statement. I think that the campaign shows the passionate hunger of an enormous number of people in the City of New York for good, clean government. And I am sure that both

RIEGELMAN: Mr. Halley and I will do everything in our power to second and cooperate the efforts of Bob Wagner to give the City that kind of a government. I think that the battle for clean government goes on unceasingly whether you are defeated or whether you win. Its still a battle to give the people the kind of good government they deserve. Its an unending war and its a war that isn't lost even though you lost a battle.

MURROW: Well, Mr. Riegelman and Mr. Halley, lets go back and see if we can get hold of Mayor-Elect Wagner or whether my colleague, Charles Collingwood.

COLLINGWOOD: Yes Ed. Bob Wagner is somewhere in the Hall trying to get through his supporters who are all busy trying to tell him how much they think he is. They are still pressing here. This might be the flying wedge carrying him but its hard to tell - an enormous number of people here - been gathering since 7:00 o'clock tonight. Everybody likes to go on the winner and nobody more than somebody engaged in politics.

MURROW: Perhaps when Mayor-Elect Wagner arrives you will convey to him what has been said by Mr. Riegelman and Mr. Halley.

COLLINGWOOD: I certainly will and wish he were there to do it himself.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

But particular interest centers in the election in New Jersey. Now to Don Hollenbeck for the national results.

DON HOLLENBECK:

Well Ed, the big story on the national scene is certainly New Jersey.For exactly what the Republicans feared, the roof fell on them when Robert Meyner apparently has been elected Governor over Paul Troast. You remember the picture that President Eisenhower had taken with Paul Troast the other day and the subsequent embarrassment. In the Sixth Congressional District it looks as though Harrison A. Williams, Jr. over-felled the Republicans. And in Virginia...

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Thank you for telling us what happened in New Jersey.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

Last Friday, the Nobel Prize Committee announced that General George Catlett Marshall had won the Nobel Peace Prize. We are about to take you to Kansas City, Missouri for an appraisal of General Marshall by an old friend and superior. First we would direct your attention to monitor number one and what is almost a news reel daguerreotype.

The date is September 3, 1939... the day Poland fell. The scene, the old Munitions Building as Secretary of War Harry Woodring and the Adjustant General administer the oath of office to an obscure Major General, who had been jumped over 34 of his seniors for the appointment.

OATH:

You, George Catlett Marshall, having been appointed a General while holding office as Chief of Staff in the regular Army of the United States, solemnly swear that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States from all enemies, foreign and domestic, that you will bear true faith in allegiance to the same. That you take this office freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that you will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office upon which you are about to enter - so help you God.

MARSHALL: I do.

WOODRING: Congratulations and confidence.

MARSHALL: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

ADJUTANT GENERAL: Every good wish for your entire tour, General, as Chief of Staff.

MARSHALL: Thank you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

It was indeed a long and successful tour of duty. He was Chief of Staff during all of World War II. He was Chief Architect of our victory on two continents. After that, Special Envoy to China, Secretary of State, author of the Marshall Plan, Secretary of Defense. Finally, at the age of 71 he was permitted to retire.

LEESBURG, VIRGINIA:

MURROW: General Marshall, you have had most of the honor and some of the abuse that comes to a man in public life. In this age of the writing of many books, why haven't you written one, sir?

MARSHALL: I was interested in the way that you put that question ... the "most" and the some." However...

MURROW: You disagree?

MARSHALL: The "some" seems "most" whether it is or not. My memos are necessarily then repetition adorned with personalities or almost entirely personalities. I don't wish to go into that. I was in office as Chief of Staff for six

GENERAL MARSHALL:

yearsthrough a long series of great events. There were changing views all the time. Just one example, I had to go through the process of making 1600 officers. That was very hard. Not the Juniors - not the Brigadiers, but I was meeting so many of my friends, my contemporaries, and I was going very strongly for young men. Eisenhower, for example, was a Lieutenant Colonel when I walked in. Bradley was a Major. Collins was a Captain. Collins became a Corps Commander. Bradley became a Commander of over three million men almost in the battle - at least two million, and Eisenhower had the greatest collection of arms the world has ever known under one Command. Then the worse of it was I was held on as Chief of Staff during this long 6 years and it fell to me to demote some of those I made. So where I had 1600 friends I made 800 enemies,

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Numbered among George Marshall's friends is the 32nd President of the United States. We sent reporter Wershba and cameraman Mack to room 1107 in the Federal Reserve Building in Kansas City to ask Harry Truman about General Marshall.

Q. Mr. President, is it at all strange to you that this man who spent most of his life in the science of war should be honored with the greatest award in the world for the art of peace?

A. No it isn't because General Marshall's idea always from the time he was Chief of Staff was to win the war with Germany and Japan so a world peace could be established for the benefit of the United States and all the rest of the world. I became very well acquainted with General Marshall when he was Chief of Staff. I was Chairman of the Committee to investigate the National Defense Program and I had consultations with General Marshall on regular occasions - at least once a week the same as I did with the President of the United States, and I came to have a very high admiration of General Marshall because he knew what it was all about. He knew that I as Chairman of that Committee was trying to help the President win the war and he cooperated with me to the fullest extent, and when it was necessary to see that the military made changes in their purse strings, General Marshall always cooperated with that. As Secretary of State he worked exactly the same way. As Secretary of Defense he worked exactly the same way and I never, as President of the United States, asked General Marshall to take a job no matter how difficult it was that he didn't say "Yes Mr. President. I will do the best I can" and he always did.

Q. If you could use one word or phrase to sum up General Marshall, what would you say?

A. He knows the answers. When General Marshall tells you that something is a fact and that it is so, you know that he speaks from knowledge that is based on fact.

Q. What would you say General Marshall's main contribution is to world peace?

A. I think his major contribution was while he was Secretary of State. Thats when the Marshall Plan and the foreign policy of the United States was originated by General Marshall and those who constituted the administration.

Q. I notice that General Bradley and many other Generals, whenever they talk of General Marshall, never refer to him by any other name than "General." What were your personal relations with General Marshall?

A. I always call him General Marshall. And he always calls me Mr. President. And he does yet.

Q. Would you say that the key to General Marshall's character, his own comportment, is that he always placed the civilian in the control of the military?

A. General Marshall has always believed that the civilian head of the government should be in control of the military, and of course, thats what the constitution provides, and General Marshall believes sincerely in the constitution of the United States.

Q. I noticed that General Marshall used to refer to the fact that in peacetime the American people usually let their Armed Forces disintegrate.

A. Thats true. He and I have discussed that many a time. We were trying to figure out a manner in which that would not happen because since we have become the number one world power in the free world, its necessary to have a Force strong enough to make that position what it should be - the leader of the free world - and it takes a strong Force to obtain the respect of those who are against a free world. General Marshall believed in that just as I do.

Q. Can you ever find it in your heart to forgive that little handful of men in public life who attacked General Marshall's personal loyalty and patriotism?

A. No. Thats one of the dirtiest tricks that ever happened. The man who made that attack wasn't fit to shine General Marshall's shoes.

Q. There was a time when General Marshall was Secretary of State that he made a speech and said he thought one of the troubles in our schools was there was not enough teaching of American history. How do you feel about that?

A. I think he is absolutely correct. You will find the United States Senators and Congressmen can't name all the Presidents, and thats a serious, serious lack in the history - when you study the history of the United States you have got to study the history of the administration - the various Presidents of the United States. Every child in this country ought to know the history of this country better than any other one thing he does know. Then he can become a good citizen. He will know what the various approaches are to various difficulties with which we are faced in every generation and how to meet them. He can't do it unless he knows the history of his country.

Q. What would you say was the most interesting period of American history?

A. Oh, there are so many that its hard to pick out a single one. Of course, I have made a special study of the period from 1860 to 1890 which is the most interesting period. The period from 1914 to 1940 is another most interesting period, and of course, the making of the United States from 1776 to 1789 is one of the most interesting periods in the history of the country.

Q. Mr. President, if you had your chance to take whatever period of American history you could have been born in, which period would you have preferred?

A. The one I did become born in. My parents picked a good time for me to be born.

Q. So this period was as interesting as any?

A. Of course it was more interesting to me because I was prt of it.

Q. Mr. President, if you had all the youth of America in this room with you and you were talking to them about the significance of General Marshall's life, what would you say to them?

A. I would tell them that General Marshall made it a point to do the best job possible in every undertaking with which he was working. That was true when he was Chief of Staff. That was true when he was Secretary of State. That was true when he was Secretary of Defense. It was also true when he was working for General Pershing in the first world war.

Q. Do you think we will ever reach the point where the world will be able to enjoy universal peace?

A. I think we can -- I think we can look forward to the time when we will have world peace. At least thats what I spent eight years of my life working for. Thats what General Marshall has spent the best part of his life working for ever since he was Chief of Staff, and I think General Marshall will go down in history as the man of the age.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

At Leesburg, we had asked General Marshall about his advice to the youth of the country.

GENERAL MARSHALL:

But I have been trying my best to influence young people whenever I came in contact with them in public talks to do one thing -- to make it a practice of searching for the facts and not being overwhelmed with a deluge of statements drenched with political phrases, emotions, the appeals that are made through headlines -- through prejudiced paper or columnist, or legislature, or members of the administration. All of this mass -- this torrent of statements and so forth - very confusing, very difficult to understand, and when it comes to international affairs - very critical. So the best I could think of was that our young people should grow up in the habit of trying to get at the facts instead of merely traveling on the emotions, and for the time being, although that would be a miracle, refrain from opinions. But if they have the facts they have the greatest advantage over their elders, particularly at the dinner table, and they spend too much time in trying to find out who is responsible for the last thing, and too little time to find out what they should do in the future -- if I may make that frank statement.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Tonight, General Marshall is recovering from an illness at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington. As for President Truman, we have not always seen eye to eye with him but certainly we do on the subject of George Marshall, and we are also obliged to applaud Mr. Truman's slection of shoe shine boys.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Army has orientation courses designed to teach troops about "to know thine enemy." Tonight we should like to present Lieutenant John Silas Quinn. His credentials for knowing the enemy are considerable.

Lieutenant John Silas Quinn ... B26 pilot shot down in North Korea... wounded, 20 months in a Communist prison camp ... 10 days in an ice cave with no water ... 18 hours a day of relentless questioning to force him to admit to false charges - bacteriological warfare ... finally he complied. He is now back in this country, he remembers for us what he is trying to forget.

LIEUT. JOHN S. QUINN:

When I try to remember back to just exactly what happened to me, its like trying to recall a dream. I mean, the parts don't fit together exactly like they should. It doesn't - when I try to add it up - it doesn't really make sense.

Q. I see. Did you have a feeling that you were being driven slowly insane. In other words, I suppose a psychiatrist might ask: "Did you feel that your personality was disintegrating under the force of this ordeal?"

LIEUT. JOHN S. QUINN:

A. Oh, I don 't know about that psychological turn toward it but I did definitely --- that was out of perhaps the stronger fear really than the fear of losing my live over it was the fear that I would go nuts absolutely. I felt that I was scared silly of that.

Q. What was your first reaction when you realized that you were being pressed to become a willing performer in a sort of a prepared script?

A. Well, my first reaction, of course, was to fight it. I felt that the most foolish thing a person could do would be to confess to it, but my thinking like I say, after an extended period down there with them, I started thinking of different reasons why I ought to do it, and I came out with some pretty foggy answers. I figured it was only internal consumption and I figured, well heck they would believe it anyway even before I went down there, and I knew it would be a very bad move but at the time it was beginning to make sense to me.

Q. Well, were you ever told that you were to be executed, or get lost in the shuffle, or die mysteriously in captivity, or what?

A. Well, they threatened my life. They also said that I would be held there as absolutely a war criminal because I had to cleanse my conscience before I could be forgiven, and the only way I could do that was by this confession. They call it self-

LIEUT. JOHN S. QUINN:

A. confession.... strictly Commie.

Q. Lieutenant, why in your opinion did your captors allow you to be repatriated when surely they know you would repudiate your confession when you were free and that you would tell this story. Surely there would be no problem involved in seeing to it that you died in captivity. Why did they let you go?

A. Oh, they were ready for some of this. I think they expected it. They are not complete dopes. But I think that they thought if we were all missing they couldn't pick and choose. I don't think they might have kept some of them up there that we hadn't heard about for some reason or other but they couldn't keep everybody that they had involved in this thing up there. That would have definitely exposed it to the world right there. I guess they thought they would have a better chance if they sent us home - let us refute them and then they would come back, and like Malek is doing in the U.N. right now saying that we are even put up to it for this reason and that reason so that we can get on with the arms race.

Q. To cover up his own right now in the U.N.?

A. Yes sir, I sure do.

Q. Do you believe that the Communists thought they had convinced you of this participation in this crime against humanity that they cooked up to the extent that you believed in your own guilt?

A. I think they had hopes of that. Yes sir.

Q. You do?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Well Lieutenant, we have had ample evidence placed before the world in the past several days of every form of physical torture, violence and disgusting inhumanity practiced against U.N. prisoners. In your opinion, was any of this simply the brute indifference of primitive people in the value of individual life?

A. No sir, this was controlled. It wasn't anything that they just let go and run amuck. This -- the treatment that we received over there and this whole campaign behind germ warfare, I am absolutely convinced in my own mind, was strictly Commie from the word go. I think you can divorce it completely from the fact that it was executed by the Chinese.

Q. Well Lieutenant, now that you have been through this program of mental harassment, what do you think of it? Would you have rather undergone physical torture?

LIEUT. JOHN S. QUINN:

A. I don't think a person that hasn't been subjected to either -- to both of them can draw really a fair comparison but I know that I felt many times during harassment that I was receiving .. that I wished to heaven that they would use some physical torture on me. I even went so far as to try to force it like I spilled an interrogator's ink all over papers that he had. I spit on the floor where he slept. I don't know. I think there is a connection there some way like the torture that a person goes through when he is getting that soft water just dripping on his head. It isn't the water that hurts. Its the incessant drip, drip, drip that drives him crazy. I don't think when that was first brought out, people could understand that and I think its going to be difficult to understand really what this mental torture that the Communists have cooked up really can do to a person.

Q. Do you feel that the whole business was such a colossal fact that no harm can be done?

A. I certainly think we can smash it and at the same time expose it. I think right now we have the living proof of how the Communists build up their propaganda campaigns, and I just hope to heaven that we make complete use of it in every respect to show up to the world in various countries where Communism is getting a start, where people are being led to believe the lies that they put out. Give them the facts on how they build up

LIEUT. JOHN S. QUINN:

A. their propaganda campaigns and keep them in the right frame of mind because its not living when you get under Communism. Its an existence. You are not even allowed to think your own thoughts.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Most human beings have a breaking point. Most of us don't know what is the cause. We haven't been tested. Only those who shared the experience of Lieutenant Quinn and his fellow prisoners who confessed are entitled to comment on their action.

Good night and good luck.

* * * * *

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

EDWARD R. MURROW:

It was just 24 years ago this week that the bottom fell out of the stock market. About 16 million shares changed hands in a single day. There were hours - there were days when the ticker fell hours behind the market. There have been a lot of changes since then both in the country and in the Stock Exchange, and we are going to take you down there after this brief word from Alcoa.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The difficulty about the financial page in the paper is that this reporter understands so little of it. For example, here it says AT&T earnings show a good gain. Today's offerings total 18 million and it says, "Technical rally rebound from temporarily oversold conditions." And then: "Profit-taking wiped out earlier gains and the market advanced under good leadership, an advance led by better grade stocks disposed speculative issues. Profit-taking wiped out earlier gain. The market advanced on good buying. Most of these phrases to this reporter are just phrases but this is the New York Stock Exchange and we will try to show you something of the way it works.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This program has visited many auctions: cattle rings in Dodge City, hog auctions in Oklahoma, tobacco auctions in Kentucky. This is the greatest auction of them all. Almost 57 million dollars changes hands every day. Thats almost a fifth of a million dollars every sixty seconds. As at all auctions, they speak a special language here. The Floor of the Exchange is roughly the size of a football field with all the trading being done out in the open. On the edge of the Floor are the brokers' booths .. sort of the forward observation posts of brokerage houses all over the country. Although a seat on the Stock Exchange is currently selling at $41,000, there is no such thing as a seat ... (They own only the right to stand on the Floor). The nearest thing to a seat is a number on this annunciator board. The member brokers keep an eye on this board in order to know when their home office needs them. The brokers get the orders from the telephone clerks and then go out to the trading post where stocks are bought and sold. There are more than 1500 stocks listed here and the prices change constantly. This is the quotation room where 65 girls can give you the current price of any stock in an instant.

GIRL: E-U-K-T.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The operators watch the prices on the quote board and average 33,000 calls a day.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

But the quotations on the 200 most active stocks are given automatically. Busy stocks such as Standard Oil, A. T. & T. and the big motors work off tape machines and members merely dial a certain number to get a specific stock quote.

Union Bag and Paper - 43 3/4 to 44 1/8.

SP - 9 1/4 to 3/8.

That balcony under the annunciator board is the President's rostrum. In the past, Stock Exchange Presidents have appeared there only to make vital statements. Keith Funston, who left Trinity College for the $100,000 a year salary as President of the Exchange, visits the balcony once each year.

MURROW: Keith, you used to be an educator, a college President. Why don't you educat me a little about the Exchange?

FUNSTON: Well Ed, the Exchange, of course, is an old institution. It was formed in 1792. Like any institution it grew out of the needs of the time, and Alexander Hamilton after the Revolutionary War, wanted to fund the government debt. He found he couldn't do it unless there was a secondary market established for securities, and out of that need a group of brokers gathered under the buttonwood tree right down here in Wall Street and started the Exchange, and from that the Exchange has grown and our growth represents the growth of the nation and the growth of the companies that are listed here.

MURROW: Keith, how many people have a direct interest in the shop you run here?

FUNSTON: Well Ed, about six and a half million people in this country own stocks in the industrial companies that are listed on the Exchange.

MURROW: How many stocks are listed on the Exchange?

FUNSTON: Well, there are securities of about eleven hundred fifty corporations are listed here. They are mostly American companies but also foreign ones.

MURROW: You know, this placed used to be called something of a gambling den. Is it easier or more difficult to gamble now than it was 25 years ago?

FUNSTON: Well Ed, I hate to have the word "gambling" used in any connection with this Exchange - past, present or future. What we are doing here is providing a market wherein the American people can freely buy and sell securities with full disclosure with the price openly arrived at and published immediately. And I just can't believe that 25 years ago - of course, I wasn't around then -- but I can't believe that any people seriously considered this the type of establishment that you just mentioned. Speaking for the present, I know that it is not a place of gambling.

MURROW: But isn't it possible for two or three fellows to get together and with a little psychological warfare drive the price of the stock up beyond its real market value?

FUNSTON: Well Ed, what you are referring to there is manipulation and thats a nasty word around the Stock Exchange here. We have a rule book that thick (indicating). Many of the rules in there are specifically pointed to preventing anything happening of the kind that you suggest. In other words, we don't believe that there is any opportunity for manipulation here, and our rules are designed to prevent it, and our Governors are watching and enforcing those rules every day.

MURROW: Well Keith, what causes a stock to go up?

FUNSTON: Well, its hard to give a complete answer to that. A very pat answer is, of course, that more people want to buy it than want to sell it at any given time. The prices of stocks, of course, are made by the competition on the Floor of the Stock Exchange between representative of the Buyer and representative of the Seller. Its a two-way auction market.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is one of the 18 horseshoes, or trading posts, which make up the Exchange. Post 4 here specializes in some seventy stocks including General Motors. To narrow our

EDWARD R. MURROW:

focus a bit, we are going down to Post 4 to show you how one stock goes up or down an eighth of a point. Many things can influence it; peace, war, political pronouncements, gossip, but as Keith Funston just said, the basic cause is supply and demand.
And in our little picture, one eighth of a point drop begins not in booth 4, but 1400 miles from Wall Street out on West Locust Street, in Des Moines, Iowa. (It could be any city in the country.) This is the Iowa brokerage office of a New York firm which has eight seats on the Exchange. That is customer Bill Gannon who owns 800 acres and invests, occassionally, a little money in the market, from his small farm.

BILL GANNON:

I am thinking of buying some stock. What do you think of General Motors at the present time?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Board in Des Moines indicates that General Motors has been holding its own between 58 and 59, but before a purchase can be attempted, you have to contact the Floor in New York for the quote at this very minute.

JOHN DOOLEY (BROKER): Marilyn, will you give me a race quote on General Motors, please?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

An open teletype line gets the query to New York in a few seconds.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Merrill, Lynch clerk now asks for a race quote on General Motors. The girl dials the tape machine that constantly keeps up with General Motors.

GIRL: GM - 58 5/8 to 7/8. ETC.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The information is bounced back to Des Moines on the same teletype. In less than 30 seconds, the quote is back on West Locust Street.

JOHN DOOLEY:

General Motors is trading around 58 5/8. That means we have to pay somewhere around 58 and 7/8.

BILL GANNON:

I believe I can handle about a hundred shares. Go ahead and buy.

JOHN DOOLEY:

All right. I will buy that at the market.

BILL GANNON:

All right.

JOHN: Thank you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

So far there has been only a quote ... now there is a firm offer to buy. In essence: "We have a customer who will buy one hundred shares GM at 58 and seven eights if our men on the Floor can find any sellers."

TAPE MACHINE

FELLOW: There is General Motors.

Buy one hundred General Motors.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Merrill, Lynch man on the Floor summons his Floor broker who picks up the slip of paper with the Des Moines order. Back to Post 4 where the deal is made. No actual cash changes hands here but in those seconds of jargon fifty-nine hundred dollars changes hands.

MEN ON FLOOR OF EXCHANGE

VOICE: A hundred General Motors floated.

Carrier.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The sale starts back to the customer.

VOICE: Buy General Motors 58 7/8.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Merrill, Lynch in New York notifies Des Moines that Bill Gannon has bought a hundred shares of General Motors.

JOHN DOOLEY:

Mr. Gannon, looks like you bought a hundred shares of General Motors at 58 and 7/8.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

But just as fast as the customer is notified the Exchange must be notified of the transaction and that the current price of the stock is now 58 and seven-eights. If Gannon had bought at 57 or 59, that would now be the current listing on the big board. This operator types out the new price on this machine which flashes the price out to thousands of ticker tape machines throughout the country and onto the big board of the Exchange. Until a year ago, the Exchange closed at three p.m. - now it stays open an extra half hour. The closing gong starts to ring fifteen seconds ahead of time, and trading is permitted until the final instant. Hundreds of thousands of dollars sometimes change hands in those fifteen seconds.

SOUND OF GONG AND GAVEL

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bickle.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Every Thursday after closing, the Board of Governors meets. As far as we know, no reporters or cameramen have ever been permitted in here. We went in to see just how a new stock gets listed on the big board.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Coleman.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chapman.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Dr. Dickey.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Francis.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rotan.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Griswold.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Foster.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Berman.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hopkinson.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gray.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Funston.

A. Here.

CHAIRMAN: Report of the President, Mr. Funston.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was Chairman of the Board, Richard Crooks, presiding.

KEITH FUNSTON:

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Board: I recommend a listing on the New York Stock Exchange of 2 million 715,000, 522 shares of the capital stock $25.00 par value of the Boston Edison Company. This company, which supplies electricity to the City of Boston, is long established, and for the past year had operating revenues in excess

KEITH FUNSTON:

of eighty millions of dollars. The stock sells at about $48.00 a share and there are 28 thousand 109 stockholders. The company meets all the listing requirements of the Exchange, as I am sure you gathered, from the listing application which was sent to you in advance of this meeting. The Company issues quarterly reports to its stockholders.

CHAIRMAN: If any Governor is ineligible to vote on this question by reason of having a direct or indirect interest in Boston Edison, will he kindly raise his hand. Are there any questions?

VOICE: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Wherley.

MR. WHERLEY: Over what area does the company provide electricity?

MR. FUNSTON: The company serves the entire greater Boston area which comprises about a million and a half people and about 590 square miles.

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, I would like to know the dividends record of this company. For how many consecutive years has Boston Edison paid dividends to its shareholders?

MR. FUNSTON: Mr. Harris, the company has paid consecutive dividends every year since 1890 and the current rate is $2.80 per share.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions? There being no further questions, the Chair will entertain a motion.

MR. BOOKER: Mr. Chairman, I move the recommendation of the President.

MR. BECKER: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the motion, please signify by saying AYE.

CHORUS - "AYE"

CHAIRMAN: Opposed? So ordered.

MEN SWEEPING FLOOR OF EXCHANGE

EDWARD R. MURROW:

After the meeting, Keith Funston and I walked out onto the balcony again to watch the final operation of the day.

MURROW: You know, Keith, as a reporter I spent a lot of time talking about the cold war which in one sense is a conflict or contest between communism and capitalism, and this place that you run is certainly the center or a symbol, at least, of capitalism. How do you feel about this whole contest?

KEITH FUNSTON:

I think that you are absolutely right that this contest for the minds of men between capitalism and communism is one of the great problems of our time. The communists, for example, say lets - let everybody in the nation own a part of the country by the government controlling it. Well now, here in America we have a much better way to make capitalism work for all the benefit of the people through the right capitalistic system, and I mean by getting every American who can afford to,and eventually I hope to have every American own a part of American industry. It seems to me that if we could bring that about, we would teach people what capitalism means. We would give them a vested interest in that capitalism because I have often said that oratory doesn't speak half as loudly as ownership.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We went down to the Stock Exchange...curious how it operated... thought you might be too. What happened here was that the profit from Iowa corn bought one hundred shares of GM. If business is good, the farmer will make a profit - if it isn't, he won't..but it was done in a free market with full disclosure. Don't know much about stocks or corporations but Thoreau was probably right. "It has been truly said that a corporation has no conscience, but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience."

Good night and good luck.

* * * *

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 3, No. 1 (1st half)
September 22, 1953

MR. MURROW: This is the British sector and we are standing just in front of the Brandenburg Gate just at the bottom of June 17th Street. That was the street that was renamed after the riots of June 17th, and the old American embassy is just over here to our [redacted] right.

Dr. Conant, you make your headquarters in Bonn and come up here occasionally, I assume?

DR. CONANT: Occasionally? I come here a great deal. Indeed, I feel that I am here as much as I am in Bonn, pretty nearly.

MR. MURROW: Why is that? Why particularly to Berlin?

DR. CONANT: Because Berlin here represents the important struggle between the free world and the world of slavery which is on the other side of the Iron Curtain. And here, right in this Brandenburg .... for example, people can go into the east sector from the west, and people from the east sector can come here. Therefore, we are on exhibit, the free world is on exhibit, and they are on exhibit too. And then the--

MR. MURROW: This serves as a sort of test tube, doesn't it, where one can see the reactions on both sides?

DR. CONANT: I don't know as I like that analogy. I would say it serves as a sort of transparency--a window through which we can look into the troubles in the east and they can look into the success of the west.

MR. MURROW: What about the food we have been distributing? Do the people receiving it know that it comes from the States?

DR. CONANT: Oh, yes, there can be no question about that, if for no other reasons than that when they come back to the east zone, they receive pamphlets warning them not to take this food, that it comes from America, that it's capitalistic horsemeat.

* * * * * * *

MR. MURROW: If there is one man in Berlin who personifies the toughness, the determination and the steadiness of these West Berliners, it is the Mayor, Professor Ernst Reuther. He was even good enough to come down and show Howard Smith around the bombed-out ruins of the Reichstag.

* * * * * * *

MR. SMITH: Mayor Reuther, regarding your optimism

about the reunification of Germany, how do you foresee that coming about?

MAYOR REUTHER: It can come about only by using every means of pressure, persuasion, strengthening our moral force, and showing to the Soviets that they are not in a position to digest Germany, that it doesn't give sense for them to be obstinate, to stand on a place which is lost for them anyway.

MR. SMITH: What would we do? Would we try to get them into a conference?

MAYOR REUTHER: I think we have to test them--to test them every day, and certainly by the meeting of a conference too. Well, nobody can foresee what will be the outcome of a conference, but the Soviets are not free in their behavior. If nothing comes out, the desperation of our people in East Germany will become greater and their resistance will become greater, and the Russians know that very well.

MR. SMITH: Are we doing the right things? Are we doing enough of the right things?

MAYOR REUTHER: Sometimes I feel that we are acting too slowly. The coordinating of the western world is a very difficult business, I know that; and the strength of the Russians is our weakness, our lack of coordination and lack of

imagination to go ahead and to press them quicker, stronger than we have done before.

MR. SMITH: What do you think about Sir Winston Churchill's idea of a kind of Locarno to give the Russians a guaranty of security?

MAYOR REUTHER: Yes--you know, old Churchill during all of his life has been a man of imagination, and something in his idea was not so bad. It's a pity that the western world is moving so slowly and discussing everything for months and months; we have an expression, "zerreden"--I don't know what that means in English--

MR. SMITH: To speak things to pieces.

MAYOR REUTHER: Yes. Well, we have to overcome this tendency in our own ranks too. But now I beg your pardon, I have to go back to my office.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 41
June 14, 1953

MR. MURROW: We should like to take you now to a small campus in the Midwest for commencement week. It is our hope that some of the vitality and enthusiasm of the Class of '53 may rub off on us.

* * * * * * *

MR. MURROW: We sent reporter Ed Scott out to Oberlin because we wanted to visit a small, liberal, coeducational arts college in the Middle West, and because no one on See It Now ever attempted... Oberlin ended its academic year with an unimpressive football record and a rather impressive academic record.

[Student discussion concerning academic freedom and Communism.]

MR. MURROW: We have been visiting at Oberlin College at commencement time. As a matter of fact, this is rather our commencement too, because we have been presenting these Sunday reports for the last two years. Two years--that's

about time enough to graduate from Kindergarten, and we rather feel that that is about the position we have reached in regard to the use of this wondrous medium. We shall be back again in the Autumn presenting this report at 10:30 New York time on Tuesdays, and we hope that you will permit us to present it to you at that time.

Good night and good luck.

All right now, we talked originally about this test of integrity for members of the college faculties. The Oberlin College faculty when it passed the statement on academic freedom said that integrity was the test of a professor. Now, I think if a man if following any large number of the biases of the Communist Party why he is going to be failing in his basic conduct of integrity, because he isn't a free scholar there.

Then why does he stay in the Party if he is going to maintain his integrity or why does he belong in the Party? I mean if he is in the Communist Party it is practically certain how can he be objective if he is a Communist.

How can you be objective if you are a Republican and how can you be objective if you are a Democrat unless you have a free discussion when everybody presents his point of view no matter how biased each one is. You can't know the truth because everyone is biased to a certain degree. You can't just eliminate one person because he is biased because everybody is. This thing doesn't only affect Communists but affects those who have been Communists in the past.

What can you say for the person who has renounced his Party membership but still gets kicked out, put under trial or put under oath for holding bias in the past?

I don't think they are kicking them out for that.

They are kicking them out for holding a card in the Communist Party.

I don't think they are.

Amy is bringing up a very important point of something that Learned Hand said last October, I believe. He said risk for risk he thought it would be a whole lot less dangerous to let a few traitors go undetected than to cast a pall of suspicion over the whole country, and that brings up a very important point in connection with academic freedom. I think if you start testing the beliefs of every professor to decide whether he is a dyed-in-the-wool Republican or Democrat, or however you want to classify it, then you restrict all the other professors in their freedom of speech.

But Dick, we are not testing the beliefs of every other professor. We just want to see if he belongs to the Party or not, and there is a difference between having a belief and adhering to the straight line or carrying a card. Why take a man who is obviously a bad risk? If he has been a Communist the chances are 99 to 1 that he is going to be distorting the truth. Why take a chance and find out later? Why not just not hire him in the first place?

As long as we know he is distorting the truth, that's the important thing. As long as he is doing it out in the open then we're O.K.

You mean you think a guy ought to be allowed to distort the truth out in the open?

No, everybody distorts the truth. That's the point.

Does a Communist distort it more than anyone else?

Well, how do I know.

I think this kind of thinking demonstrates the kind of thinking that Louis Bromfield talked about sometimes when he talked about"egg heads"; the intellectual softies that don't appreciate the difference between the real Communist--I mean they try to make the difference of a real Communist and oh just a guy that belonged to the Party, you know.

What appears what Mr. Hand is afraid of, I think, is that we are going to carry this too far. It would be kind of nice if we could set out those who are really setting out whole-heartedly to undermine the United States Government. But in the process they are afraid that we are going to drag out everyone else too and cast suspicion over the whole country. If you are going to have a free country, you are going to have it free for all bias, I'd say.

Security

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TRANSCRIPT OF

SEE IT NOW - CBS TELEVISION

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1952

6:30-7:00 P.M.

ANNOUNCER: Stand by now for SEE IT NOW, with Edward R. Murrow, which originates in Studio 41 in New York City.

(THEME)

(COMMERCIAL) ALCOA, Aluminum Company of America, in cooperation with CBS Television, presents the distinguished reporter and news analyst Edward R. Murrow in SEE IT NOW, a document for television, based on the week's news and told thru the actual voices and faces that made the news, edited and produced by Mr. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, a public service of Aluminum Company of America, the nation's leading producer of aluminum. Now, speaking to you from the actual control room of Studio 41 is the editor of SEE IT NOW, Edward R. Murrow.

EXECUTIVE FILES

MURROW: Good evening!

The American armed forces are the best-fed in the world, but a great deal of the food comes out of cans. That is not true with the Thanksgiving turkey. They will be dropping turkeys by parachute to some of the isolated units in Korea. And in the armed forces there is always a manual that tells you how to do anything and everything. We reckon that the armed forces this Thanksgiving will eat about three and a half million pounds of turkey. That's about 175,000 turkeys. And so, with a credit line to Bob and Ray of NBC, we present what might be called the preparation and dissection of the tom turkey.

We filmed this at three different military installations in this country, and we start on the aircraft-carrier "Bennington", as our cameras found her in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

SPEAKER: Hi, men. This is the way you prepare a turkey in the United States Navy. The "Bennington" is a good ship and a good feeder; we want to get this chow right. First of all, you take this vegetable salad oil and grease your turkey down all over, so it won't crack when it gets in the oven. You want to get the oil in the wings and in around the legs and everywhere where it's going to crack. After you get this bird all browned good, you take your salt and pepper; you mix it together in your pan. Now, you gotta mix this salt and pepper up good, so you don't get too much seasoning on the turkey. Now, you take it and you rub this salt and pepper into the bird thoroly, all over, so that you get every part of it seasoned. After you get this seasoning rubbed in, it's ready to go in the oven.

SPEAKER: Gentlemen, you've all heard the old joke that there's three ways to do anything: the right way, the wrong way, and the service way. Well, we in the Air Force don't believe that anymore. Today we believe there's only one way to do anything - and that's the right way. That's why we called you all together here today, so that Tech Sergeant Tiny Little here can show you the Air Force way to carve a turkey.

LITTLE: Gentlemen, you're all gathered here today - since Thanksgiving's a few days off, we're gonna try to give you a few instructions on how to carve a turkey fowl. You're

all familiar with this book, A.F.M. 146-3. Gives you all the inside poop on how to prepare and fix up a turkey. Now, I'll show you how to carve it after it is cooked. First cut I'll make will be to take off the thigh and the leg. Now, the right joint right here. I'll lay it over here for the time being and I'll work on that later.

SPEAKER: This is the Army way now. In this book here it shows you how the ....(Southern accent - unintelligible) and the recipe is followed right thru. It's the Army Training Manual 10-412. I'm gonna show you the practical way of carving a turkey. This is the Army way only. In civilian life we do it different. First, you move the turkey 'round, remove his legs; then you can just take and remove the wing here. When you get thru this here, you ... (unintelligible) take hold of his legs here. Of course, we know the drumstick is flavored thruout .....? Strip this drumstick down later on. See how you do this? You strip the thigh down and also the wing here, which we have removed. Now, here is the white meat, (which is famous ? thruout the Army ....

SPEAKER: All right, men. This is the way you carve a turkey in the United States Navy. First, I want you to be sure you have a sharp knife, because a sharp knife never cuts you; it's a dull one. First we're gonna cut the leg off. Now, you're taking his joint, his legs and the thigh. I'll have to split this thigh, because it's too heavy a ration this way. The reason we take the knife in a long, easy stroke like that is you try to get all the pieces in uniform size. Of course, your first small pieces won't be very large. Now, there's a piece that's a normal serving. We'll save

these backs for to make our soup tomorrow morning. Trim this off here. This is the part you don't want to use. Get all this skin off your neck and then all you have is your breast. That, gentlemen, is how the United States Navy carves its turkey. Any questions?

SPEAKER: Now, you've seen how to carve turkey in the Air Force. Are there any questions?

SPEAKER: Are there any questions by you men before we go any farther?

SPEAKER: Hey, Sergeant, how long has it taken you to carve a turkey like that?

SPEAKER: Seven years, Corporal, seven years!

MURROW: Seven years, Corporal, seven years! We hope that that demonstration will be of some use to the civilians as well. Not far from here, another old soldier with better than forty years' service has set up his headquarters, learning a newjob with no training manual to help him. On the sixth floor of the Commodore Hotel, General Dwight D. Eisenhower has set up what might be called the White House-elect. It is a place that is crowded constantly by job-seekers, by politicians, by reporters, and by photographers. Our cameraman, Charlie Max, spent three days there trying to bring you some of the color, some of the climate, some of the atmosphere that goes on in the Commodore Hotel. One of the first arrivals on the day that he was there, on his first, was Senator Robert Taft, of Ohio.

SPEAKER: Senator Taft, this way, please! All right, fellers, move along.

SPEAKER: Aw, take it easy! Aw, now, don't! Take it easy! Take it easy! You've got time there.

(?-background interference)

SPEAKER: Senator, this is the usual treatment.

SPEAKER: Senator Taft, this way, please.

MURROW: The Senator answered some general questions in a general way.

TAFT: We all were only anxious to find out which the General was interested in most or what the General's thoughts were on the subject. The very general conclusion ... we're not going to agree today on a legislative program or anything of that kind or propose that it be done.

(Conversation in background)

MURROW: Each guest was processed. First step after the elevator, the General's private office at the end of the hall.

WOMAN: General Eisenhower's office!

MURROW: While the General and his old rival chat life goes on at the Headquarters.

WOMAN: Thank you! General Eisenhower's office! Mr. Hagerty? Sorry, his extension's busy. Will you wait, please? General Eisenhower's office!

MURROW: Most of a reporter's time is spent waiting.

SPEAKER: Senator ... Senator Taft, right here, please! Fellers, make room! Don't push, fellers! There's plenty of time and room for everybody. All right, just take it easy, please!

MURROW: After the conference the deprocessing continues. The working press gets first crack at him in Room 600. No cameras allowed here. Next, the newsreel boys a little farther down the hall.

(conversation in background)

SPEAKER: Here, Senator! Right over here, Senator, please. Look all around the room, Senator, left and right.

SPEAKER: Please, Senator, remember, keep your eyes up. Please keep your eyes up. When I drop my hand, Senator, that will be the signal to start.

SPEAKER: Senator, did you (drowned out) the Taft-Hartley Law?

TAFT: Well, the Taft-Hartley Law is one of the laws which will ... will be dealt with, undoubtedly, in the next session of Con-

gress, and I have prepared a number of amendments which I will have ready for remission to Congress. No doubt, other amendments will be presented. I think we'll probably have hearings for fix weeks and everybody will have his say.

SPEAKER: Thank you very much!

SPEAKER: Senator, right over here, please, Senator.

MURROW: Final check point, the elevator, where, as the Senator put it, everybody gets checked out.

SPEAKER: (background conversation) ..... President Truman yesterday?

TAFT: No, you'll have to ask him about that.

SPEAKER: Heard anything about the budget that President Truman will submit?

TAFT: No! No! No! How do I get out of here?

SPEAKER: Right through here. (laughter)

TAFT: Thank you very much!

MURROW: Next visitor, Mrs. Catherine Howard, a big Ike booster.

HOWARD: (background conversation) ..... I wouldn't comment on that.

SPEAKER: (Background conversation) ..... more in this Administration than in the last?

HOWARD: I think so, because Eisenhower has been very whole-souled about his feeling about (drowned out) ..... natural, spontaneous thing on his part.

SPEAKER: (Reply drowned out)

MURROW: Senator Frank Carlson, an old Kansas friend.

CARLSON: Oh, yes! (drowned out) are available.

SPEAKER: Is it going to be like this all the time, Senator?

CARLSON: Yes, it will be like this.

SPEAKER: (drowned out) ..... hope you had a little rest down there, that's what I really do.

CARLSON: Thanks! Thanks, fellers!

(background conversation)

MURROW: Senator Wiley, (background conversation) ..... foreign relations.

WILEY: Complete accord with his approach. The General expressed a complete dedication to theprinciples of the U. N.

MURROW: A query for John Foster Dulles.

SPEAKER: (background conversation) ..... may be appointed (unintelligible interference)

DULLES: Well,if and when any Cabinet appointments are to be announced, they will be announced by General Eisenhower himself.

MURROW: Press Secretary Hagerty had the answer.

HAGERTY: (background conversation) ..... say that following his inauguration he would send the nominations of the following to the Senate for confirmation as members of his Cabinet: John Foster Dulles of New York City, Secretary of State; Charles E. Wilson of Detroit, President of the General Motors Corporation, Secretary of Defense; Governor Douglas McKay, of Salem, Oregon, Secretary of the Interior.

MURROW: Harold Stassen.

SPEAKER: (background conversation) ..... Cabinet appointment for you, sir?

STASSEN: As I indicated to the press a minute ago, I will not make any other comments of any kind at this time; not the right time to say anything more than what I have said.

SPEAKER: For Director of the Mutual Security Organization, Harold E. Stassen of Philadelphia. For Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, Jr., of New York City.

MURROW: This is Herbert Brownell, an appointee from within the shop, a veteran of two Dewey campaigns. He helped put Ike over at Chicago.

BROWNELL: At the direction of the President-elect, I'm asking J. Edgar Hoover, who is the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investiga-

tion, to continue to serve in that capacity when the incoming Administration is in office.

MURROW: The incoming mail is endless, almost as much as at the White House. It must be read, sorted, and answered.

WOMAN: "My dear General: (From Tucson, Arizona) My son was shot down in Korea on a bombing run. He was seen to parachute out and hit the ground safely, running up a nearby hill with his parachute. A rescue plane came in later, but never made contact with him and he has been missing in action ever since."

SPEAKER: "Dear President: I am nine years old and you might think that I am too small to know about all this, but I think that you would look better if you had a moustache. I like Stevenson the best, but when I drew a moustache on you I liked you the best."

WOMAN: "I worship in a church where we believe in prayer and I just wanted to write and tell you that we will be praying for your safety on this trip to Korea. We believe that God will protect you on this worthy mission and bring you back safely to your people."

SPEAKER: "Dear General: I read where you have a live goose you don't need. As I need a pet, I wish you would send it to me. My two brothers just got back from Korea and said you could send it COD."

WOMAN: "Is there some little thing you could send us so we can raffle it off to raise building ... raise money for our new community building?" "Yours Sincerely."

MURROW: There was much that could be sent. The gifts poured in from all over, were checked by the Secret Service, and then passed on to gift curator, Alice Hardy.

HARDY: This is (unintelligible-words telescoped) ..... and his personal headquarters. We have made it a policy not to accept

gifts of intrinsic value. Now, this looks, perhaps to you, as if it's an oil painting or at least a water color or a crayon, but, actually, if you could see it closely, you'd find out that it was made up of yarn. An eighty-year-old man did this, starting with Eisenhower's nomination and completed it just before the election. And here's the beginning of Eisenhower's life, so to speak, and it's half in Abilene and the road to success, according to this eighty-year-old gentleman, till he finally gets on top of the Republican elephant, brandishes a broom, and, according to this gentleman's concept, he drove the vultures out of the White House.

MURROW: Plus potatoes from Maine, corn from Massachusetts, squash from New Hampshire, apples from Connecticut, and a turkey from Vermont, all delivered by New Hampshire's Governor Sherman Adams.

(Background conversation)

SPEAKER: General! General! Pat the turkey, please, for the newsreel.

EISENHOWER: Is that all right?

SPEAKER: Thank you, sir!

WOMAN: (Telephone Operator) General Eisenhower's office! Mr. Summerfield? Thank you very much! General Eisenhower's office! .....

(MORE)

TELEPHONE OPERATOR: General Eisenhower's office. Mr. Arthur Summerfield? Thank you very much. (background talking) General Eisenhower's office. His line is busy, sir. Senator Carlson? Just a moment please. General Eisenhower's office. Mr. Hagerty? Thank you. General Eisenhower's office ...

SPEAKER: Well, we'll get to it some time during the day. By the way, I think it's about time, if we can, to try to get something to eat. Will you order a sandwich, cup of coffee for me.

MURROW: The name Hagerty echoes around here like the name Steve Early and Joe Short, at the White House. As Press Secretary, he is a major link between Eisenhower and all news media. We asked him about his job.

HAGERTY: Well, I don't exactly know the answer to that myself. You have to have a lot of answers to a lot of questions that you get almost every minute from anywhere from twenty-five to a hundred newspapermen that are constantly covering the headquarters, covering the president-elect. You have to have sometimes quite a degree of patience. Sometimes I don't think I have enough. But it's a job that you have to do, working with the newspapermen, keeping them informed to the best of your ability on the activities of the president-elect.

MURROW: One last question.

HAGERTY: Sure.

MURROW: If you had to do it all over again, would you do it all over again?

HAGERTY: Yeah, I think so.

MURROW: The General says good night.

EISENHOWER: ..... Rough day. (background talking)

MURROW: And the Secret Service goes with him.

(background noise and talking)

MURROW: One platoon leaves and another one moves in to police the area.

WOMAN: .... when he goes to Washington on the 20th of January. And, you know, Bridie, so many people looking for jobs. He's so busy. And then these politicians he has to see.

BRIDIE: I really wonder how the General felt when he met President Truman, after all those hard words they had during the campaign. But it's the right way. I'm so glad that they shook hands. I mean, it's only the right way, the real American way.

WOMAN: Well, I hope he gets this Korean situation straightened out.

BRIDIE: And I hope everything'll turn out all right.

WOMAN: Well, I hope so. I'm sure it will.

MURROW: Tomorrow there will be more conferences and more announcements in Room 600. But this day is over. The staff members, the secretaries, the chamber maids will leave their responsibilities till Monday. The President-elect will carry his wherever he goes, day and nite.

After the pressures of the Commodore, the General may find the long flight to Korea rather restful.

Time now for ALCOA. And if you look carefully -- we don't know very much about commercials -- but if you look carefully, about halfway thru this you'll see a very interesting shot.

ANNOUNCER: (COMMERCIAL)

MURROW: Last week, we had prepared a report on Harrison, New York, a town of about 17,000 people that had been having an argument. We jettisoned it in favor of the H-bomb story, which broke about an hour before we went on the air. We go back to Harrison, by film, today, where there had been a great discussion about a loyalty oath - whether or not the representatives of all organizations using the school buildings, including the Boy Scouts and other civic organizations, would be required to sign a loyalty oath before they would be permitted to use the school buildings. That was to apply to all speakers and to all the heads of all organizations. A public meeting was called. We were allowed to go out and film it. You will observe some rather unusual parliamentary procedures. The meeting began on time. The meeting was held in a modern high school building in the town of Harrison, population about 17,000.

SPEAKER: Now, ladies and gentlemen, I realize that many of you are perhaps anxious to get away as soon as possible.

AUDIENCE: (shouts)

SPEAKER: I will, therefore, ask at this time if there are (sic) anyone who wish to address the board.

MURROW: There were more than a dozen speakers. Rev. Shaker, an Episcopal minister, was one of the first.

SPEAKER: Reverend Shaker.

SHAKER: Loyalty cannot, in our opinion, be legislated or imposed by resolution. Patriotism comes from within - not without. We feel, therefore, that the proposed loyalty oath would be completely ineffective. A subversive person would hard-

ly hesitate to sign it. A loyal citizen would not be made any more loyal by signing it.

SPEAKER: As .....? of the Connell Edison Post of the American Legion, I am deeply concerned with this question here tonite, this question of the loyalty act, the question of whether the head of an organization should be asked to sign the act or not. Now, I don't know just what is in the minds of the other people, but here's my opinion of it. If I'm the head of an organization in this town, no matter what it is, and I have nothing to hide, I see no reason and I certainly would not feel the least bit humiliated if I had to sign that act.

WOMAN: I don't think that that is the point at issue. You can believe in your country and what's good for your country without signing oaths. I don't think that that makes any difference. I think that the people that have spoken tonite have very little faith, first of all, in the United States Government, in the school board, and in themselves. Must you go 'round signing oaths to prove you're a good American? I don't think so.

SPEAKER: I want to let it be known at the outset that I'm in favor of tonite's proposal. But I suppose my being in favor of it would not influence the majority of the people like someone who may have had a title, for instance, like a great educator. I'm just a common, ordinary citizen, just a white-collar worker. The remark has been made that we are creating a great deal of dissension by proposing such an oath. Nothing of the kind. It isn't necessary. There's no problem. You are the ones that are creating the dissension by shouting that it's un-American. You're taking

away our rights. (applause) Ladies and gentlemen, don't make a problem of it. When you're asked to take the oath, if the time should come, take it.

SPEAKER: Frederick George Cartwright!

MURROW: It was a long evening. But the only uneasy moment came when Frederick G. Cartwright, a self-styled anti-subversive from New Jersey, rose to enter the argument.

CARTWRIGHT: .... he is a loyal American is beyond my comprehension. (applause) We have permitted our buildings to be used by members of the Communist Party and their supporters to propagandize, enslave us of Soviet Russia. I have here a pamphlet from Englewood, New Jersey, which lists a group of speakers that have spoken in public schools in that community. I'll name one or two of them. One is William S. Gailmore, who has been identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party. (noise)

SPEAKER: Let the gentleman speak, please! (noise) Now, just a minute, please.

(shouts from audience)

(MORE)

in sworn testimony, as a member of the Communist Party.

SPEAKER: Let the gentleman speak, please. Just a minute, please. (shouts)

Where're you from?

SPEAKER: Englewood, New Jersey. (cheers - shouts)

SPEAKER: Just a minute, please. I don't think it's necessary for anyone to prompt me. The gentleman said he's not from Harrison, and I'm going to ask him that he please refrain from talking. I don't need any prompting from the audience.

MURROW: Both sides were able to present their side of the argument. But it was all quite academic.

Several hours earlier, the school board had passed the resolution, and the board members had been the first to take theoath. (voice in background)

SPEAKER: I (unintelligible) (chorus repeats) do solemnly swear or affirm (chorus repeats) that I have not at any time in the past (chorus repeats) belonged to an organization (chorus repeats) advocating the overthrow of our form of government (chorus repeats) and that I do not belong to any such organization now (chorus repeats).

I also (chorus repeats) do solemnly swear or affirm (chorus repeats) that I do not believe (chorus repeats) in the overthrow of our form of government (chorus repeats) nor do I advocate the same (chorus repeats).

Alright, gentlemen, we will now sign this ...

MURROW: The school board had the last word. They signed

the oath. But as for us, the last words we remember, were those of the Rev. Chator as he quoted the distinguished jurist, Learned Hand.

REV. CHATOR: "That community is already in the process of dissolution, where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy. Where non-conformity with the accepted creed is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation takes theplace of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent.

The Supreme Court of the United States stated a few years ago: 'Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent, soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion, achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard.'"

MURROW: We're grateful to the Harrison School Board for permitting us to film the proceedings. We find rather unusual the procedure of decision preceding debate.

We might have devoted this time to a discussion of the Indian proposal before the United Nations. We might have speculated about the composition of the remaining members of General Eisenhower's cabinet. We chose to go to Harrison because television can take you places, even little places, and we regarded what happened at Harrison, as not altogether unimportant.

We went for another reason as well, and that is that there are people who believe that there is a tendency in this country to confuse dissent with desertion. And we went also because we believe

It is important that the individual will be permitted to be right and also to be wrong. Good Night and Good Luck!

ANNOUNCER: (C O M M E R C I A L)

Ed. trans. E.S.
A.C.
P.O.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 9
November 2, 1952

MR. MURROW: In the closing week of what has become an increasingly bitter campaign, the candidates were concentrating on the big States--Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania. The man who could win two of those three would probably win the big prize, and General Eisenhower, without mentioning any names, disavowed what has come to be called "McCarthyism." He made the speech in Chicago.

GENERAL EISENHOWER: There are those who believe that any means are justified by the end of rooting out Communism. There are those who believe that the preservation of democracy and of the soul of freedom can and must be accomplished with decency and fairness and due process of law. I belong to this second school.

MR. STEVENSON: Will the big guns, the not-so-secret weapon of these last weeks of the Republic campaign, the Junior Senator from Wisconsin--will he be enlightened and chastened by the heady wine of triumph? The Wisconsin Senator, who told the country the truth for once the other day when he

said that his power in Washington depends upon the General's election.

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 1, No. 26
May 11, 1952

May Day in
Berlin and Tokyo

MAYOR ERNST REUTHER OF BERLIN: It [shooting down of French Airlines plane by Russian planes] is an incident in the cold war, and a very bad one. We don't want to exaggerate it, but we don't want to minimize it. Even during the blockade no shot was fired, and this is the first time that we have seen a Soviet pilot shooting against a plane coming to Berlin. We know that the Russians want to weaken our nerves. But even the Russians in the long run will understand that it is impossible to weaken our nerves.

MR. MURROW: More than ten days later there is still no response from the other side of the Brandenburg Gate, no apology to Air France or to the Bonn Government.

Five thousand five hundred miles from Berlin, where our old enemies of the Axis once made war, there was independence and peace along the Ginza. Japanese girls in American dress, and American jazz in Japanese dress. And for Independence Day the Emperor wrote a poem: "Winter winds have died away; the long awaited spring is here; cherry blossoms are

blooming full today; now is the nation's springtime."

But on May Day in Japan, springtime and peace and independence were all much less spectacular than the riots which took place just outside General Ridgeway's headquarters in the Daichi Building. It started out as a big Independence Day celebration; it ended with riots in the streets .... overturned automobiles. Hardly a propaganda victory for the new Japanese government. We had been expecting it from the Communists in Berlin. We got it in Tokyo. [Pictures of riot scenes in Tokyo.]

We now have an alliance with Japan. We are forming one with Germany. We have commitments to preserve the peace all the way around the world. Never before in our peacetime history have we had such a group of alliances. But we should remember that the passage of seven years of time and the signing of a piece of paper do not necessarily alter or change the traditional aspirations, desires and demands of any people. The reward for our victory is that we now preside over a most uneasy alliance that stretches pretty well around the world.

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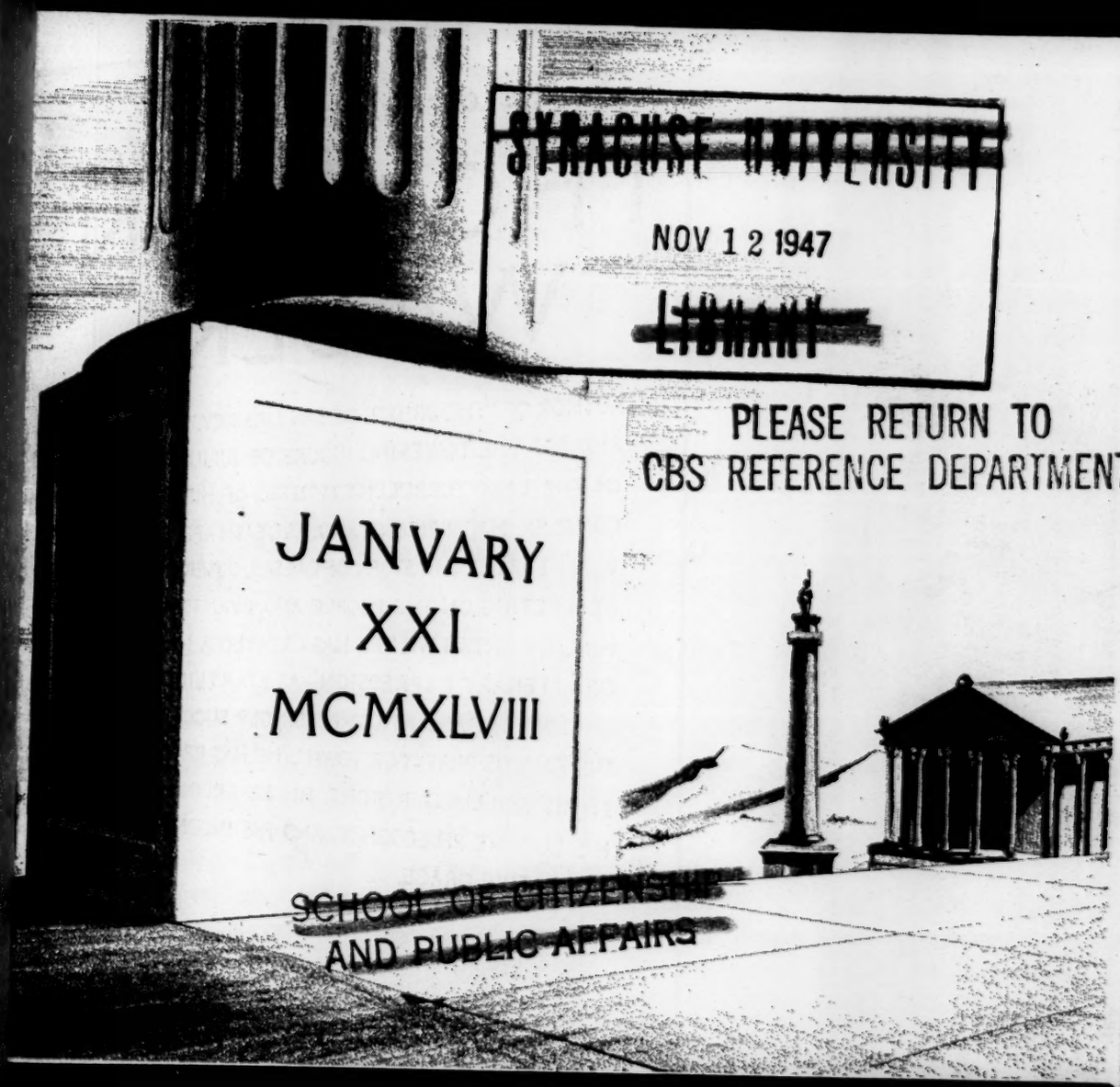

SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE AMERICAN BOOK TRADE JOURNAL

CURRENTS IN THE TRADE

News and Comment on the Trends of the Week

AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS OPPOSE HOUSE COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS on October 27 carried an impressive amount of expensive advertising space paid for by various groups opposing the tactics of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. A statement by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, occupied a full page in the New York *Times;* a full page in *PM* was sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America; a half page statement in the New York *Herald Tribune* was signed by a group of 112 of the most prominent people in the entertainment and art fields; and there was a large, three-column statement in the *Times* and *Herald Tribune* signed by 67 members and non-members of Americans for Democratic Action, including Franklin P. Adams, Agnes Rogers Allen, Frederick Lewis Allen, Bennett Cerf, Norman Cousins, Wolcott Gibbs, John Gunther, John Hersey, Laura Z. Hobson, Marquis James, Chester Kerr, James Ramsey Ullman, Theodore Amussen, Thomas Coward, Robert Haas, Harold K. Guinzburg, Alan Green, George Macy, Jerome Weidman, Maxwell Anderson, Howard Lindsay, Russell Crouse, MacKinlay Kantor, Quincy Howe, E. J. Kahn, Jr., Moss Hart, Charles Jackson, and others.

EDWARD R. MURROW COMMENTS ON HOLLYWOOD INVESTIGATION

EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS news commentator, in his October 27 broadcast, expressed his views on a few of the implications of the investigation being conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. For those *PW* readers who did not have an opportunity to hear this statement, we quote in part.

"In general," said Mr. Murrow, "Congressional committees have concerned themselves with what individuals, organizations or corporations have or have not done, rather than with what individuals think. It has always seemed to this reporter that

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movies should be judged by what appears on the screen, newspapers by what appears in print, and radio by what comes out of the loudspeaker. The personal beliefs of the individuals involved would not seem to be a legitimate field for inquiry, either by government or by other individuals . . ."

Mr. Murrow called attention to the events of the war which were taking place when "Mission to Moscow" and "Song of Russia" were released, emphasized the fact that America and Russia were military allies, and noted that Wendell Willkie's book "One World" was published during that period. "If these pictures, at that time and in that climate, were subversive," Mr. Murrow continued, "then what comes next under the scrutiny of a Congressional committee? Correspondents who wrote and broadcast that the Russians were fighting well and suffering appalling losses? And if we follow the parallel, the networks and the newspapers which carried those dispatches would likewise be investigated.

"Certain government agencies . . . are obliged to maintain security without doing violence to the essential liberties of the citizens who work for them. That may require special and wholly defensible security measures. But no such problem arises with instruments of mass communication. In that area, there would seem to be two alternatives. Either we believe in the intelligence, good judgment, balance and native shrewdness of the American people, or we believe that governments should investigate, intimidate and finally legislate. The choice is as simple as that.

"The right of dissent, or if you prefer, the right to be wrong, is surely fundamental to the existence of a democratic society. That's the right that went first in every nation that stumbled down the trail toward totalitarianism." He recalled that the search for Communists after the first World War was a "passing phenomenon," but that since Russia is an expanding power, the situation is now different.

"And while we're discussing this matter, we might remember a little-known quotation from Adolph Hitler, spoken before he achieved power. He said: 'The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it, to imitate it.'"

CENSORSHIP PLAN DROPPED

President Truman's Security Advisory Board has dropped previously considered provisions to censor information which might cause "serious administrative embarrassment," a phrase which the board had included under the "confidential" security classification. The board's action was prompted by condemnation of the proposed rules by the board of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The original proposal would have rendered a government employee subject to dismissal on disloyalty charges if he revealed or permitted to be revealed information which might cause official "embarrassment," or any unauthorized disclosure of information which would be "prejudicial to the interests or prestige of any governmental activity," a condition which was also to have been considered of a "confidential" nature.

The complaints of newspaper men against the attempt to cut off government information were based on the fact that the proposed rules would affect the purely civilian agencies of the government; the State, Army, Navy, and Defense Departments are already protected by their own security classifications.

NEW FIELD SUGGESTED FOR UNIVERSITY PRESSES

The University of California Press in its bulletin, *The Pierian Spring*, suggests that university presses may well be able to publish important semi-popular nonfiction books which were once profitable for trade publishers, but which are now effectively ruled out by increased costs for small printings. The Press suggests further that university presses could support creative writings which have not yet gained a wide audience. Since such presses are partly subsidized, they are not so dependent on profits.

1948 RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK DATES

October 10-17, 1948, is the date set for the next observance of Religious Book Week. Heretofore the Week had been held in May. Mrs. Ellen O'Gorman Duffy continues as director of Religious Book Week, with offices at 381 4th Ave., New York City.

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, MARCH 2, 1954
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

Republican Representative Bentley of Michigan is now given a fifty-fifty chance to survive the wound inflicted yesterday by Puerto Rican nationalists. Dr. George Creel, a Cleveland surgeon, says Bentley has improved slightly, a bullet went through his chest, lung, diaphram, liver and stomach. The four other Congressmen who were hit are all doing well. Puerto Rico's Governor Luis Munoz Marin flew to Washington today to tell the President that all of his people protest "this outrage." And he was given a standing ovation when he walked onto the floor of the House with Speaker Martin.

Martin told reporters the four Puerto Ricans now being held on charges of assault with intent to kill are "undoubtedly Communists." And the New York employer of the woman being held says the FBI had her under surveillance, as a subversive. New York police say they found "quantities" of Communist literature in the apartment of one of the men being held.

Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young today told Senators that of the 24-hundred persons removed from government jobs as security risks 383 had something of a subversive nature in their case files. But Young added: he doesn't know whether a single one of these 383 was fired for disloyalty, subversion or Communism. He has no way of finding out whether subversion was a controlling factor in their dismissal. He doesn't know how many of them were notified that there was subversive information in their files. And he acknowledges that some of the 383 may have been dismissed for other reasons or resigned.

Republican National Chairman Hall called on the President today and th told reporters: He cannot go along with Senator McCarthy when McCarthy "attacks persons fighting Communism just as he is." Hall says he does not think anyone should say "Generals in our army are not fighting Communism." He thinks all the incidents arising out of the Senator's argument with Army Secretary Stevens "thro

a fog around the President's program which is one of the finest ever presented by a President." He thinks what he called "these little offshoots" draw the people's attention away from the program. Hall was reminded that several weeks ago he described McCarthy as an asset to his party. He acknowledged that and added: "I don't like the situation as it developed last week."

Defense Secretary Wilson returned to Washington from a Florida vacation and described the McCarthy-Stevens row as "a lot of wind to blow up over one left-wing dentist" - a reference to former Major Peress who was given an honorable discharge from the army after refusing to answer loyalty questions before the McCarthy committee.

And Senator McCarthy said he's about ready "to declare a moratorium on these statements back and forth." And he announced a second postponement of a meeting with Secretary Stevens. McCarthy says he's asked the State Department to explain why it took away the right to hire and fire employees from Security Chief McCleod.

A Senate Internal Security subcommittee was told today that former Navy Secretary Knox once said that former President Roosevelt said: "Considering the fact that we are allies of Russia and the Communist party of the United States is bending its efforts to win the war - that was in 1942 - the United States is not bound to oppose activities of the Communist party." Chairman Jenner put this into the record in what was described as minutes of a Navy meeting. He said the record will be changed if the Navy differs with the minutes.

Retired Rear Admiral Staton said that during the war, Adlai Stevenson, then an aide to Secretary Knox, told Staton "I don't think we should be too hard on Communists "who were radio operators in the merchant marine. Stevenson today described this as an old story - answered during the 1952 campaign and fully explained at the time.

Chairman Reed of the House Ways and Means Committee today introduced a bill to cut excise taxes almost one billion dollars a year. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey says this is "more than the Treasury can afford" at the present

time - although he favors "selective reductions" of some sales taxes. Earlier, the committee approved a Presidential request and voted to continue the present 52 percent corporation income tax rate for another year.

The State Department announces the resignation of Arthur Dean as Secretary of State Dulles' deputy to the Korean peace conference. Dean says he had to quit because of the pressure of personal business.

And the United Nations was told today by its truce chief in Palestine that tension has increased along the Israel-Jordan border and joint patrols should be assigned to lessen the danger of an explosion.

In three great regions of the world vital American interests are at stake - Europe, Asia and Latin-America. The Berlin Conference has just emphasized the gravity of the European problem; the approaching Geneva Conference does not appear now to offer a much greater hope of agreement than Berlin. The All-American Conference now meeting in Caracas presents a contrast. No one at Caracas challenges free world power or American responsibility for the defense of the free world. For this reason the meeting ought to be a pleasant interlude, a kind of American holiday from old world and Asian worries.

But it is not being held in a holiday mood and the difference between Caracas, on the one hand, and Berlin and Geneva on the other, is really one of degree. In degree it is a big difference, but at the root of things, the same basic problem exists, the question of ultimate communist power.

What the United States wants at Caracas is a united Front against Communist infiltration, in particular a condemnation of the state of affairs in Guatemala. Before and during World War II, the united front against the Nazis was not difficult to set up. The resistance to a united front against communism is disconcertingly stubborn, though not because Latin Americans like Communism. It is highly unlikely that a resolution criticizing Guatemala by name will be adopted at Caracas. The reason is that another and older issue is involved - intervention. If All-American solidarity is to continue it can be only through the maintenance of the principle that nations do not meddle in the domestic affairs of other nation

There would be mighty little actual intervention in a resolution telling off the pro-Communist inclinations of the Guatemala regime. But the very mention of internal affairs tastes of intervention to Latin Americans. And not until Communism appears to them to be a much more acute danger will they rate it ahead of intervention.

One of the dangers of Communism in Latin America is the very fact that it doesn't look dangerous at this stage. Latin America is the natural breeding ground for social and political extremism. Here are countries where the disparity between great wealth and great poverty is glaring. In all of them there has been a history of grinding economic exploitation. Capitalism and government have only recetly come to acknosledge enlightened social and economic responsibilities. The United States draws to it the same kind of unpopularity that the strong and the well-to-do proverbially inspire in those weaker and poorer. So this is a happy hunting ground for Soviet intrigue. Its Soviet origins never need to be disclosed. It can always work for plausible and apparently genuinely liberal policies. The more successful it is, the more concealed it can remain. And the United States is history's gift as a target. Taking a long look at the future, it may be doubted whether Europe or Asia would create dangers more sinister to the United States than a far-flung communist infiltration in Latin America. And one may be sure that this is the teaching communist conspirators receive in their indoctrination in the Soviet Union. If Secretary Dulles is not to get at Caracas a resolution criticizing the Guatemalan regime by name, how can he work for more effective solidarity? This is a question which Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother, has already answere in the report he brought home from his recent Latin-American tour. There <u>are</u> other ways to build up solidarity. They are economic and cultural, they include a helpful interest in how Latin-Americans deal with their many difficulties. President Peron of Argentina told the correspondent of the New York Times that Dr. Eisenhower's visit marked a real turning point for the better in Argentine relations with the United States. The publication of the report was a big event in Latin America, much bigger, of course, than in Washington. But since then little has been done to

implement it. Harold Stassen said the report had passed beyond the status of being a recommendation and had become a policy. But Latin Americans see few signs of it. One of the issues to be discussed at Caracas is that of prices. During the war we paid through the nose for Latin American materials because we needed them so badly. Now we don't, and prices are off, coffee excepted. The Latin Americans naturally like a free rein of economic forces when it works in their favor. But they also want the protection of minimum prices for primary products that are essential.

It has been said that their attitude toward prices is formed in the knowledge that the copper and nitrate miners of Chile, the tin miners in Bolivia and the oil workers in Venezuela are as much part of the American economy as the coal miners of Pennsylvania or the oil workers of Oklahoma. They know it, but does the United States Senate and House of Representatives? If so, the Latin Americans think something more specific would come of the Milton Eisenhower report. The basis for solidarity is there, and it is not necessary to forge it on the anvil of anti-Communism. If the United States sees the communist menace more clearly than do Latin Americans, it can also see that Communism is to be held off by greater concern for Latin America's economic and social problems. This time the cry isn't for huge government loans or grants in aid. It is, above all, for attention.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. But first, a word from Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: Because we are a rich and powerful nation, we are apt at times to forget that this is a world in which we can't go it alone. And as John Clarke remarked some 3-hundred years ago: "You often must ask your neighbor if you shall live in peace." However we may regard the Latin-American countries, the Roman Horace was right when he said: "Your own property is at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

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EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1954
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

House Democratic Leader Rayburn predicts that the House will approve a 100-dollar increase in personal tax exemptions. Rayburn said he expects few, if any, Democrats to oppose this. But Republican Leader Martin disagrees. He concedes that if the Democrats stick together they proobably can win in the House. But he expects some Democrats to break ranks and vote with supporters of the Administration inopposition to increasing the personal exemption. But Representative Rayburn says if the move to increase the exemption does not pass "and they give all this tax relief to the high income brackets, with almost nothing for the little fellow, then I think it will be very embarrassing for the Republicans." The Administration says that this move would save the taxpayers and cost the government almost two and a half billion dollars. The White House says the President will make his tax address to the nation on Monday night. It will be heard over many of these stations at 10:45 p.m. eastern time.

The Senate today voted to consider statehood for Alaska and Hawaii in one bill although the President has opposed such action. The Democratic move to tie-both bills together was passed by a vote of 46 to 43 almost strictly along party lines.

The President today named Charles S. Thomas of Los Angeles to be the new Secretary of the Navy. He is now serving as assistant secretary of defense.

The two Republicans on a three man Senate committee today recommended that the seat held by Democratic Senator Chavez of New Mexico be declared vacant because of "irregularities" in the 1952 election. Wyoming's Senator Barrett and Michigan's Senator Potter signed the report. Democratic Senator Hennings of Missouri is preparing a minority report. Today's recommendation was the result of a one year inquiry of fraud charges made by Patrick Hurley, the unsuccessful Republican candidate in New Mexico. But Senator Chavez says the report is "a

tremendous insult to the people and officials of New Mexico." He says the "statements in the report are not so." If the Senate should decide to declare the Chavez seat vacant, New Mexico's Governor Mechem would probably name a Republican to the Senate. This would make the line-up 48 Republicans to 47 Democrats. The 96th Senator is Independent Morse of Oregon.

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a suspended army signal corps employee, told the McCarthy committee today she has never been a Communist. I should like to review the testimony in a few minutes.

The House Labor committee voted 25 to 2 to amend the Taft-Hartley law to prohibit unions from denying membership to anyone because of race, religion or national origin. Democratic Representative Powell of New York calls this "a magna charta for Negro labor" He says it will end "segregated union locals" by forcing the unions to five full and equal status to all qualified workers.

Democratic Senator Kefauver told a Senate committee that the General Motors Corporation, with its concentration of auto and tank production, is "approaching the point" of being a monopoly. Kefauver says the army "put all our eggs in one basket" in awarding G.M. a 200-million dollar contract for medium tanks instead of splitting the contract with Chrysler, which originally developed the tank. The army says the award was made to General Motors "to provide thenation the maximum protection at the minimum cost."

Marine Colonel Schwable today told a special court of inquiry some of the conditions that led him to sign a germ warfare confession falsely. Schwable said he was constantly browbeaten and questioned by the Communists while he was cold, sick, cramped, filthy, and very lonely for the sight of an American. He said: "All I heard were Chinamen interrogating me or trying to feed me their political doctrines. I lost my sense of judgment. They say black is white. You say it is not. But you wind up agreeing." He told of being confined in a lean-to about the size of a doghouse in temperatures that dropped far below zero. Colonel Schwable said: "I used to pray for the night to come to bring me unconsciousness. I knew how cold it would be, and I would start praying for morning.

Here in New York today, Julio Pinto Grandia, a ringleader of Puerto Rican nationalists, was ordered to jail for six months for contempt of court refusing to answer a grand jury's questions on the shooting episode in Washington last week. And one of the Representatives who was shot, Alvin M. Bentley of Michigan, has had another emergency operation. A doctor says he has suffered "a slight setback" as the result of the operation.

On the Stock Exchange today, industrial stocks rose to the highest levels in 25 years. The Dow-Jones average, an index to stock prices, went above the 300 mark for the first time since October 25, 1929 - four days before the big cras

The Army says three paratroopers were killed and 72 injured in the largest peacetime airborne operation ever staged in this country. Some 9 thousand fully equipped paratroopers and their equipment were dropped at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in a few hours.

The Atomic Energy Commission said tonight that 28 Americans and 236 natives were subjected to "some radiation" during the recent atomic test in the Marshal Islands. The commission says that all those exposed "are reported well." The announcement says that during the course of what's called "a routine" atomic test these people were transported from neighboring atolls to Kwajalein Island according to plans as a precautionary measure. They were unexpectedly exposed to some radiation. There were no burns. After the tests are completed they will be returned to their homes. Representative Hinshaw, a member of the joint atomic energy committee, told reporters that the natives and presumably the Americans were 75 miles away from the explosion.

The British announced tonight that they will carry out germ warfare defens tests off the Bahama Islands this year. The British say such tests have been going on off the coast of Scotland. There is no indication what form the tests will take or on what scale they'll be conducted.

At Caracas, Guatemala again denounced the United States' anti-Communist resolution as "an extremely dangerous maneuver" to hide intervention in the affairs of other countries. The Foreign Minister said: Guatemala is not Communist

nor is its government Communist."

In West Germany, Chancellor Adenauer sent his Parliament a bill calling for income tax reductions ranging from 6 to 41 per cent. There would be a 25 percent cut in corporation taxes effective October first.

Former assistant secretary of war John J. McCloy today denied charges by Senator McCarthy that a wartime policy let "undesireables into the army." McCloy said the army's policy in World War Two concerning political loyalty was entirely sound. He said that many of the men to whom McCarthy apparently referred "were decorated for valor and not a few were killed in action in the service of their country."

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss was suspended from her job with the army signal corps in Washington because she was accused of being a "dues-paying, card carrying Communist" in 1943. The charge was made by Mrs. Mary Markward, a former FBI counter-spy, who testified before the McCarthy committee that she had seen Mrs. Moss' name on a list of dues paying Communists. Today, Senator McCarthy, who left the hearing early, told Mrs. Moss: "We had testimony that you are a Communist and we are rather curious to know how people like yourself were shifted from waitress to the code room." Mrs. Moss then testified: she did not work in the signal corps code room - had never been in a code room in her life. She said: "At no time have I ever been a member of the Communist party and I never saw a Communist card." She said she never subscribed to the Daily Worker and didn't know what Communism meant until 1948 five years after she was supposed to be a party member.

Committee Counsel Roy Cohn told the Senators that the committee has evidence to corroborate that of Mrs. Mary Markward from another witness he did not name. At this point, Democratic Senator McClellan of Arkansas objected. And acting Chairman Mundt ordered Counsel Cohn's statement stricken from the record. Mundt explained that the "other witness" was now in contact with the FBI and the committee would have to consider whether to release the name. McClellan objected again. He said: "That testimony shouldn't be revealed to the public until we have

a chance to weigh it. If you cannot call a witness you should not mention it." McClellan charged that Mrs. Moss was being tried by heresay evidence, rumor and innuendo. And Democratic Senator Symington told her: "I believe you are telling the truth." Mrs. Moss replied: "I certainly am." And the Senator went on to say: "I believe in this country a person is innocent until proved guilty. I think it very important that evidence be presented along with the implication of additional evidence." And he told the suspended army signal corps employee: "If you are not taken back by the army, come around and see me and I'll get you a job."

Tonight, Senator McCarthy said and I'm reading a United Press dispatch from Washington; "that charges he has not uncovered active Communists in the American government are completely false." The Wisconsin Republican said he had exposed a long list of Communists in government. In a radio interview with commentator Fulton Lewis, Junior, McCarthy denied he was waging a battle against the army. Replied to a charge of Senator Flanders that the greatest danger from Communism is external."

Senator McCarthy also said that this reporter who as the United Press put is "sharply criticized McCarthy in a Tuesday night television program, was an American advisor to the Moscow University Summer session in 1935, and according to Senator McCarthy's broadcast tonight he said that this school was dedicated to the violent overthrow of the entire traditions of western democracy." The rest of the story, some of the additional details and perhaps correction of my personal reaction will have to wait for another time.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. But first, a word from Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: We are going through a period of continuing Congressional investigations. And it would seem that observations made many years ago still stand up as pretty good guideposts both for those testifying and those doing the questioning. Thomas Paine once remarked: "It is error only, and not truth, that shrinks from inquiry." Terence, in ancient days, had the answer: "Nothing is so difficult, he said, but that it may be found out by seeking."

Good Night and Good Luck!

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight, on SEE IT NOW, some words from Benjamin Franklin; some words and pictures from Mr. Herbert Hoover; also from John W. Davis and Senator John Bricker, and a report on the coffee crisis. Someone once said that you can always get the truth from a man who is past 70 or who has given up all hope of being President. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Franklin both qualify in this area. The other day the International Benjamin Franklin Society awarded Mr. Hoover a gold medal, and in accepting it, he reminisced a little bit about the "great man" and added a few comments of his own.

HERBERT HOOVER:

This indeed is a Benjamin Franklin Week and it is an evidence that Benjamin Franklin still lives among the American people. Now, my first acquaintance with him began very early, when like most school boys of my day, I received much drilling in Franklin's precepts. They at times seriously limited my freedom of action and my projected enterprises. Especially objectionable was his remark about early to bed and its consequences in health and wealth provided you got up early in the morning.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Franklin on the subject of thrift.

ras

HERBERT HOOVER:

Now, aside from human liberty, Ben's great design of American life, or what we call his ideology these days, had its central idea in frugality and thrift and hard work. In fact, he conducted a propaganda campaign onthat subject for some sixty odd years, and his slogan sunk so deep in the american mind that we practiced it for a little while. However, that was before we discovered the theory of spending ourselves into prosperity.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Hoover, on the source of power and politics.

HERBERT HOOVER:

Franklin made one remark that is of powerful weight today. He said that "God helps those who help themselves". That has become the motto of every pressure group in the United States...but I won't pursue that pessimistic subject.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Franklin's philosophy on political jobs.

HERBERT HOOVER:

Franklin announced a formula for public office. He said, "Never ask for it; never refuse it; never resign from it". Now, the present administration in Washington has found that the "never resign" part is still in action. But again, I must not pursue that topic here.

ras

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Ben Franklin on controversy and the Republic.

HERBERT HOOVER:

On all controversial matters Franklin was a tolerant soul. He cautioned us that by collision of different sentiments, sparks of truth are struck, and the political light is obtained. I hope so...but I will not illuminate this any further.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Mr. Hoover on firebrands and dissenters.

HERBERT HOOVER:

Among his friends were Burke and Tom Payne. It is sometimes overlooked that it was Franklin who paid Tom Payne ship fare across the Atlantic, and set that firebrand of liberty on these shores. It was Tom Payne, then a soldier in the Continental Army, who as a ghost writer for George Washington, composed that blazing document which Washington proclaimed to his dejected troops, revitalizing them to the victorious crossing of the Delaware. Tom Payne was the crusading spirit and his rights of man truly stirred the emotions of the colonies for independence and personal liberty to their very depths, but Franklin was the architect of that independence and liberty.

-more-

HERBERT HOOVER: (CTD)

It was Joseph Choate who made that immortal remark that when the spirit of Franklin dies or decays, the sun of America will have begun to set.

Thank you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Most of us probably read or listen to the news in the morning with a cup of coffee - but coffee itself has become news. There are predictions that it may go to fifteen cents a cup - perhaps a dollar and twenty cents a pound. So we thought we would take you down to the International Coffee Exchange here in New York where it all happens -- where the coffee is bought and sold. Our reporter, Palmer Williams; Cameraman Leo Rossi.

J.A. HIGGINS, JR:

My name is J.A. Higgins, Jr., a broker on the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, and a member of the Public Relations Committee. We are happy to have you, the public, here today with us -- to see us in operation in the coffee futures market. We want to tell you a little about what a futures market is... a futures market where commodities are bought and sold for future delivery.

-more-

ras

J.A. HIGGINS JR. (CTD)

This is probably the least understood market place in the world. This is an open market where the forces of supply and demand come into clash and the price is worked out. These markets -- these future markets have been aptly called servants of producers and consumers because they do the almost magical thing of raising the price for the producer at the same time they lower the price for the consumer -- and I will tell you just why and how. You see the ring in operation here. This man over the other side of the ring is bidding. This man represents a large trade - both of the producers and the consumers. This young man over here to the right normally represents one of the large importing houses. One of the brokers offering to buy March and sell May at ten points which means if he can buy the March contract at ten points under the May, he will do both ends of that trade. That is known as a "switch". I want to emphasize this --- neither this Exchange nor any other futures Exchange makes price. This Exchange - this market no more makes price than a thermometer makes the weather, and this system has been called the finest system of marketing ever devised by the mind of man .

EDWARD R. MURROW

This, too, is part of the Coffee Exchange. Here in the tasting room the endless cupping of the coffee samples which will be on the grocery counters next year.

These experts sniff it and taste it, but no coffee is ever swallowed. It dulls the taste bud.

COFFEE SAMPLER:

We are looking for a mildness and a mellowness in the coffee that we call soft and strictly soft flavor. If that is not there, then we call it harsh, hard, rough, edgey ... other trade terms indicating the degree of lack of mellowness that we find.

ANOTHER COFFEE SAMPLER:

We have another term that's called earthy. That's just like the flavor of the soil in which the coffee in grown - and then we have another term which is called hidei or fomented. That's just what the term implies. It's sourish, strong in flavor, and the blenders particularly try to avoid that kind of coffee because it's detrimental to the overtone of the blends.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

One of the chief critics of the Coffee Exchange is Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa, who thinks coffee trading should be under the control of the Commodities Exchange Authority as on cotton, wheat, corn, and potatoes.

SENATOR GUY GILLETTE:

Coffee occupies a peculiar position. There is no commodity that comes to my mind immediately on which we are more dependent on foreign production than coffee, and relative to which the United States furnishes over 85 percent of the market. I am constrained to conclude because of what has been the result of our investigations that we made before and what is presented now, that there is no such condition of supply and demand as to warrant these increases.

(MORE)

SENATOR GUY GILLETTE: (CTD)

That they are in large measure at least due to the manipulation of the market through the Coffee Exchange ... not only by residents of America but by residents abroad. There is no doubt that there are speculative controls that are manipulating this market, and there's no question that it's up to the Justice Department -- the Legislative Department to take action to protect the American consumer. The ... the question is rasied....the criticism is raised that we must maintain the good neighbor policy. I am agreeable to that. We should maintain the good neighbor policy but not at the expense of gouging the American consuming public at the sweet will of a group of gamblers, whether they be American gamblers or South American gamblers.

J.M. O'CONNOR:

Mr. Murrow, I am J.M. O'Connor, the President of the National Coffee Association. Now, people have been asking why the recent increases in the price of coffee. Green coffee prices have been going up because for the past seven years world coffee consumption has been outstripping coffee production. This deficit has been made up from surpluses which were carried over from previous good crops. However, those surpluses have now been depleted. On top of this, Brazil has had two successive crop failures.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

With the possible exception of the housewife, the men caught in the middle are the local grocers across the country. We visited Robert Citrin in his Bronx delicatessen.

ROBERT CITRIN:

Mr. Murrow, my name is Robert Citrin. I own a delicatessen store on Edward L. Grand Highway. A customer come in this morning. She asked me for a pound of coffee and I gave her a pound of coffee. She says, "How much is it?" I said, "A dollar, four cents." She says, "You are a robber. That's too much money for a pound of coffee." I says, "Why don't you buy something else? Buy tea; buy cocoa; buy anything else because coffee's due to the fact because you people come in for the coffee." If everybody will stop buying the coffee -- buy something else, then the coffee will drop. When I used to sell it for thirty-five cents a pound, I used to make as high as eight and nine cents a pound. Now when I sell a pound of coffee I don't make nothing on it. Besides this, we are losing money. They got to put it in a ten-pound bag which cost me almost a cent. We don't get to sell the coffee because maybe tomorrow the coffee will rise. We have to pay as high as maybe a dollar five cents or a dollar seven cents - which a customer come in. She says, "Give me 5 pounds of coffee." I says, Lady, you don't need 5 pounds of coffee." She says, "Why?" I says, "I can't sell 5 pounds of coffee because you are going to hoard it." She says, "I heard on the radio it's going to be a dollar twenty-five cents." I says, "Don't buy the 5 pounds. Give a chance to somebody else. Maybe somebody else will buy another pound of coffee." She says, "I don't care about nobody else."

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Robert Citrin and others have been discussing the coffee prices. It looks as if the prices are going to go up. They also sell a pretty fair cup of coffee at the Waldorf Astoria, and the Aluminum Company of America would like to take you there now . . not for coffee, but to see some automobiles and also to learn something more about aluminum.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Bricker Amendment limiting the President's treaty making power may reach the floor of the Senate tomorrow or the next day. The President has said he is unalterably opposed to it. Yesterday, the Women For the Bricker Amendment had a meeting in Washington and our camera was there.

MRS. MURRAY:

Will the National Convention if Vigilant Women for the Bricker Amendment please come to order. I am happy to welcome so many of you here today...Vigilant Women and friends and Americans. It gives me a great deal of pleasure now to give to you,Winnie Barker, our National Coordinator.

WINNIE BARKER:

Thank you, Mrs. Murray. When Mrs. Murray asked me to speak this afternoon I didn't know whether I could or not, because I had a lump in my throat and a lump in my heart ... a prayer in my heart. I think we have a great deal to be thankful for today. First of all, we are thankful for this great country of ours and that we still have the right to come here and petition our Congress for what we think is right for our country. Secondly, (APPLAUSE)... secondly, we are very thankful that we have Senator Bricker and his Joint Resolution Number 1. (APPLAUSE). Third, we are thankful because we have Mr. Frank Holman, one of the architects of the Bricker Amendment.

SENATOR BRICKER

Mr. Holman, my friends all, we will need all the help that we can get. There is an organized campaign of opposition with which I was threatened a month ago by those who had no business doing it, and further threats were made in a way on the floor of the Senate today, saying that they had resolutions of organizations representing twenty million people. This group represents America -- not a segment, not a minority group, but the heart and soul of patriotic America. (APPLAUSE) This will preserve the position of the states in our Federal Union and when you destroy the Federal Union, you have destroyed the very foundation of the Republic, and I was not elected to the Senate to let that happen in this country. (APPLAUSE) I will have a lot to say about this in the next few days; but let me say that I appreciate the petitions which you have brought to Washington. The Constitution preserves that right to you -- to petition your Government for the redress of grievances. There are many things in that basic law that we don't want violated. The Congress can't violate them. The States can't -- but now a loophole has been found by the intriguers and by those who will build the international government of one world to which we would be subject, to get through the provisions of the Constitution by treaty law -- knock them down. And that's what we want to prevent. Thank you one and all. I don't want to miss a record vote on the floor.

MRS. MURRAY

Mr. Holman. (APPLAUSE)

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MR. FRANK E. HOLMAN

I felt this new concept was so serious that if allowed to flower out and develop, its roots and its trunk and everything would grow right up inside the Constitution and break the Constitution apart and destroy the Federal Republic. Now, Mr. Dulles in his testimony - and at Boston -- he said, "You can trust us. You have got a good administration now." But Jefferson said in substance, "Yes, but trust not in the goodness of man. Tie him down with the chains of the Constitution." (APPLAUSE) How are you going to stop this unless you do exactly what Jefferson did with the Bill of Rights? He said, All right, it may be understood you may have a good administration. You may have some other good administration, but I want it spelled out in language so clear that no Court and no officer of Government will ever misunderstand that freedom of speech and freedom of petition is not to be touched by the Federal Government. I say, with Jefferson, if it were not necessary, what harm can possibly result by writing out so that no officer of government or no court will ever misunderstand that a treaty shall not be superior to the Constitution as Mr. Dulles says it can be. The very fact he said that is the open road. Isn't it? When a man on horseback comes along he can say ... well, back in the Eisenhower administration with the distinguished Secretary of State ... he said a treaty could override the Constitution; that it could transfer power from the Congress to the President. Think of that. With your help and God giving us the time to live it out and to fight it through, and weather the storm of abuse that's been heaped on Senator Bricker and some of the rest of us, we will win this fight and we will save the Republic. (APPLAUSE)

kk

EDWARD R. MURROW

Back in New York, we asked another constitutional lawyer for his opinion on the Bricker Amendment. This is John W. Davis. He ran against Coolidge for the Presidency in 1924. In his 80 years, he has argued more cases before the Supreme Court than any man who ever lived.

JOHN W. DAVIS

Mr. Murrow, my friends of the audience, I am glad to be here tonight to tell you why I am opposed to the Bricker Amendment. Now, what about the proponents of the Bricker Amendment? I do not doubt their sincerity. I do not think they have any purpose to injure their country. I have no doubt they believe they are engaged in a meritorious and worthy effort. Why should there be so much difference between their points of view and that of men like myself who believe that they are utterly mistaken? I think the trouble with those who put forward the Bricker Amendment is that they are seeing ghosts. They are taking council of their fears. They are imagining all sorts of future disasters which have no substance whatever in point of fact. What is there in the history of this country over a hundred and sixty-four years that leads them to believe that they must change our entire system to ward off impending dangers? Why should the Senate of the United States no longer trust itself to perform its constitutional duty in the ratification of treaty? Why should citizens fear that Senators who have taken an oath to obey the Constitution of the United States would deliberately break it when they come to the formation and the ratification of treaty? What are these dangers that these gentlemen fancy?

-more-

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JOHN W. DAVIS (CTD)

It's true there may be proposals in the world which they do not approve, but the Constitution's provided that oath-bound officers shall pass on those proposals before they can become any part of the law or of the treaties of the United States. Somewhere, there must be trust in man. Power may be abused - that's true of all power from a Constable up to a President. Abuse is always possible. But overriding all possibility of abuse, there remains under our system, the power of Congress by statute to abolish or modify what we may have agreed to. The power of Congress by statute or resolution if it so pleases, to override any executive agreement which the President may offer. There is your Court of Appeal and if Congress itself did not choose to act, the Courts remain to strike down any provisional business which violates the Constitution of the United States. Is that not assurance enough? Is there not enough wisdom, integrity, patriotism in men who have been chosen for these great offices? Somewhere -- somewhere trust must be reposed - somewhere power must exist. It will not improve the situation by destroying power in order to prevent its abuse. I hope I have said enough to make it clear that I am against the Bricker Amendment on all counts. Good night.

EDWARD R. MURROW

For the past few minutes you have been listening to Senator John Bricker, Mr. Frank Holman, and John W. Davis, discussing the controversial Bricker Amendment.

Good night and good luck.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. The Armed Forces have a word for it. It's briefing. This is a matter of explanation with the use of charts and graphs and maps. It can be applied to a squad going out on patrol, to a group of Congressmen, to a President. There are those who will tell you that until you have been briefed by General Alfred M. Gruenther, the Commander of SHAPE, you have not really been briefed. He is a man who holds one of the most important Command assignments in the world today, and he agreed to let our cameras go into his Briefing Room where he could brief all of us.

GENERAL ALFRED M. GRUENTHER:

From time to time one hears the question: Why are we in Europe? In considering this problem, I think it is well for us to try to reconstruct the atmosphere which existed on that cold, Sunday morning in January, 1951, when General Eisenhower came to Paris. It had become increasingly clear that Soviet intentions were no longer friendly and had become most aggressive, and the state of the defenses of Europe at that time were very, very meager. First of all, I should tell you, that when General Eisenhower made his estimate in the early part of 1951, he asked one of his Commanders what the Soviets needed in order to move from this area to the Channel. He was told: "General, all they need is shoes."

(MORE)

GENERAL ALFRED M. GRUENTHER (CTD)

Now, let's see what the problem was facing General Eisenhower at that time. He had been charged by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, commonly known as NATO, to defend all of Europe. On the map, that includes the north -- from the northern tip of Norway, along this perimiter, (INDICATING ON MAP) through the heart of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Turkey, to the eastern borders of Turkey, a distance of some 4,000 miles. Now, in the center, one of the extremely important sectors is this area of Germany, a distance of some 500 miles. That area is especially important because it is here where the largest number of Soviet troops were at that time - and still are. And it is in this area where the largest number of American troops have been assigned for the defense of Europe. Now, let's see where our American Forces are located. In this central sector, the American Forces are generally in this area, together with French Forces, Dutch Forces, Canadian, Belgium, and British Forces. Those are the ground forces. In this area, are Air Forces, together with the tactical Air Forces of our allies. All of those Forces in the central area are under command of Marshall Juin whose headquarters are at Fontainbleau, a few miles south of Paris. In England and in French Morocco, we have our strategic Air Forces, and those are the Air Forces -- the long distance Air Forces -- that would carry the atomic punch in case of an emergency, deep into the heart of Russia against objectives of Soviet industrial potential.

(MORE)

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GENERAL ALFRED M. GRUENTHER (CTD)

In the south, in the Mediterranean, we have our American Sixth Fleet which in time of an emergency would operate under Admiral Fechetler's command, he being located at Naples. Our purpose is to create a Force so strong as to make aggression impossible, because what our organization is trying to accomplish and to achieve is peace. While we are not yet that strong, the progress that we have made and the improvement in the international tension, is in my opinion, directly attributable to the strength, to the increase in strength, that we have gained during this 3 year period. Now, what does all of this mean to us? I think it is clear that in any modern war, no country, be it powerful United States or small Luxembourg can resist aggression alone, because the Soviet peace offensive has become much more clever than ever before, and there is a general tendency to relax, and if we should lose this critical area of Europe -- any part that you wish -- the one I have been talking about where U. S. troops are here, it would be a major catastrophe for our country. I'm certain, seeing the success we have already made, that with our support, with urgent U. S. support, we shall succeed. Now, you may say that I'm an optimist. I plead guilty to that charge. I feel in the critical period ahead, we need optimists because it would be very easy for a cynic to prove that an organization such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization cannot possibly succeed with 14 sovereign, independent, nations.

(MORE)

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GENERAL ALFRED M. GRUENTHER (CTD)

We have a strong, tough Force in here now, both land and air, and while it is probably not enough to meet an all-out Soviet invasion, it is a Force which would make them pay very, very dearly for an attack; and one factor of great importance is our strategic Air Force in the U. K. and in French Morocco. The planes in that Force fly so high and so rapidly that there is no Soviet defense against them. And the damage which they could do to Soviet industrial potential at this time is very, very great, and I am certain that that is a terrific deterrent.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was General Al Gruenther briefing us from his SHAPE Headquarters just outside Paris. The cameraman was Bill McClure.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

We receive a number of suggestions for the context of this weekly report -- some of them serious -- some of them not so serious. The other day we received a telephone call from Jack Beck out of KNX in Hollywood, and he said: "Look, the Los Angeles City Council is in a considerable argument, and you might be interested." Well, it's been my experience that when you can get a camera in the middle of an argument, the results are rather interesting. This is what our camera picked up out in Los Angeles.

GAVEL STRUCK

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CHAIRMAN: We appreciate your presence here this morning, and hope that you will contribute your part towards an orderly meeting. We will ask the Council Members to refrain from speaking twice until all members have had an opportunity to speak. Mr. Ribald.

MAN: Will you yield just a moment, please? Members of the Letter Carriers' Association are here with a great number of communications which were received by Mr. Coates, due to his broadcast and column, and as usual, I think they may be admitted.

MAN: We do not believe that the honorable City of Los Angeles should legislate by hysteria. Not those envelopes -- God knows that they contain. Nobody's read them. Most of them are closed -- been dumped on a table and pictures been taken, so that mob hysteria may rule and Councilmen may be persuaded to vote against their better judgement and without adequate facts.

LETTER CARRIER: Through the 29th of December, 1953, the letter carriers of Los Angeles suffered 26 cases of dog bites. Luckily, none of them were rabies. The organization I represent, comprising 271 members, urgently request the passage of this Ordinance as means of protection to us who are daily exposed to the dangerous dog bites.

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WOMAN: The fact that we have had a hundred or two hundred dog bites is not a rabies factor.

ANOTHER WOMAN: We are asking for protection. Inoculation is painless -- as painless as sitting on a tack, and we have all done that. It is inexpensive. It is simple. It is better than 90 percent effective. I beg of you, ladies and gentlemen, give us protection.

DR. LEWIS D. BULLOCK:

The Bill that is now being heard by this Council was never read until this morning. We who are against it never knew what was in it until this moment. We are not in a position to give you the authority which you should have.

MAN: Since observing the intense campaign of indoctrines printed by our local papers, I decided to do some research and investigations on my own. Rumors followed upon rumors. Wherever I went it became evident pressure was being exerted backing this Ordinance. As a matter of fact, pressure appeared so great and so much money was being spent around by the various proponents of this measure, it became evident that there was in progress a well organized campaign to steamroller this proposition through our honorable City Council Body. As a citizen of our city, I respectfully demand this entire matter be laid over for an immediate investigation of the Grand Jury. I thank you.

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VETERAN: Therefore, be it Resolved, the Los Angeles Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States urge the Los Angeles City Council to pass the City Ordinance making rabies vaccinatio compulsory.

WOMAN: "There has always been a conflict not only in power but in principle between a democratic government and a dictatorship, and when a dictatorship wins, it is generally because a democracy has proved unworthy. Unquite. Now, if anyone wants to inoculate their dogs, their children, or themselves, that should be thier privilege as a free people. But to be forced to ruin the health of our pets or ourselves -- that is strictly un-American.

ESTELLE TAYLOR:

I have a little item here...

MURROW: That's Estelle Taylor, silent screen star of the Twenties.

ESTELLE TAYLOR: It is from the American Kennel Club catalogue. That is the book - the Bible of the dog people, and you can quote from it as you can quote from the Bible because of the terrific legal staff that's behind this book. You would not dare quote from it if it wasn't true.

(MORE)

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ESTELLE TAYLOR: (CTD) "Protection against rabies in dogs by vaccination is still in an experimental stage, and it is unwise to place reliance on any reliable -- on any available vaccine. Dependence on such vaccination may lead to a false sense of security."

WOMAN: I am a breeder of boxers. I have 3 children. I love my dogs and my children, and I'd like to see this Ordinance passed to protect them from the danger of rabies.

ESTELLE TAYLOR: Now, I am just as much for children as anyone else. I raised a niece. Unfortunately, I have no children - (APPLAUSE) -- but I raised a niece and I have a great love for children. And if I thought this would help one child, I would sacrifice all the dogs in the State. How would you like your child to sleep in the same bed with your dog -- at the foot-end of the bed -- that had just come away from having rabies inoculations -- where, by their own admission, for two weeks at least, they inculcate the germs?

CHAIRMAN: Your time has expired -- if you conclude as conveniently as you can ...

ESTELLE TAYLOR: May I say this, Mr. President -- in conclusion ...

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ANNA MACILVANE:

Thank you. My name is Mrs. Anna MacIlvane. I would like at this time to present my views and my protests. Four years ago, this very same woman stood up before the microphone and refused to let anyone speak.

CHAIRMAN: We want the hearing orderly - and the time has expired for those who are in favor. If you are opposed to it, will you let the chairman of your group ....

ANNA MACILVANE: I --- Mr. Chairman....

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ribald -- Sargeant, will you close the mike?

ANNA MACILVANE: Mr. Chairman, may I have 5 minutes?

MAN: Mr. Chairman -- Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, may I ask you to rule on this, please?

CHAIRMAN: The rule?

MAN: There is attempt here to sabotage the other side.

CHAIRMAN: Will you proceed? Now, I will ask that the lady who is in favor -- if she is in favor of this Order, to be removed from the line by the Sargeant.

WOMAN: She is not in favor. She is opposed, John.

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MAN: Should we surrender to this violation of the Bill of Rights?

WOMAN: One time -- I was bitten 4 times that my left finger was so lacerated that it took over two months to heal, and I have never had any inoculations injected into my blood stream, and I never will have. I am a victim of good health today, and I have never had the Pasteur inoculation.

ELWOOD BOSCH:

Honorable Councilmen and Mr. President, listen to the greatest story you ever heard in your life.

Q. Will you state your name, please, and remember, one minute.

BOSCH: Elwood Bosch. I was born in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia -- yes, and I have been a dog fancier and a licensed Judge in California for more than 40 years. I have a letter from Jack Bradshaw, the Superintendent of dog shows in California, that I am going to read first as an introduction.

CHAIRMAN: Don't be too long.

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BOSCH: "This note will serve to confirm our recent conversation during which you told me that I had never seen a dog with rabies." I was raised with night dogs, rabbit -- buck hounds, rabbit hounds, back in Virginia, and I have pure-bred dogs in this State for more than 40 years, and I have never had any trouble with any of them. Let me tell you what this rabies is. I have talked to twenty-five ..

CHAIRMAN: Will you conclude just as soon as possible? Your time has expired.

BOSCH: Well, for gracious sake. I am just getting --

CHAIRMAN: For gracious sake, you come up and talk to me after this meeting is over, and we will listen to you.

BOSCH: I cleaned up the rabies and I can clean it up in Los Angeles too if I am given a chance. I can tell you how to do it, too.

MAN: A point of order, Mr. President. If this gentleman is going to continue to speak, the others won't have a say.

CHAIRMAN: You conclude now and let the other people have an opportunity.

BOSCH: Isn't that a fine thing.

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CHAIRMAN: Well, it is too bad.

BOSCH: For gracious sakes.

CHAIRMAN: I agree with you. I like to talk too.

WOMAN: I sincerely ask the Council - take your time - do the right thing.

ROLL CALL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Los Angeles City Countil took a vote.

NAMES CALLED

CHAIRMAN: Fifteen ayes. The meeting is adjourned.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

After about five yours of what might be called heated debate, the Los Angeles City Council decided to draft legislation that would require the compulsory inoculation of rabies -- but several of the Councilmen made it clear that they had not yet said the last word on this subject. Time now for ALCOA:

COMMERCIAL

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

From time to time the voice of controversy has been heard on this program. We have been complimented and we have been criticized for attempting to chronicle some of the disputes and the arguments of our time. There is no shortage of such subject matter. Berlin, Trieste, Indo-China, the Bricker Amendment, compulsory inoculation for rabies. All these subjects aroused deep, human emotions but we refuse to be intimidated, and we refuse, I hope, to become complacent as a result of compliments. It is our objective to pursue the truth wherever it may lead us and whatever the consequences may be. It is for this reason that we decided to send our camera crew down to Alexandria, Virginia.

WERSHBA:

This is Alexandria, on the West bank of the Potomac, between Hunting Creek and Four Hill Run - population 61,000 -- George Washington worshiped in Alexandria, and Light Horse Harry Lee and his son, Robert E. lived here. Now, here is the Mayor of Alexandria, his Excellency, Marshall J. Beverly.

MAYOR MARSHALL BEVERLY:

I am Mayor Marshall Beverly of Alexandria, Virginia. Alexandria was organized in 1749, one of the oldest cities in the United States. I am in front of the Friendship Veterans Fire Company, organized in 1774 by George Washington. We are proud of George Washington. Alexandria is his home town. Ladies and gentlemen, I want to introduce to you some of the members of the Friendship Veterans Fire Company.

(MORE)

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MAYOR MARSHALL BEVERLY (CTD)

On my right, is the President, Mr. Downham, Brother Joe Schwarzman, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Witworth, and Charlies Jones of Alexandria. And my friends, Mr. Holland, Smiling Mr. Dave Book. I would like for you to see some of the equipment used in 1774. Company -- attention. Right face. March. George Washington was a member of this company while he was President of the United States. After he retired, he went to Mt. Vernon, and in returning to Alexandria, he noticed a fire in the park square. He dismounted his horse, joined the volunteers, and helped put out the fire. He was in his sixties then. Recently, we learned that after the Battle of Bull Run, during the Civil War, some New York regiments were retreating, and they stopped in Alexandria. The Confederates made it hot for them, and much to my surprise to find out that they captured and took back to New York, a fire engine that was purchased to protect the citizens and property owners of Alexandria. We want this engine back. We have records it's in New York and we hope it will be returned. We have the help of our good Governor John S. Battle, Senator Byrd, Senator Robinson of Virginia, the Daughters of the Confederacy, and citizens of Alexandria. I have received letters. I understand they are going to make an investigation, and I believe after the investigation shows that it belongs to Alexandria, they will return the engine as a good gesture of the State of New York.

(MORE)

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MAYOR MARSHALL BEVERLY (CTD)

Now, I am going to have Mr. Robert Donovan, President of the Friendship Fire Company, toll the bell that was used in those days, and I want this bell to be heard through the North, up the Hudson River, because we want that engine back to Alexandria that was captured by the New York Regiment.

BELL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

365 miles North of Alexandria, just above the Rip Van Winkle Bridge, is the town of Hudson, New York. Here is the contested Fire Engine, one of a collection of fire-fighting relics kept by the Firemen's Association of New York. On October 10th last, we asked Albert J. Foley, Chief Counsel of the Board of Trustees, to explain Hudson's views.

ALBERT J. FOLEY:

Mr. Murrow, this is the alleged piece of fire apparatus that is supposed to have come from Virginia. This pieve of fire apparatus was supposed to have been captured after the first Battle of Bull Run by the Fire Zouaves of the New York Regiment during that battle. We have not as yet, from a preliminary examination, found any marks of identification on any of the pieces of apparatus to indicate that any piece of apparatus ever came from Virginia. A committee was appointed for the purpose of investigating the identification, if any, on this apparatus or any other piece of apparatus in the Museum.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

Pending this further investigation, SEE IT NOW agreed to hold up its report on Fire Engine 289 until the results of the Fact Finding Board were final -- and down at the station house in Alexandria, Chief Downham waited, and Mayor Beverly waited, and Smiling Dave Book waited for the good news that the old hand pumper was coming back. Last week, some 3 months after the controversy had begun, the Hudson Board met in solemn conclave and reached a decision.

ALBERT J. FOLEY:

GAVEL

Senator Byrd, Senator Robinson, Governor Battle, Mayor Beverly, Mr. Murrow, Ladies and Gentlemen: For the past 3 months, the committee appointed by the Board of Trustees has been investigating the matter of Alexandria's claim to the piece of fire apparatus at the Firemen's Home Museum in Hudson, New York. From a thorough examination of the apparatus, and from an examination of all the old records in the City of New York, we can find nothing to substantiate the claim of Alexandria, Virginia, to the ownership of this apparatus. We also conferred with Mr. Dunshee who wrote the book "Enjine!-Enjine!" upon which your claim is based. It is Mr. Dunshee's opinion that the City of Alexandria never owned a piece of apparatus of this size. Therefore, the Board of Trustees has decided at this time to reject the claim of Alexandria, Virginia, and the Fire Engine will remain in the Museum at the Firemen's Home, at Hudson, New York.

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EDWARD R. MURROW:

We suggest the possibility that a very considerable injustice may perhaps have been done. We are disinclined to accept official versions, no matter the source, and are always digging for the facts and new evidence. You may have observed that the number on that disputed piece of apparatus was 289. One of our intrepid reporters discovered a pamphlet at that Museum which reads: "List of Trophies in the Museum of the Firemen's Home, Hudson, New York," and there it says in regard to 289: HAND PUMPING ENGINE OF VALLEY FORGE ENGINE CO. NO. 1 FROM ALEXANDRIA, VIA., OF WHICH COMPANY GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS A MEMBER. THIS ENGINE WAS CAPTURED IN 1861 BY THE 1ST FIRE ZOUAVES CONSISTING OF VOLUNTEER FIREMEN OF NEW YORK CITY.

We, of course, remain neutral in this rather considerable controversy. But we are nevertheless prepared to offer limited but nevertheless adequate, and of course, equal time for any of the participants who feel that we have not given fair representation to their point of view. Good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

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MURROW:

This is the Constitution of the United States. Since 1789, it has been the supreme law of the land. In those 165 years, it has been changed or amended only 22 times and 10 of those were the Bill of Rights in 1791. Now we are engaged in a vital controversy concerning a basic change in the President's power. Tonight SEE IT NOW devotes its entire half hour to the Bricker Amendment which could become the 23rd Amendment to the Constitution.

COMMERCIAL

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MURROW:

Good evening. This is a true copy of our Constitution loaned to us by the National Archives. It spells out in details the President's treaty making power. In Article 2, Section 2, Clause 2, it says: "The President shall have the power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties provided two-thirds of the Senators concur." From President Washington to President Eisenhower, Presidents have negotiated and arranged treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate under these provisions. Some 852 of them all together. But about 29 precent of the treaties proposed have been killed by the vote of the Senate, including the Treaty of Versailles. Here is S.J. Resolution 1, 83rd Congress, First Session. It bears the name of Senator Bricker of Ohio. It drastically changes and limits the treaty making powers of the President. When this Amendment comes to the Floor of the Senate, perhaps in the next two weeks, Senator Bricker will, of course, lead the fight for it. The principle spokesman for the opposition will be Senator Estes Kefauver. We are going down to Washington tonight to have these 2 Senators discuss this proposed Amendment from their two offices. Later on, we will ask the opinion of Former Justice Owen J. Roberts of the Supreme Court and...Senator John Bricker, Republican from Ohio., Republican candidate for V. Pst. in 1944. Good evening Senator Bricker. And Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1952, Good evening, Senator Kefauver....

KEFAUVER:

How do you do, Ed. Good to see you.
tb

MURROW:

Now, Senator Bricker, since you proposed this Amendment, perhaps you would briefly explain why you advocate an Amendment to the Constitution.

SENATOR BRICKER:

Yes Mr. Murrow. I am mighty happy to have this opportunity to clarify some of the issues in this discussion and debate, and to remove some of the objections because of their invalidity. First of all, this Amendment which has been submitted by myself with 63 other Senators does not radically nor drastically change the power of the President to make treaties. It does not change his power to make treaties at all as far as international affairs are concerned. It does somewhat restrict his personal option to enter into international arrangements by Executive agreements. The real purpose of S.J. Resolution number 1 is to preserve the sovereignty and the constitution of the U.S. from abuses of the treaty power that were not anticipated in 1787. The Amendment does not affect the traditional function of treaty making as it existed from 1787 down to the formation of the United Nations. For 150 years, treaties were concerned with the nation's external affairs. They were not used to regulate the rights of American people on purely domestic matters. United Nations officials and one world in general now boast of revolutionizing the treaty making power. The issues in this Amendment may be best described in reading the language of the Amendment itself. Section 1 of the Amendment reads as follows: "A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." That preserves the constitution.

tb (MORE)

SEN. BRICKER: (CTD)

The minority report of the Judiciary Committee signed by Senator Kefauver and 3 other Senators states on Page 41 that if the validity of all treaties made by the United States must await some final constitutional determination, other nations would be reluctant to make treaties with us. In practically every other nation of the world, that situation prevails. Now, Section 2 of the Amendment, and I will read the rest of it, if you don't mind, Estes.

KEFAUVER:

Yes. Go ahead.

BRICKER:

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of the Treaty." Opponents of the Amendment believe that the United Nations treaty should make domestic law for the American people. Supporters of the Amendment insist that the legislative powers be retained in the Congress and State Legislatures. Section 3 of the Amendment provides in part: "Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization." Opponents of the Amendment believe that the President should have full power to make executive agreements in lieu of treaties. Supporters of the Amendment have learned the lesson of Yalta. They do not want the President, without the consent of the Senate or of Congress, to commit the United States, perhaps in secret, to expensive, and far reaching international obligations.

MURROW:

Senator Kefauver?
tb

SENATOR KEFAUVER:

Ed, I am very happy to have this opportunity on your program of telling why I oppose this Amendment. I have here to start with, Ed, George Washington's farewell address, and in his address he said that "experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of existing constitution of a nation"and he warned against changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual changes from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion. I think George Washington and the Founding Fathers were right about the constitution, and I prefer the constitution written by the Founding Fathers rather than one that might be written by Senator Bricker, with all due regards to my good friend. It should be borne in mind that this system that we have has always worked pretty well. First, a treaty is negotiated by the President of the United States who must necessarily represent the nation in foreign affairs, and by his Secretary of State, and then it's sent up to the United States Senate where it must be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the United States Senate. Well, that means that it has to have bi-partisan support. I don't know of any treaty or any agreement that anyone complains of. It's all a fear of the future. As a matter of fact, during all of -- and it might be pointed out, that these very same arguments that Senator Bricker is making against the constitution now were made in the Constitutional Convention and were rejected. It was fully considered by our Founding Fathers and they decided upon this very excellent method of deciding upon treaties.

(MORE)

tb

KEFAUVER: (CTD)

During most of our national history, it has always been considered that treaties were too difficult to be made because it required two-thirds of the Senate. As a matter of fact, the League of Nations was turned down becausa it couldn't get two-thirds, and then.... Now, however, for the first time, it's considered that it's too easy to make treaties, and Senator Bricker and others would like to put shackles upon the President in the handling of the foreign affairs of this nation. So, from one extreme to the other, I think is convincing proof that we are just about right in what we want to do. Now, it's a strange thing to me, Mr. Murrow, that those who want to amend and change the constitution say they are trying to protect the sovereignty and the constitution of this nation. It seems to me that when you are trying to change something, that shows that you are not protecting the rights that are under that Constitution. Here is the Constitution. All of the Rights. It's protected the rights of our people for 165 years. I could tear this constitution. I would just be tearing a piece of paper, but the way Senator Bricker wants to tear it or emasculate it, is changing it all together. It's changing the executive power of the President so that he will, in the future, if his amendment is adopted, be a mere messenger boy of the Congress insofar as foreign affairs are concerned.... It would take us out with.....

(MORE)

tb

KEFAUVER: (CONT'D.)

Here is a newspaper for instance. "ALLIES AGREE TO REOPEN KOREAN TALKS." That might not be possible if Senator Bricker's Amendment were adopted, because that is an executive agreement. So, at a very time when our nation must be able to deal in the foreign field - when if we are going to have peace in the war, a chance to avoid wars every 25 years, our nation must exert an effective leadership. We must be able to make treaties and agreements, try to bring about peaceful settlements and world stability - at a time when that's so necessary-- it would seem to be the very worse time imaginable to amend the constitution so as to make it almost impossible to operate the executive part of the Department of the Government in the field of international relations.

MURROW:

What do you say to that, Senator Bricker?

KEFAUVER:

Let me just say that I had a telegram just today from a great constitutional lawyer in which he says that the "which" clause that's in the first section that Senator Bricker read, is a shocking attempt to set us back into the very situation of national impotence which is one of the main causes for the downfall of the Articles of Confederation. This is from John W. Davis whom we all know to be a great constitutional lawyer.

mw

MURROW:

I think we ought to give Senator Bricker a chance, Estes.

BRICKER

In regards to John Davis. John Davis doesn't want to be guilty of infanticide. He was the one who created the theory through the treaty with Great Britain on migratory birds that led to all the confusion and danger that we are confronted with at this time that makes necessary this Amendment. First of all , I cannot over-emphasize the fact that this does not in any way interfere with the President's treaty power in foreign affairs. If the Pt. will execute treaties just as he always has, they will be ratified by the Senate - by two-thirds vote of those who are voting on it just as they always have. There will be no interference with that in any way, shape or form. What we do ... just a minute. What we do do is prevent the Pt. and two-thirds of the Senate of making domestic law contrary to the provisions of the constitution. Now, Estes said a moment ago -- Senator Kefauver said that George Washington had implored us not to change the constitution casually. Let me emphasize the fact that during his administration, the constitution was changed. The Bill of Rights was submitted by his First Congress and was ratified by three-fourths of the States. Now, what did that do? That wrote indelibly into the constitution with the inalienable rights of the American people for 150 years. Nobody ever questioned but what those rights were secure.

(MORE)

mw

BRICKER: (CONT'D.)

Then came MISSOURI vs. HOLLAND with the theory that by treaty you can break down the constitution of the U. S. and transfer powers from the states to the Congress. Secretary Dulles said you can transfer them to an international organization likewise. Well then, that was not particularly dangerous because the effects were salutary in that treaty until the sub organizations of the United Nations began to evolve treaties -- some 200 of them -- which would effect the inalienable rights of the American people under the constitution and under Article 6 interpreted as it is by the Supreme Court, they would become the supreme law of the land. They would wipe out state laws, state constitutions, laws of Congress, and cut across the protecting provisions of the Constitution of the U.S.

KEFAUVER:

May I have a word to say, Ed?

MURROW:

Go ahead.

KEFAUVER:

In the first place, Senator Bricker's amendment would very drastically alter the treaty making power. Section 2 would make it ... would require that not only it be signed by the President and passed by two-thirds of the Senate as a regular treaty, but it must be passed back through Congress by a majority of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and then be signed by the President again until it becomes domestic law.

mw

BRICKER:

I didn't refer to anything of the kind, Estes. You appreciate that.

KEFAUVER:

Well, just a minute, let me explain where it does change drastically the treaty making power - then the second part would be -- which would be valid in the absence of treaty -- that manifestly would prevent the President and the Senate from making treaties that involved domestic state laws; and that's one of the very reasons that the Federal Government was founded, because the states were making separate treaties themselves, and it was necessary to have one Federal Government - one central person operating in the treaty field. That was not first discovered in HOLLAND vs. MISSOURI. As far back as eighteen hundred -- as far back as 1796, the Supreme Court said that in certain fields, the Pt. and the Senate did have a right to make treaties that affected all of the States.

MURROW:

Well gentlemen -- Senator Kefauver and Senator Bricker, I am sorry we have gone back to the point. We must interrupt this for the time being, Senator Kefauver and Senator Bricker have been discussing the Bricker Amendment, and we will continue with this discussion after this brief word from ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

mw

MURROW:

As we have discovered, learned lawyers can disagree as to the meaning and the effects of the Bricker Amendment to the Constitution. It has to do with how we conduct our contractual relations with foreign countries. We have asked three distinguished lawyers, one of them a former Justice of the Supreme Court, to give us their opinion. We went first to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Irwin N. Griswald, the Dean of Harvard Law School.

IRWIN N. GRISWALD:

This is an attack upon the Union itself. Under the Bricker Amendment, we would cease to be one united nation and would revert to the chaos of a collection of a number of semi-independent states. Can you imagine the President negotiating a treaty with a staff made up not merely of representatives of the House and the Senate of the Congress of the U.S., but also of representatives of the House and Senate of each one of the legislatures of all of the 48 states? To adopt the Bricker Amendment would take away a piece of the Presidency. It would split up the treaty power so as to make it not only cumbersome but largely ineffective. Under such an arrangement, the President would no longer be the spearhead of our foreign policy but only a figurehead. The Bricker Amendment would have been rejected by the Constitution makers of 1787. They would have regarded it as wholy inconsistent with the nation they were establishing. Let us be as wise as they were

MURROW

From Harvard Law School we went to Georgetown University, Washington, and Professor George A. Finch who teaches International Law. mw

FINCH:

The ordinary concept of a treaty is that it is a contract between nations but in this country we have a unique provision in our constitution that a treaty is also the supreme law of the land superseding all previous Feredal legislation and all State laws and constitutions that may be in conflict with the treaty. The Bricker Amendment has become necessary at this time because of the great enlargement of questions that have become the subject of treaty making, especially since the advent of the United Nations when attempts are being made through the human rights covenant, the Genocide Convention, and other like documents, to prescribe by treaty, the domestic situation of Citizens within their own country towards their own government. We are being presented with treaties governing almost every phase of our internal life; our human relations with each other and with the State; our labor relations; such questions as the protection of motherhood, and a vast array of other subjects that have already been made the subject of treaties under the auspices of the United Nations, or are in the making. Now, it must be realized that when the U.S. ratifies any of these treaties, they, under our constitution, become binding upon our people within the states and within territories with all Federal jurisdiction -- without any action at all by Congress or by the State Legislatures. Now, it is the purpose of the Bricker Amendment to restore the balance between what we regard as essentially our domestic and local affairs and what the administration may regard as proper subjects of international negotiation.

res (MORE)

FINCH:
(CTD)

The Bricker Amendment would declare first that any treaty in conflict with the Constitution would be of no force or effect. It would then declare that no treaty shall become internal law in the U.S. except by competent legislation, so that our people would not be bound by a law which the Congress or State Legislature hadn't properly enacted in accordance with the Constitution.

MURROW:

Next, Former Justice of the Supreme Court of the U.S. Owen J. Roberts, a Republican, appointed by Hoover in 1930; later, Dean of the Law School at the University of Pennsylvania.

OWEN J. ROBERTS:

At first glance, the Bricker Amendment appears to be perhaps advantageous - certainly not detrimental to the interests of the U.S. When studied in connection with the constitutional system of this country, it turns out to be one of the most dangerous proposals that has ever been made to the people of the U.S. Now, the proposal is - and a most dangerous proposal --- that no treaty shall be valid until both Houses of Congress ratify it, and that it shall not be valid unless it deals with a subject which Congress could implement by legislation.

res

OWEN J. ROBERTS:
(CTD)

Now, that means that in great areas where we may need to make treaties binding on all the people, the treaty may never become enforced, and until every State, by its legislature, passes it. Now this is contrary to the principle of the constitution which by its very words provides that no state may make a treaty with a foreign government, but apart from that, this violates the separation of powers so sedulously provided by the Constitution..
For in order to make a treaty now, the Pt. negotiates it on behalf of the U.S., the Senate confirms it, and it becomes the superior law of the land. The Bricker Amendment provides against a treaty going into force as the Constitution now provides - we are going to practically not get treaties from our friends and other nations because they will feel that after they have signed the treaty -- after they have negotiated with the greatest care, after the Senate has gone over it with a fine toothcomb, and the Senate has turned down treaty after treaty, and it didn't become effective, or made reservations before it became effective, it may not be a treaty for years and may never be a treaty because of all these other hobbles put in the way. Now, I go to one other provision of the Bricker Amendment that I think is even more dangerous than that I mentioned. It is provided that the Congress may regulate the making of Executive agreements by the Pt. Now, there are many things that have to be agreed between nations that don't rise to the dignity of the treaty and need not.
res

OWEN J. ROBERTS:
(CTD)

And from the days of Geo. Washington to this very day, every Pt. of the U.S. has made numerous executive agreements about tariffs, about immigration, about details of those things to implement the Acts of Congress. Indeed, in many cases what is going to happen? Under the decisions of the Supreme Court, the word "regulate" in the Constitution means,-if wanted to,-"to prohibit". So that if Congress wants to prohibit all executive agreements under this language, they can prohibit them. In other words, they can say to the Pt. of the U.S., "You mustn't make any" or "you mustn't make any unless you show them to us - in advance." Well, the foreign affairs - the details-- the day-to-day give-and-take between nations, will practically be impossible of accomplishment under this provision. So I say that the people of the U.S. ought not to change a provision that has been in the Constitution and has worked.

MURROW:

We have been considering the Bricker Amendment which proposes to change somewhat the treaty making powers of the Pt. of the U.S. And, as you have heard, we have really only nibbled at the edges of it. Last July, Pt. Eisenhower said that he opposed any amendment that would change the traditional treaty making powers of the Pt. The fate of the Bricker Amendment may well hinge upon whether of not the Pt. chooses to use his very considerable personal power and prestige either for or against this particular Amendment.

res

MURROW:
(CTD)

We have a tradition in this country - a long habit of thinking and arguing and exposing to the light of day in public opinion, a proposed constitutional amendment. If we pursue that habit, there will be no opportunity and no occasion for anyone to regret the outcome - whatever it may be. We are grateful to those people who have contributed to this discourse tonight.

Good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

res

HOLLENBECK: The Rotation Blues. This was Korea, Christmas 1952.

GUNS GOING OFF

SOLDIERS WALKING IN MUD

This is Korea, Christmas 1953.

BARBED WIRE

SEE IT NOW, Edward R. Murrow, Aluminum Company of America.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Korea at Christmas Eve. We are standing on the MLR. This Platoon is as well dug in as any I have ever seen. We are standing here in a fighting hole that is actually a BAR position of a Platoon of the First Marines, and it is manned by which Platoon?

LIEUT. WEISS: Second Platoon George Company, Fifth Marines.

MURROW: First Division,

WEISS: FMF In-Tho-Field, Korea.

MURROW: Lieutenant, where is your home?

LT. WEISS: Philadelphia, sir.

MURROW: Are you married?

LT. WEISS: No, I am not.

MURROW: Now, this is about as far forward as it's possible to get. Isn't it?

WEISS: Yes sir. Another 50 or a hundred yards you will hit the Demilitarized Zone.

MURROW: And beyond there you don't go?

WEISS: No sir, not yet.

MURROW: These boys that you have, this actually being an Observation Post, do they spend a lot of time digging?

WEISS: Here they spend 7 days a week digging. As a matter of fact, they have a new MOS.

MURROW: What is that?

WEISS: 1 pick - 1 shovel - 7 days a week.

MURROW: This Observation Post is actually on the old traditional invasion route to Seoul. Isn't it?

WEISS: Yes sir. As a matter of fact, from this ground you can see the Command Post that Genghis Khan used many centuries ago when he came down here to invade this peninsula.

MURROW: Just down the river. Isn't it?

WEISS: Yes sir. It's a man-made triangle.

MURROW: I understand that these fighting holes are all ready to go - that you have grenades and ammunition right here all the time.

WEISS: Yes sir. We have them ready to go - ready to use.

MURROW: Could we go over and meet a couple of the boys, Lieutenant?

WEISS: Yes sir. PFC Mishner and PFC Storey right in the hole.

MURROW: How are you fellows? Merry Christmas, PFC Mishner, where is your home?

MISHNER: Oklahoma City, sir.

MURROW: How is the chow?

MISHNER: Chow's good.

MURROW: How long have you been out here?

MISHNER: I have been out here in Korea, sir?

MURROW: Yes.

MISHNER: Approximately 10 months.

MURROW: Do you get "browned off" with all this digging you have to do?

MISHNER: Most certainly do.

MURROW: Your Christmas presents arrived all right?

MISHNER: Yes sir.

MURROW: You are quite clear now, in your own mind, why it's necessary for you to be out here in Korea in these miserable holes?

MISHNER: Yes I am, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Why is it?

MISHNER: Well, its to stop this aggression that's been forced on these people - also to block the stab of Communism that's been taken to our own country.

MURROW: What would you like to be doing if you were in Oklahoma City right now?

MISHNER: I'd kind of like to be down home with mother and sister and brother.

MURROW: What are their names?

MISHNER: Well, I got my sister, Martha Zoe, and my brother Tom. Merry Christmas sister, little brother.

MURROW: Thank you very much.

MISHNER: Okay.

MURROW: How are you, Lieutenant?

LT. BATES: Good - very good.

MURROW: Glad to see you. Lets sit down and chat a minute.

BATES: All right, sir.

MURROW: Lets start off. Where is your home?

BATES: My home right now is where my family is, and thats Portland, Oregon.

MURROW: Thats sort of my part of the world too.

BATES: Is that right?

MURROW: Things must seem quiet.

BATES: Its been very quiet lately. Right.

MURROW: You were in one of the last actions? Weren't you?

BATES: I believe it was one of the last ones of the Korean setup that we had before.

MURROW: Lieutenant Bates, could you tell us a little about that last action?

BATES: Well, the action took place on an outpost called ESTHER. I was out there with 23 other men and it was just a raid on the outpost that we held at that time.

MURROW: Just routine, eh?

BATES: Right. I mean its....

MURROW: I understand they put you in for the Navy Cross for it. Is that routine?

BATES: Well sir, thats just rumors.

MURROW: Well now, you are an expert. You fought with these boys, Will they fight again as well, if necessary?

BATES: Well sir, I am not an expert on it, but so far as the fighting ... I wouldn't hesitate to have these men with me any place, under any conditions.

MURROW: They haven't gone soft as a result of months of digging, have they?

LT. BATES: You don't get soft digging 8 hours a day.

MURROW: Lieutenant Bates, what makes a good Marine?

BATES: I think a Marine has to have a will to be a Marine. If he has that, nine times out of ten, he will make a good Marine.

MURROW: And if he has somebody who insists?

BATES: Well sir, sometimes that helps.

MURROW: Thank you very much. Merry Christmas, Lieutenant.

BATES: Same to you, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Thank you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

We are down at the C.P. of that Marine O.P. up on the hill just above us. And in Korea you make deocrations out of what you have. Beer cans, colored stone, the Marine Eagle. And the Christmas tree. Many of the decorations on that tree are made from pieces of beer cans. Someone scrounged the rest of the decorations. No one seems to know exactly who is responsible. There is a half of one Platoon here ... 3 tents, a little Christmas tree, and what might be called the Company street.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Korea, December 24th. Thats a Marine chopper coming in with wire. Up on this hilltop everything comes in ... wire, food, mail .. by helicopter. I don't suppose anyone knows how many thousands of miles of wire have been strung along this front. But in spite of trucks and helicopters and all the modern, mechanical gadgets, the hard work has to be done by hand. Dig and wire ... dig and stretch more wire. Never seems to end. Those are bunker timbers coming out of these 'copters. The boys up here say that's the only dog in Korea that was ever chased by a rabbit. That's the mail coming out onto this hilltop.

MAIL CALL:

MARINE: Farrell - Randall - Beatty - Podell. Thats it.

BEATTY OPENING PACKAGE:

MURROW: What do you think is in there?

BEATTY: I don't know, sir.

MURROW: This isn't the first one you have had this year, is it?

BEATTY: Yes. Yes it is.

MURROW: Is it? Oh good. Oh man, what is that top one?

BEATTY: Thats a box of candy, sir. Its from a man I used to work for.

MURROW: What is that?

BEATTY: Fruit cake, sir. From my mother and dad.

MURROW: All crumbled I bet.

BEATTY: I hope not. And here's a cake. Here's some candy. She sent ... looks like she sent me the Saturday Evening Post, and this appears to be the local paper.

MURROW: Who is this one from?

BEATTY: This is from my aunt, sir.

MURROW: Where is your home, by the way?

BEATTY: Columbus, Ohio.

MURROW: Well, are you going to share any of this with the fellows?

BEATTY: Yes sir.

MURROW: You know, you are probably the only man in Korea who has a chance to One: Record the arrival of his present, and 2: To say thanks to the people who sent them. Anything you would like to say?

BEATTY: I'd certainly like to thank my parents and my aunt for these gifts. Merry Christmas.

MURROW: I hope you will have one too.

BEATTY: Thanks sir.

MURROW: It won't be very merry here though, will it?

BEATTY: It won't be too bad, sir.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Now over to Ed Scott on a Minesweeper.

ED SCOTT:

We have come aboard the Navy Minesweeper OSPREY operating in the coastal waters off Korea. This is one of the more important Naval operations here. And after we see a little bit of what happens, we are going to try and visit with some of the men.

P.A. SYSTEM: Commence screening the gear.

SCOTT: For 3 years the waters were seeded with mines. Now, the OSPREY sweeps to find them. That device, called a pig, searches the mines out.

PA. SYSTEM: Pig in the water. Pig is in the water. Sweep speed. Sweep speed.

SCOTT: We have gathered together here on the fantail of the OSPREY a few members of the crew whom we are going to try and talk with.

SCOTT: What is your name and where are you from?

A. B. Marv - from the Phillipines.

SCOTT: And how long have you been out here?

A. Ever since the outbreak of this war.

SCOTT: On this Minesweeper?

A. Yes.

SCOTT: You have seen all the service then with it for 5 years almost?

B. MARVE: I certainly have.

SCOTT: What are one or two personal experiences you had out here?

A. Oh, when we was down in Wonsan ... when we first opened up and that time I almost had it. I thought I would never live to see the world again. They were shelling and there were plenty of mines in the water - seems you practically could see mines all over the water in the Harbor of Wonsan.

SCOTT: Okay. Well I guess maybe you have some family back in the Philippines, haven't you? Do you want to send a Christmas greeting to someone specific? Go right ahead.

A. I am wishing them a very Merry Christmas if it ain't too late, and a Happy New Year.

ABRAHAM: My name is Harold Abraham. I am from Kanosh, Utah. I have been out here since 1950. I was in the Amphibious Forces to start out with ... on an LST that made a landing at Inchon in September of that year. The action then wasn't too rough but it was exciting for a couple of hours.

SCOTT: Abe, tell us, where do you expect to have your Christmas dinner?

HAROLD ABRAHAM: We will have it aboard this ship tomorrow. And I am looking forward to that lovely turkey dinner the cook is whipping up. We are very lucky to have a cook like Harvey.

MILTON HARVEY: My name is Milton Harvey, La Mesa, California.

SCOTT: How long have you been in the Navy?

HARVEY: Twelve years.

SCOTT: And how long have you been in Korea?

HARVEY: I have been aboard this vessel about 7 months.

SCOTT: All right. Tell us what your menu's going to be for Christmas Day.

HARVEY: Well, big turkey, ham, pumpkin pie, fruit cake, shrimp cocktail, a couple of kinds of vegetable, and potatoes.

SCOTT: Sounds good.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is an uninterrupted half hour report from Korea ... sponsored by ALCOA, Aluminum Company of America. This is Charlie Battery, triple Nine Field Artillery, Christmas Eve.

SOLDIERS SINGING"WHITE CHRISTMAS" - ACCORDIONIST

MARINE: How about "Silent Night?"

MARINES SINGING "SILENT NIGHT"

MARINE: How about "Hark The Herald Angels Sing"?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Now the Marines ... somewhere over to the West.

CRECHE

MEN SINGING "SILENT NIGHT"

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Korea on Christmas Eve. In fact, it is now Christmas morning ... about one o'clock. And we are up at an Outpost, Able Company, Fifth Battalion, First Marines. That soldier that you are looking at has been out here all night standing guard, looking out towards the enemy. His position is rather forward of the O.P. This is as near as you can get to the enemy. It's been snowing a little earlier, but now it's stopped. Let's go down and talk to him.

MURROW: Merry Christmas.

GORDON: Merry Christmas.

MURROW: Did you have a good day?

GORDON: Yes sir, fine day, sir.

MURROW: And you are not lonesome up here?

GORDON: Not too lonesome.

MURROW: What do you think about when you are standing up here looking out over that desolate, dreary country?

GORDON: Well, things come to my mind. I think about what is going to happen next, and whether there is anybody watching me the same as I am watching for them.

MURROW: How old are you?

GORDON: I will be 22 May Fifth.

MURROW: What is your name?

GORDON: Fred Gordon.

MURROW: And where is your home?

GORDON: Louisville, Kentucky.

MURROW: Kentucky. When you look at that moon up there, do you think of Louisville, Kentucky?

GORDON: Yes sir - very much, sir.

MURROW: Do you think that every young man ought to spend time in the Armed Forces?

GORDON: Yes sir, I do. I think its a great opportunity and especially I think everyone should spend a little line time. You really get a lot of serious thoughts in a place like this.

MURROW: You don't regret the time you spent with the Marines?

GORDON: No sir.

MURROW: And the time has passed quickly?

GORDON: Yes sir.

MURROW: And what are you going to do when you go home?

GORDON: Go back to my old job more than likely - or I might finish school.

MURROW: Of course, you can go to school under the G.I. Bill?

GORDON: That's right.

MURROW: Now seriously, what would you like to be doing if you were in Lousiville right now?

GORDON: I'd like to be sitting in my home by the Christmas tree, by my brothers and my parents.

MURROW: What sort of presents did you get this Christmas?

GORDON: Presents? Well, my sweetheart Stateside ... I got a Ronson lighter and a billfold, and a lot of chow - takusan chow.

MURROW: Well now, who is your sweetheart?

GORDON Elizabeth Floyd.

MURROW: Where does she live?

GORDON: 337 Alger Avenue.

MURROW: Well now, why don't you say something to her on this Christmas morning, from Korea? What would you like to say?

GORDON: I like to tell her "hello" and hope she has a Merry Christmas and still loves me.

MURROW: Well, thanks very much, indeed, and a very happy Christmas to you.

ED SCOTT:

3:00 A.M. Christmas morning - a night patrol of the 25TH comes back to their bunker.

BOB PIERPOINT:

This is Sgt. Bernard Cavanaugh. He is from Westbury, Massachusetts. Is that right?

SGT. CAVANAUGH: Thats right, sir.

PI RPOINT: And Sgt. Cavanaugh, you are Acting Platoon leader of the Second Platoon?

CAVANAUGH: First Platoon leader.

PIERPOINT: I see. Well, how long have you been here in Korea?

CAVANAUGH: A little over a year.

PIERPOINT: That means this is your second Christmas in Korea?

CAVANAUGH: That's right, sir.

PIERPOINT: Well, this second Christmas means that I have got 7 days left to go before I get those orders saying "go home." Last year was just the beginning of this 12 months and 4 days - if you want to call it that. So, I have a lot more to look forward to this year than a year ago at this time, you might say.

PIERPOINT: How do you feel about this Korean War?

SGT. CAVANAUGH: Well, it was possibly a necessary thing. If it means keeping it this far away from the back door, then it definitely was worth it. A lot of things that you thought were undue hardships, now you look back on them as just something you had to do ... something you had to go through. A lot of things to thank the good Lord for so you shouldn't have too many complaints before its all over and done with.

PIERPOINT: Thank you. Thanks very much. And now I think I will go back to the Company Commander, Lieutenant Stanley Porter; and I believe I forgot to mention your home is Philadelphia. Is that right?

LIEUT. PORTER: That's correct.

PIERPOINT: Now that the war is over here and you have a Company of men digging ditches and working on bunkers, and things like that, but not actually fighting, how is it to run a Company?

PORTER: Well, its not as difficult as you might ordinarily think. I believe that the average American soldier realizes what his job is, and it's the calibre of individual we get which actually determine the difficulty we encounter. And surprisingly, if we explain

LIEUT. PORTER: to the soldier what his job is and explain to him in terms which he can understand, there is very little difficulty encountered.

PIERPOINT: Well now, I don't quite understand why you had a Patrol out. I thought that after the Armistice was signed, there wouldn't be any more Patrols.

PORTER: Well, we are still required to remain on alert status. So we have Patrols out to keep our area secure from unauthorized persons and actually know what is going on out in front of us.

PIERPOINT: I see ... even on Christmas Eve.

PORTER: Well, even on Christmas Eve.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Again, this is that same Marine C.P. a hole in the ground surrounded by sandbags. From this scene no one draws any great conclusions. Its just what you would see if you were out here.

COMMUNICATIONS OPERATOR: Reckless. All secure?

A. All secure.

OPERATOR: Do Soto. All secure out there?

A. All secure.

OPERATOR: Okay.. 4:15 Christmas morning. Merry Christmas to you.

A. Merry Christmas.

OPERATOR: All right.

MURROW: Could I crowd in behind you here?

What is this I hear about your being made a Corporal?

OPERATOR: Yes sir. I just made it today.

MURROW: Christmas present?

OPERATOR: Yes sir.

MURROW: Do you think you earned it?

OPERATOR: I think I rated it, sir.

MURROW: How long do you think you will keep it?

OPERATOR: Until I make Sargeant, sir.

MURROW: Until you make Sargeant. Good for you. Where is your home?

OPERATOR: Springfield, Ohio.

MURROW: Now that you are a Corporal, do you know the opinions and the abilities of six or eight boys under you? Do you have the feeling that they know why they are out here? Why it is necessary for them to be out here digging and stringing wire, and all that sort of thing?

OPERATOR: I certainly do.

MURROW: Why do you think they feel that way?

OPERATOR: That's the way every American feels ... the way every American should feel. We are here for a cause and we will be here until our cause is accomplished.

MURROW: What do you think the cause is?

OPERATOR: Peace.

CANDLE

JEEP WITH KOREAN ORPHANS

ED SCOTT:

This is Christmas Day in Korea. We are at the 35TH Infantry, Kings Company, on the line. We are waiting for some orphans to have Christmas dinner with this Company.
Orphans are so scarce at the front that they're rationed - six kids to a Company.

SANTA LAUGHING

SANTA: Hello. Santa has something for you too, boy. Down in this big, old bag. And there it is.

LITTLE BOY UNWRAPS PRESENT

SANTA: Look at that .... a whistle. Here.

LITTLE BOY BLOWS WHITLE

SANTA: What else have we got here? Oh, a harpsichord. You try it.

LITTLE GIRL STANDING ON TABLE

VOICE: Make her sing now.

LITTLE GIRL SINGS "SILENT NIGHT"

ED SCOTT:

We are standing at Charlie Pier in Inchon Harbor, Korea. In just a few seconds, hundreds of American G.I.'s ... replacements ... will set foot on Korean shores for the first time.

SCOTT: Merry Christmas.

G.I. Same to you.

SCOTT: What is your name?

G.I. Joe Popinia, from Lexington, Kentucky.

SCOTT: Joe, do you have any idea why you are over in Korea now?

JOE: Well, they just sent me over here, and wherever they send me, I will stay. That's about it.

SCOTT: And how was the trip?

JOE: Pretty good.

SCOTT: I gather you have somebody waiting for you back in the States. Would you like to say something to our TV cameras?

JOE: To my wife Cissy. She's going to have a baby February 10th, and I just want to say ... honey, that I love you and Merry Christmas and don't worry too much. I'll be home pretty soon ... and to my mother, father and all the family, Merry Christmas, Happy New Year - I miss you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is Christmas morning, first light in Korea. This is the end of our Christmas report from Korea. Made by our cameramen, Charlie Mack and Leo Rossi; by reporters Bob Pierpoint, Ed Scott, and myself. The morning of Christmas Day, very much like any other morning in Korea. The program has been sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America. Time now to say good morning and good luck.

ERM:

Good evening. We are talking to you not from the control room of Studio 41, but from Wake Island, about 4700 miles West of San Francisco. About 30 hours of flying time from New York, and about 2700 miles from Korea where next week's report will be orginating. Tonight's report will originate here on Wake Island; also in Jerusalem. Part of it in the Arab sector of the City and part of it in the Israeli sector of the City.We will continue from Wake immediately after this report from the Aluminum Company of America.

COMMERCIAL

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ERM:

The evidence of World War II is everywhere to be seen here on Wake Island. This is called the Singapore Gun. It is believed that the Japanese brought it here after they overran Singapore and placed it here on Peacock Point, on Wake Island. 1984 miles southeast of Tokyo; 2296 miles west of Honolulu -- way station and refueling point for Pan American - military and non-scheduled aircraft which ply the skylines over the Pacific. Wake, which lies across the International dateline counts its calendar one day ahead of those in the United States and residents here will point out to you that Christmas thereby arrives first at Wake Island of any place on the globe. Wake Island mostly lodges in the memory by reason of its being the first battleground of our war with Japan. This Command Post from which Major James P. Devereaux and his First Battalion, approximately 400 men, defended Wake Island against the Japanese attack. It was on this spot that the Island was surrendered to the Japs after 14 days of fighting. This is the invasion baach where the Japs put their several thousand troops ashore against Major Devereaux' gallant 400. Deep water, immediately off-shore, permitted the landing craft to approach almost to the beach before the troops would debark, and here is what is left of the Savu Mara built by her Japanese Captain while running from an expected submarine attack which never materialized. One of the things which must forcibly strike any visitor to Wake is the extent to which things are largely unchanged from the days of World War 2. Lying a short distance from the shoreline where it apparently crashed is this remnant -- of the famed Zero fighting plane.

tb

(MORE)

ERM: (CTD)

Amid the jungle of scrofiola plants which mushroom over the surface of Wake is this Japanese light tank - mute testimony to the endless air strikes to which our aircraft subjected the Island once it was in Japanese hands. Another witness to the air attacks which made Wake a hell for the Japanese is this searchlight 50 caliber riddled with 20 millimeter holes. This is the Communications Building for Wake, a building which achieved a good deal of international renown when General MacArthur and President Truman met here for a notable exchange of views on the Korean war. 12 years ago, this Island of Wake fell. One thousand nine hundred fifty three years ago over near the Mediterranean 12,000 miles away Christ was born across the sea. We are going to take you there now to the little country called Israel. If you imagine this as being the Coast of the Mediterranean--coming down like this. Up here is Lebanon, Syria, then about 370 miles of the Jordan frontier, and then way down here, Egypt. And for the last 2 weeks our reporter Alex Kendrick and cameraman Bill McClure have been shooting in this area, and we bring you now their report.

KENDRICK:

This is Jerusalem. The Israelis say "shalom" - peace. The Arabs say "Salam Alekum" - peace be with you. Not far from here, Jesus said: Blessed be the Peace Makers. The very name Jerusalem means City of Peace...but in Jerusalem, as in the rest of the world at this Christmas time, there is no peace.

(MORE)

tb

KENDRICK: (CTD)

Jericho, the Dead Sea, Jerusalem - places identified with the three great religions of the world. For Christian, Jew and Moslem, Jerusalem is the Holy Land. This is Jerusalem from the Mount of Olivers where Jesus meditated. It is a divided city, with most of the shrines in the Arab or Old section. This is the Golden Gate through which Jesus made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. This is the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. This crypt was the stable behind the Inn where there was no room. That silver star marks the exact spot where Christ was born. Three Christian sects take care of this holy place. The Armenian Orthodox - the Greek Orthodox. Here in the Manger, the Franciscan order of the Roman Catholic Church. Also in the old city of Jerusalem there is the Dome of the Rock. Next to Mecca, this is the most holy place in the Moslem Faith. This is the ancient Wailing Wall of the Jews. Solomon built his temple here 3500 years ago. No Jews are permitted here now. There is no traffic between the two hostile halves of this city except U.N. traffic, and no Jews are ever permitted into the Arab side; but on Christmas Eve,. Jordan will allow Christian pilgrims to cross-over from Israel to visit the holy places. They will cross over here at the Mandelbaum Gate that Ed mentioned. This is the no-man's land at that spot. We are looking at it from the Israeli side. This is how it looks from the Arab Side. To cross over at Mandelbaum Gate, Bill McClure had to go by way of Cairo and Athens, a distance of 1500 miles to move 50 yards. A real gate --- Damascus Gate. Both sides guard no-man's land 24 hours a day. This is the Arab Legion post atop Damascus Gate.

(MORE)

tb

KENDRICK: (CTD)

To narrow our focus, we are going to look at Jerusalem as two sentries look at it - an Arab and an Israeli, glaring at each other across no-man's land. This is the Arab.

GEORGE GHATTAS:

My name is George Ghattas. 32 years of age. I am in the Arab Legion Army. This is my post here -- somewhere near Damascus Gate over the city wall of Jerusalem. I was living somewhere (INDICATING) there in a house somewhere in the occupied Israel. And now, I am living in a house near Damascus Gate. I am here to defend my house, my country, to the end of my life.

CHURCH BELL:

KENDRICK:

150 yards away, looking at that clock from the Israeli side is another sentry.

ISRAEL EISENBERG:

My name is Israel Eisenberg. I am 22 years of age. I am standing right here on a spot overlooking the Damascus Gate. The border passes by right down here, dividing the Old city from the new one. The reasons why I am standing right here are two. First, we are in a state of war with the Arabs and weare supposed to be looking that nothing will happen without us knowing it first.

tb

KENDRICK:

In all armies, the changing of the guard comes at almost the same time.

Jerusalem is a city of 225,000 inhabitants. 150,000 of whom live in the new or Jewish section. This is the Jerusalem that Private Eisenberg guards. This is Jaffa Road. The offices and most of the shops are here. Much rebuilding going on here, but there is considerable economic pressure from the Arab boycott, and many goods are hard to get. Milk, eggs, butter, meat, even margarine is rationed. This is the Arab section, the old, and for the most part, the Walled City. We are riding down King Solomon Street. This too is a main street. It runs from Damascus Gate toward Solomon Temple. It is intersected by Second Street --- one of those ancient stairway streets that you find in this part of the world. This is the Filafial man - "Get 'em while they're hot." The Arab version of our hot dog vendor - only these are croquettes made of chick peas.

Our Arab sentry, George Ghattas, is on his way home from Damascus Gate. He is a professional who soldiers for a living - has been at it for five years. As a private, he makes the equivalent of a dollar a day, considerably higher than the pay of most Arab workers. He lives in two rooms on a courtyard on Musrara Street, virtually on the border. He lives here with his wife and four children. No inside plumbing here, no electricity, no refrigerator.

(MORE)

tb

KENDRICK: (CONT)

In the Arab countries as elsewhere there is a difference between city dwellers and country dwellers. Private Ghattas is a native of Jerusalem. So is his wife. She wears no veil. She smokes. She is on equal terms with her husband, and coffee is the Arab national drink.

Our Israeli soldier is on his way home from sentry duty. Private Eisenberg is a non-professional who, like all his countrymen, is drafted for a two and a half year stint in the Army. (All Israeli girls must serve for two years.) His pay is 30 dollars a month. (As a civilian, he would make three times as much.) He is studying to be a lawyer. With his family, he lives in a four room house on Hagis Street. They have electricity and a refrigerator. Thats his mother. She came to Jerusalem 35 years ago. His father and his father's father were born in Jerusalem. Eisenberg senior is a clerk in a local bank.

Getting back to the Arab side - this is the Arab Legion in which George Ghattas is a Private. It is a standing army of 15,000 - trained and supplied by the British since Lawrence's day. The Arab Legion has been called an army equipped with a country.

INSPECTION:

The Arab Legion is commanded by an Englishman whose name is well known - Glubb Pasha. We asked him about his army.

jn

PASHA:

Well, the thing that always strikes everybody first, I think, is their tremendous enthusiasm. They are people who just want to be soldiers. Thats their great ambition in life, and as soon as they get into the army, you will find every single man puts his back into the job the whole time, which after all if he is a sound, healthy fellow, is most of the business. After that as long as he is keen as you see these fellows are, he soon masters the job.

KENDRICK:

And there is also a good deal of native intelligence.

PASHA:

Oh yes, they are very quick indeed at picking things up.

KENDRICK:

They haven't been spoiled by some of the things that soldiers in the West have been spoiled by, I should think.

PASHA:

Well, the trouble in the West is that people think soldiering is a bad job and they all want to get out.

KENDRICK:

And here everybody wants to get in.

PASHA:

Here, everybody wants to get in.

KENDRICK:

The traditional soldier's ordeal by fire.

Now lets look at the Israeli Army. Five years old, it is a civilian army with an estimated strength of 50,000.
With the Arab Legion, the British influence was to be seen; with the Israeli Army, the American look predominates.
These are old Sherman tanks.
Here is the youngest Chief of Staff of any nation. This is General Moshe Diane - age 35.

KENDRICK:

General, how is it possible to mobolize such a large force in such a short time in such a small State?

DIANE:

Well, I think that the answer for that is that we have to organize the whole country - men and women and equipment in the army in case and for the time of war. But I should just say that each one already knows what his duties are and where he is to go to. And, as a matter of fact, we can't do otherwise. I mean, we can't keep a big army. We have to use everybody in the country in case of war. The whole thing - the whole country - the whole nation is to turn into an Army.

GIRL INSTRUCTOR ON FIELD

KENDRICK:

In the Israel Army a rifle is a girl's best friend. Everybody learns to shoot but knitting is also compulsory.

GIRLS MARCHING AND SINGING

This is an Arab Refugee Camp near Bethlehem. Arab Jewish relations are currently the worst since Ralph Bunch wrote the peace treaty. Next to border raids, the refugees are the most bitter issue. When the truce line divided this city, 850,000 Arabs fled the Israeli side and had to be cared for. The Arab governments say they can't provide for them and the Israelis don't want them, so the United Nations takes care of them. But neither side is above using the refugee problem for political advantage. This is the Arab Minister of Propaganda.

NIMER MUSTAFA YOSEF:

My dear friends, with the best greetings of the season, I wish to inform you that some 800,000 Palestine Arab refugees will soon be spending their 6th Christmas in tents and caves. These refugees come from families like you who have their homes, have their gardens, have their factories. Their children went to Oxford and Cambridge; to Columbia and Paris. They had their cars and luxurious furniture, and now these people live on the dole -- doles provided by U.N. organizations and charitable institutions.

-more- jn

NIMER MUSTAFA YOSEF: (CONT)

Now these refugees - they want to go back to their homes. I am one of them. I come from Jerusalem only a few miles from here. And I have got plenty of property there. I can't go to my houses and my property because its occupied by Jews from Czechoslovakia and Poland and Russia. People who have no right to be there.

KENDRICK:

This is the Israeli Minister of Propaganda.

MOSHE PEARLMAN:

The Arab Refugee problem is tragic and complicated. It need never have arisen. The causes are known. The Arab States attacked us in 1948 and that created the Arab Refugee problem. But we are more concerned with what is to be done with the refugees, and its quite clear that if the Arab States had been prepared and were prepared now to do one fraction for their refugees that we in Israel have been prepared to do for our refugees, there would be no problem even today. If instead of making propaganda speeches - if instead of using these poor refugees as a political weapon -- if they would do something about the refugees -- give them work -- build villages-- get them on road construction, it will do everything to enhance the welfare of the refugees themselves and create stability and peace in the Middle East.

KENDRICK:

The U.N. holds its truce line tenuously. This is the weekly Mixed Armistice Commission meeting where Arab and Jew meet with the American U.N. Commissioner, Commander E.H. Hutchison.

HUTCHISON:

156TH Mixed Armistice Commission meeting is convened at zero eight three zero zebra. Major Doran and Lieut. Goldstein will represent Israel, and Captain Barghojti representing Jordan. Now, you have copies of the agenda. Do you approve, Major Doran?

DORAN:

Yes sir.

HUTCHISON:

Now, as to the actual point of meeting, I would like to bring out the fact we are headed into some very rough weather, and we are not able to take a station wagon on all of the meetings. Now, do you have any suggestions along that line?

MAJOR DORAN:

Yes sir. Captain Goldstein checked on this matter with the Local Commander and it has been found not to be practicable to erect such tractors but I would suggest that one of the parties, if agreed, would bring a 3-ton truck - a covered truck - in which the parties could meet during rainy weather.

sfm

CAPT. EMIL JMEI'AN:

Any place near the vicinity of the Local Commanders meeting is agreeable to us where there is a house or a tree or anything like that to keep the Local Commanders out of the rain. Is that agreeable to you, Major Doran?

KENDRICK:

On last week's SEE IT NOW, President Naguib of Egypt told us that the Israelis should be moved to Canada or Kenya or Australia. We asked Israeli's new Prime Minister, Moshe Sharett, about the Arab refugees. Would Israel ever take them back....

ACTING - PRIME MINISTER SHARETT:

Oh certainly not. Certainly not. To bring the Arab refugees back to Israel would be a disasterous course to take from the standpoint of peace and security. From theeconomic point of view, it would be utterly irrational. The countries around us are replete with vast, empty areas of good land. To take the Arabs from countries vastly populated and put them into a country which is already thickly populated would hardly make sense, economically speaking. The problem of some of the countries around us is actually a problem of population more than problems of land or water. Look at Iraq, It's a vast country and it has only about 3 quarter of a million people. Iraq can never hope to prosper and be really independent in the economic sense of the term unless they get a few more million people.

(MORE) sfm

PRIME MINISTER SHARETT:(CTD)

Its a Godsend to them that they should be able to settle a few hundreds of thousands of people on the fertile land areas, utilizing the powerful rivers which overflow to waste there.

KENDRICK:

The Arabs of course don't agree. They insist that Israel get out of the Holy Land all together. This then has been a report on the Holy Land 3 days before Christmas, 1953, A.D.

sfm

ENDING:

EDWARD R. MURROW:

And still there is no peace. If there is one lesson to be learned from part of this history it is that in a world where this is no security for small nations, there is no security for great nations. The challenge that Israel presents to the Arab world is not a military or an economic one. It is rather the challenge of scientific progress, of equality, of modernity, and the effort to lift the individual citizen up to the highest possible level. We are heading on from Wake now to Tokyo and Korea where next week's report will originate. So its time to say on behalf of ALCOA and ourselves, Merry Christmas. Good night and good luck.

sfm

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. The conversations that were supposed to lead to a Korean peace conference have been suspended. Ambassador Dean is on his way home, and no one appears to know what will happen next. Last week, our reporter Bob Pierpoint and cameraman Leo Rossi went to visit South Korea and President Syngman Rhee in his home in Seoul.

PIERPOINT: Mr. President, what sort of action do you contemplate if the Korean political conference does not accomplish unification, or within the time limit perhaps, does not even get started toward the unification of Korea?

RHEE: Frankly speaking, we have very little confidence in the efforts they are making to open political conference to which the Korean problem would be settled.

PIERPOINT: Perhaps I should put my question in another way, Mr. President, and ask you: Would you, in the case of a failure of the Korean political conference, or in case it never even gets started -- would you then be willing to accept the status quo?

RHEE: To accept status quo means some million or more Chinese Communist troops are to remain in Korea. It means that we accept a death warrant as a nation. We cannot survive as an independent nation and we will not expect our people now in the Government and in the Army, Navy and Air Force, and all men and women -- they would rather die fighting for freedom than willingly, quietly accept this status quo.

RHEE: So that we are asking is to either persuade or force the Chinese Communist troops to get out of this country. And I don't believe anyone, even friendly to the Communists, will condemn us when we decide in a struggle - to survive as a free nation. Supposing you have 120 million Chinese Communist troops in your country - any free nation - would you tolerate them to remain there and accept a peace of any kind? Please do not ask us to do what you wouldn't do yourself.

PINPOINT: Mr. President, what kind of foreign relations do you plan for Korea with her neighbors in the Far East, such as Nationalist China, Japan, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, India, in case of the eventual settlement of the Korean conflict?

RHEE: I was thinking of a trip to Formosa and General Chiang Kai Shek and myself got together and happened to talk about the general situation and we have agreed to issue a joint proclamation. Our idea is to have all the advice of these governments. The main idea is to get together and discuss something on the basis of common collective security in the Pacific area. It may wind up with something like a North Atlantic Pact. And we may -- we don't know -- there may be something else. The main idea is we all realize the danger of Communist conquest over the whole world, and the Communists, unless you fight them, not by bayonets and swords and bullets, but you have to fight them in your family, in your schools, in your community, and in your nation. Otherwise, you cannot keep them out just like an epidemic. You have to fight it to stop it. So long as we have to fight the Communists in order to make Korea safe for individual

RHEE: freedom and independence, why should we not get together and stand together? You know, "United we stand and divided we fall." The last two World Wars clearly and definitely convinced all of us that unless we combine together to stand against the common enemy, we all of us will be conquered one after another.

PIERPOINT: Thank you very much, President Rhee.

RHEE: Mr. Pierpoint, I want to avail myself of this opportunity to send a Christmas greetings to all our friends in the United States. American people have been standing by us and help so much. Now, that this happy season of Christmas is near and I want to say a word or two to all the American people in America, including those men who are fighting in Korea. I wish them Merry, Merry Christmas and God's blessings, and that the Prince of Peace will bring peace to Korea and the rest of the world. Thank you.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

That was South Korean President Syngman Rhee. Now, to another President half a world away. Mohammed Naguib, the President of Egypt, the man who in '52 organized the coup that flung out King Farouk. He was interviewed in his home by Alexander Kendrick and our cameraman Bill McClure.

ALEXANDER KENDRICK INTERVIEWING GENERAL NAGUIB:

Q. Well, tell me sir, you are the George Washington of your country. You led a revolution and kicked out a King just as our George Washington did. And you became the first President. Is it possible for every Egyptian boy now to dream of some day becoming the President?

A. First of all, I wish to be a George Washington, but I am not. The democratic system of building up in our country naturally enables every efficient, ambitious boy to become a President some time.

Q. Why and how, did you a high ranking Army officer, become a revolutionary?

A. Well, first of all, my father himself was a strong man for the independence of our country. He was an officer in the Army and he had so many troubles with the British in the Sudan. I was born and brought up in the Sudan. I found many aggressions from the teachers and the professors at Gordon College. For instance, I tell you. I once - in a piece of dictation, the professor dictated to us: "Egypt is governed by the British." But I protested. I said: "No sir, Egypt is not governed by the British. Egypt is just occupied by the British." For this I got ten lashes.

Q. Well sir, I see on your wall pictures of Washington and New York. Does that mean that you would like to visit our country some time?

A. Indeed I wish and I was .... will you have some coffee?

KENDRICK: Thank you -- after you, sir -- after you.

ALEXANDER KENDRICK INTERVIEWING GENERAL NAGUIB:

NAGUIB: Thank you.

Q. You would like to visit America?

A. Yes I do. It only depends on if I find a short period of time to go. I was all the time trying to go this year but we suddenly found ourselves involved in many internal questions. You know, the people whom I treated very generously -- those who were against the present regime, we gave them every satisfaction but they were ungrateful and began to create trouble and to even ally themselves to foreign elements like Communism or with the British sometimes to create trouble against the present government. So, we were forced, and I make stress of that, we are obliged, in fact, to take the temporary precautions we are taking now which will come to an end as soon as possible. I don't like it but I can't keep the safety of the country unless I rely on such precautions to purify and purge the present ....

Q. General, what about the plans that you have for the independence of your country? Now, from what you said, there is no doubt that one of the main things you are going to do is to rid your country of people whom you consider to be occupants?

A. What did America do? First of all, we don't want to create trouble if we can arrive at the peaceful solution through negotiations or so ... we welcome that to save ourselves the trouble of making another cruelties... but if we fail, we have naturally to continue preparing our people and our country for

ALEXANDER KENDRICK INTERVIEWING GENERAL NAGUIB:

A. the last struggle -- for the independence of our country. Independence, as you know, is a very special thing ... invaluable.

Q. Mr. President, what do you want from the West? Can the West help you in this that you are speaking of?

A. I don't expect so much help except from nations that are devoid of ambitions and who are oppressing our communities. Perhaps America is one for which we are looking. First, Americans ... and I can add to this ... that America enjoyed a very good reputation amongst the Arab nations for a very long time until the question of Palestine came, which to a certain extent, put a ... changed the ideas of many of our peoples, and this is due to the cleverness of the British by shifting all the evil they did in Palestine. They shifted on the shoulders of the Americans and represented the Americans in our eyes as the people responsible for the situation in Palestine concerning the refugees and others. Although the Americans did that - innocently dragged by England, they don't know exactly what is the state of life here and in Palestine. If I could add more about Palestine .. I am .. I am not a fanatic, and I am quite liberal, but look at the question itself of creating a Jewish Kingdom in the midst of the Arab nations. Is that right? And why? The first thing to protest against that -- is that you turn a religion from being a religion into an international system. There is no kingdom called the Islamic Kingdom .. no kingdom called Christiania or Christian Kingdom. So there will not be a kingdom called the Jewish Kingdom or Israel ... that small kingdom in the midst of our countries, hindering us from continuing our

ALEXANDER KENDRICK INTERVIEWING GENERAL NAGUIB:

A. life peacefully and in a good way. This has to be reconsidered again, and it is far better to the interest of the Jews themselves to remain as they are.

Q. Well General, what .... (INTERRUPTED).

NAGUIB: Now, this makes me think further ... what is the ultimate object of that? If they just want to be contented with a small representative State or having a nationality ... they have already a nationality, and even if they want just a small representative State or some State to call Israel or Jews, or so, this need not be ... or any place. Why establish it in the Arab nations? Why not in Canada, or Australia, or Kenya, or anywhere?

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Kendrick and McClure left Egypt and went to Jerusalem. They have been shooting film there for the past week and we shall present their report this time next week to hear certain views that are not presumably altogether in accordance with those expressed tonight by President Naguib of Egypt. In a minute we shall bring you a piece of film made late at night at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. with an old friend, General Jimmy Doolittle. But first, a word from ALCOA.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

This is the Smithsonian Institution. Its long after closing time. Within these halls you walk with history.

BELL RINGING

They seem almost filled with ghosts. The first aircraft that permitted man to fly with power. The first sewing machine. The first typewriter. The first steam engine. At the moment, we are looking at part of the National Air Museum. Here are the instruments and perhaps the spirit of the great aviation pioneers who made modern powered flight what it has become over the past 50 years. But to begin at the beginning:

1903 - the Wright Brothers plane. The Kitty Hawk Flyer - the first powered flight controlled by man.

1911 - the Wright Brothers Type E-X. This was the first plane to cross the United States .. New York to California.

1918 - World War I plane .. the French Spad. Aircraft like this began the war unarmed .. went to revolvers, rifles, shotguns .. ended with machine guns.

1924 - the Douglas Cruiser .. first plane to fly around the world .. about 27 thousand miles. U.S. Army aviators did it in 371 hours flying time, spread out over 175 days.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

1925 - the Curtis Army Racer. With it Jimmy Doolittle won the Snyder Trophy. Doolittle hit 232 miles an hour. Planes were getting faster.

1927 - Many consider this the most famous plane in the world. Charles Augustus Lindbergh's "Spirit of St. Louis" - the first trans-atlantic non-stop solo flight .. 3600 lonely miles in 33 and a half nerve-straining hours.

1930 to 1935 - the Winnie May, speedy and durable. Twice it went around the world. The pilot, an unforgettable name in aviation, Wiley Post.

1935 - A World War II American fighter plane .. the quick and deadly P-51.

1947 - The beginning of the future .. the Bell X-1 rocket plane .. first to break the sound barrier at a speed of some 760 miles an hour.

Standing here beside me is the man who might be said to have a toe-hold in the past but both feet firmly planted in the future. General Jimmy Doolittle.

MURROW: Jimmy, tell me what you think about as you stand here looking out at these old aircraft?

DOOLITTLE: Well, that first one is the original Wright Flyer. It looks rather crude according to today's standards, but on December 17, 1903, just 50 years ago day after tomorrow, it made the first man-carrying powered control flight. That represented the birth of aviation.

MURROW: And it flew about the distance of the wing spread of the B-36 now. Didn't it?

DOOLITTLE: Not quite.

MURROW: Not quite. Jimmy, there is a question I have been meaning to ask you for a long while. I was told that during the war when you were going down on Torch Operation, flying in a B-17, that you were attacked by some German aircraft, and that when the word came back to wide wing, to Toohy Spaat's headquarters, that the co-pilot had been slightly wounded, that Toohy then said: "My goodness, I hope Jimmy didn't shoot him just so he would have a chance to fly." Is there anything in that? Is that right?

DOOLITTLE: No. It isn't quite right. Ed, I have known Toohy for a great many years. The first thing, Toohy never said "my goodness."

MURROW: I know. Now, General Doolittle, you were the first man to fly an aircraft and then Lindbergh flew it across the ocean. How would you compare the difficulties of flying navigation then compared to what the boys confront who fly these complicated gismos they have today?

DOOLITTLE: I would like to build up to that question, Ed.

MURROW: Do.

DOOLITTLE: That airplane right over there .. thats the old Wright E-X. In 1911, Rogers made the first flight across this continent. It took him 84 days. He cracked up a great many times. When he arrived at the Pacific Coast, there were only two pieces of the airplane left that were of the original airplane .. the rudder and one strut. That was the first flight across this continent. I made the first flight across the continent in less than 24 hours in 1922. In 1931, I made the first flight across the continent in less than 12 hours. Last week, Mrs. Doolittle left Los Angeles in an American Airlines DC-7 and arrived in New York six hours and a half later. So, when you think of 84 days compared to six and a half hours, you realize what progress has taken place. So, when Slim and that beautiful airplane made his flight across the Atlantic, he did a magnificent job. It was very difficult in that day. The flights across the Atlantic today are commonplace and that is the progress thats taken place in aviation over the past 42 years.

MURROW: What do you see in the future of jet transportation, for example?

DOOLITTLE: I see the present airplanes being flown for a while longer and gradually being replaced by Jets. In England, the Jet is already here .. the DeHaviland Comet is already flying.

MURROW: Yes. When will we reach a point where peace can be maintained through airpower, Jimmy?

DOOLITTLE: Now Ed, we agreed that we weren't going to get into controversial subjects. You know, there are two sides to every question. I would like to tell you a little story.

MURROW: Good.

DOOLITTLE: There may be more than two sides to each question. This story brings out the fact that there are sometimes more than two sides to a story. There were two chaps in prison in Moscow and one of them asked the other what he was in for, and he said: "I am anti-Schmitsky."

MUPROW: Anti-Schmitsky?

DOOLITTLE: Yes, and the first chap said: "Well, I don't know how they can put you in for that. I am pro-Schmitsky and I am here." While they were meditating, a third chap came in and they asked him what he was in for, and he said: "Well, I am Schmitsky."

MURROW: Jimmy, we were talking earlier about Slim Lindbergh's book and about his aircraft that is just out there, and about what he might have thought about. What did you think about in your long flight?

DOOLITTLE: You .. you mean the Tokyo flight?

MURROW: Yes.

DOOLITTLE: I was pretty busy. We had to plan our weather. We had to navigate. We had chores to do. The weather changed .. and I don't believe that I am the sensitive person that Slim is because none of the profound thoughts went through my mind. About all I thought about was getting there, doing the job, and then collecting my little flock and getting away.

MURROW: Do you think we have enough air power to maintain the peace today?

DOOLITTLE: Ed, that is a controversial question and I believe we agreed we weren't going to ask them.

MURROW: Schmitsky, eh?

MURROW: Now .. no seriously, I suppose that .. well, I have never known a General who thought that he had enough men or enough metal, or an Admiral who felt that he had enough ships, and I suppose the same thing is true with men who have served in the Air Force. Isn't it?

DOOLITTLE: Well, my experience is rather unique. I spent almost half of my working life in the Military and almost half in business, so I look at it perhaps a little more objectively than either a business man or strictly Military man. And I appreciate the fact that we may have to remain armed for a long time, and we must have the most efficient Military establishment that we can have. It must be capable of maintaining the peace. It must be capable of winning the war if we get into it, and it also must be capable of being carried on for an indefinite period of time .. five, ten, fifty, a hundred years, if necessary.

MURROW: When you first got both feet off the ground at the same time, about 35, 36 years ago, did you expect this progress in aviation?

DOOLITTLE: No Ed, I did not. I have been amazed at the progress and the interesting thing is that there is no leveling out in the curve of aviation progress. Its still going up. We are going faster. We are going further. We are going more safely.

MURROW: And you see no prospect that that curve is going to level off. Do you expect to be surprised in the next ten years ... lets put it that way.

DOOLITTLE: No. I have some very excellent friends who say: "My goodness, what we have seen in our lifetime. What is there for our children?" I don't feel that way at all. I feel that our children are going to see things just as interesting and just as radical as the things we have seen, and probably their children as well.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Thank you very much indeed, General Jimmy Doolittle. Now, we have been talking here in the Smithsonian Institution with General Doolittle on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Powered Flight.

Good night and good luck.

* * * *

KINESCOPE EXCERPTS

SEE IT NOW

Vol. 2, No. 28
March 15, 1953

MR. MURROW: We are now going "live" to the Plaza Hotel in New York. For a long time we have wanted to eavesdrop on a conversation between two statesmen. Ernst Reuther, the Mayor of Berlin, arrived this morning. He presides over the affairs of two million people 100 miles inside Communist territory. He is a tough, steady symbol of defiance. He walks without a bodyguard streets that are known for kidnapping and murder. And with him is Averill Harriman, Lend-Lease Administrator, Embassador to London, Embassador to Moscow, Mutual Security Administrator, and presidential candidate. Now let's listen.

[Discussion between Mayor Reuther and Mr. Harriman concerning refugees from East Berlin.]

MR. HARRIMAN: I know in the past you have never been ready to give any advice to people, but you said frankly what you thought was your job as Mayor in regard to the people of Berlin. I recall the number of times I have been in Berlin, and it is an inspiration to all of us who have been there to

see the spirit developed under your leadership--to build a life in freedom there--and I wish more people would get a chance to know that.

MAYOR REUTHER: I know the conditions in every country are different, but I have the feeling that something like the spirit in Berlin would be very good for the whole world.

MR. HARRIMAN: I think so too.

MAYOR REUTHER: To act, to stand, to be firm, and to be hopeful for the future, and to believe in ourselves.

MR. HARRIMAN: Going back to Stalin and his successor, at least his titular successor Malenkov, do you think it's going to be--will you tell us something of your thoughts about what it is going to mean? Do you think there will be a change?

MAYOR REUTHER: The fact that Stalin died is a change in itself, because nobody can replace Stalin.

MR. HARRIMAN: Nobody can replace his personality.

[Discussion concerning Malenkov's personality, and Mr. Harriman's remembrances of Malenkov in Moscow.]

MR. MURROW: You have been listening to part of a conversation between Ernst Reuther, the Mayor of Berlin, and Mr. Averill Harriman. Good night and good luck.

December 18, 1951

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Permit me belatedly to thank you for your letter of November 16. In view of the circumstances it seemed to me that your article in the NATION was restrained. The editors of the NATION asked me to contribute to the symposium on the subject and I declined for the simple reason that I regarded the whole issue as unfortunate and ill-advised. However, since I had agreed to take part in it I felt it unwarranted to attack the editors of COLLIERS in public.

It may interest you to know that I was in Paris when the COLLIERS issue was published and the reaction and the criticism of my French friends both in journalism and in government was considerably less restrained than was yours.

As a matter of fact I think what happened was that a number of reasonably responsible people were "sold" on the basis of the other participants and the result was a sort of collective irresponsibility. For my own part I shall contribute to no subsequent ventures of this kind.

Thank you for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. D. F. Fleming
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

November 16, 1951

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Columbia Broadcasting Company
Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I enclose a recent article in the Nation which expresses regret that you were a contributor to the October 27 issue of Colliers.

This regret does not diminish my gratitude for the continued balance which you show in your broadcasts. Your broadcast of November 1 from Paris, in which you voiced the apprehension of Europeans that "Dominant and superior nations never negotiate" was worth much in slowing down our steady drift toward another world war.

Yours is one of the few voices which utters such warnings, and if you ceased to do so it would be a calamity indeed.

Sincerely yours,

D. F. Fleming

D. F. Fleming

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MEMORANDUM (Ralph Colin)

In re: CBS - ED MURROW March 22, 1954

Over the week-end I played two Murrow "Hear It Now" records, the first covering the period from 1932 to 1945 and the second from 1945 to 1949. The following items in each of them should be noted:

I.

1. In introducing an item containing a speech by Huey Long, Murrow's comments ridicule his "Share the Wealth" program and Long's criticism of the fact that one-tenth of the people have two-thirds of the wealth. (1st band)

2. The collection includes a speech by Landon in the 1936 campaign asking for the end of "pump priming" and the introduction by Murrow is not unfriendly. (2nd band)

3. There is included a vigorous speech by Wilkie attacking Roosevelt's efforts for a third term. (3rd band)

4. There is included Eisenhower's D-Day speech in which he reports to Europe that the Allied Armies have landed on the beaches of France, and in the course of the speech he refers to "our great Russian allies." (7th band)

5. There is included at length the prayer by Chaplain Downey before the air-men took off to bomb Hiroshima. This is touchingly religious and in that way certainly anti-Communist. (10th band)

6. The item about Douglas MacArthur and the signing of the peace with Japan is introduced with complimentary phrases about MacArthur's carrying out his promise to return. (10th band)

II.

1. In Murrow's introductory comments relative to the speech for peace after the end of the war, Murrow refers to the difficulties with an unreasonable Russia. (Band 1)

2. Murrow reports that the reconversion to peace is not easy; that we have a nervous ally in Moscow; and that Russia is carrying on a propaganda campaign against England to discredit English Socialism. He then includes Winston Churchill's speech with the first reference to the phrase "Iron Curtain" and reports on Gromyko's walking out of the United Nations conference as the first of a long series which followed. He refers bitterly to the sphere of "Soviet influence and control." (Band 2)

3. Murrow includes Baruch's speech on the desirability of controlling atomic energy providing there can be adequate "international control and inspection" and Gromyko finding this suggestion "unacceptable." (Band 3)

4. There is included Lillienthal's remarks before a Congressional investigating committee in connection with his proposed appointment as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission in which he defines Democracy as that Government which is concerned primarily with the "integrity of the individual" as contrasted with "the fundamental tenet of Communism" which is primarily concerned with the welfare of the state. (Band 3)

5. There are some adverse comments by Murrow on the scope and procedures of Congressional investigation committees.

6. Murrow includes Masaryk's last speech in which he refers to "the tragedy of trying to compromise with Russia which is as incapable of compromise as it is of true Democracy." (Band 6)

7. There is included an item on how Russia took Czechoslovakia from the inside by means of deceit and that these methods stimulated United States resistance. (Band 6)

8. Murrow includes ironically Vishinsky's speech that the United States was "war mongering." (Band 7)

9. Murrow also includes a speech of Eleanor Roosevelt which he introduces as one which "spanked the Russians." (Band 7)

10. In leading up to the opening of the Second World War, Murrow's comments refer to the fact that "on the map of China Communism is spreading like a corrupt stain." (Band 8).

The

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The EDUCATIONAL RECORD

The President's Annual Report

GEORGE F. ZOOK

Scholarly Inquiry and the American Tradition

JAMES B. CONANT

PLEASE RETURN TO
CRS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

JULY 1950

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

The World Crisis—Our Way Out[1]

By EDWARD R. MURROW

BEFORE WE LOOK AHEAD to try to find a way out of the world crisis today, I would like to suggest to you that we look backward very briefly—that we remember the position that our country occupied at the end of World War II. The United States was the only major power engaged in war to emerge with our industrial plant intact, with a rising standard of living, with great power and great responsibility thrust upon us. We found, in much of the world, people searching about for new allegiances, unwilling to agree that we in this country had arrived at the final and complete answers to the social and economic problems that confronted them. From the outside, at the end of the war, no one doubted our physical strength, no one doubted our capacity for destruction. They had seen the evidence of our industrial output in tanks that ground through their villages and in aircraft overhead. They knew that we had the industrial power and the strength. They were by no means convinced that we had the ability, the stamina, or the determination to lead.

They were looking about for new allegiances, for new faiths, for new beliefs. That was particularly true in Western Europe, as I know from my own experience. And most of us in this country, at the end of the war, failed to realize the extent to for new beliefs. That was particularly true in Western Europe, had been torn to tatters. We thought that in Germany, a defeated nation, we had a people of little power and a country that would require decades or perhaps generations to revive. In that estimate we made a substantial mistake. We neglected to remember that there are about seventy million of the most industrious, inventive, hard-working people sitting astride all the lines of communication and transport in middle Europe.

In facing Europe today, we must recognize, I think, first of

[1] Address given before the Annual Meeting of the American Council on Education, Chicago, Illinois, May 6, 1950.

all, that there is no solution in Europe until there is a solution in Germany. All other problems, whether they be in Britain, in Greece, Yugoslavia, or elsewhere, are on the periphery of the real problem which is Germany. Many of us are still disposed to think that we play strong cards in determining the future of Germany. I would like to suggest that our hand is weaker than we think.

What is it that every defeated nation in history has always wanted? Certainly they have wanted a restoration of their prewar frontiers. Who can give this to Germany? The Russians, with another division of Poland. We cannot.

Certainly every defeated nation in history has wanted a revival of trade and a measure of prosperity. Does anyone seriously believe that the Germans are going to recapture their markets in South America, the Middle East, and elsewhere? They are not. Those markets have gone to us and to the British. The market for German industrial output lies in the East, behind the Iron Curtain—and the Russians can give them that.

In every defeated nation in history, the young officers corps has played an important part in determining the policy and the climate of that country. In Germany, they have an appetite for troop command. Who can give them that? The Russians. We cannot.

So, in considering the problem in Western Europe, we must remember that we counterpose to very substantial Russian attractions, this intangible thing which has never commended itself highly to the Germans—personal freedom.

I will talk but briefly about the position in Asia because I know very little about it. There, again, we confront a problem where the immediate need is not democratic freedom of the individual, it is not rice tomorrow, but it is rice for lunch today. We suffered a disastrous defeat in China and we may well be confronting another one in Indo-China. We can present these people with weapons, but we cannot present them with the willingness or the desire or the ability to use those weapons.

We are today, I suggest, on the defensive almost everywhere

in this conflict with the Soviet Union. What, then, are we to do about it? I would make, with all humility and merely as a reporter, certain suggestions. I would suggest that we remember what Clausewitz said about war, that the first duty of a nation at war is to recognize its enemies. I think it is the first duty of a nation at peace to recognize its friends, and if those friends, particularly in Western Europe, are not cast in our image economically or politically, we must still recognize them as friends. And many of our friends in Western Europe are socialists. Their economic gods are not our economic gods. They were so close to the fire that they determined to provide a fuller measure of equality, fairer shares for all, than they had had before the war. The fact that they have chosen Western democratic socialism does not deny their value to us as allies, does not deny that they share with us the traditional freedom of the individual that we inherited from them.

I would suggest that we must prepare ourselves to live in a state of perpetual crisis, that we must recognize that there are no easy or quick solutions. It seems to me that we as a people have always demanded immediate and, if possible, easy solutions, and, by and large, due to the accident of geography and great natural resources, we have found easy and quick solutions. We have been a people to whom only the immediate is real. We are now confronted with a situation that is going to require great patience, great determination, and great steadiness.

We must learn, in a phrase used by General Bradley, not to leap from crisis to crisis and go into panic each time someone rattles a paper behind the Iron Curtain. We must, I think, for the first time in our history, learn to cherish our allies. Never before in our history have we had allies in peacetime. It will require time and understanding to deal with them. Never before in our peacetime history have we had to maintain military force in order to support our policy. That is expensive. In my opinion it is going to become much more expensive.

We must permit our allies the maximum degree of flexibility. We must not make the mistake that the Russians made of demanding conformity down to the last detail, of trying to remake

our allies into satellites, trying to persuade or force them to follow precisely our pattern.

We are inevitably, by the volume and nature of our support, interfering to a greater or lesser extent in the internal affairs of most of our allies. That interference must be held to a minimum and it must be practiced with great skill.

We must also recognize that there is a limit to what dollars can do, that we cannot buy ourselves out of this conflict, and that in many areas if we can present an example not only of an expanding economy, but of expanding freedom and expanding opportunity, the example may be worth much more than the writing of checks.

I think, too, that we must plan now for disaster. I think we should have mobilization laws upon the books, that the plans should be made for an alternate capital for our country. I think the plans should be made for a priority economy and that we should not, if war comes, be caught again as we have been caught in all of our previous wars.

I would suggest, also, that we must recognize that in dealing with the rest of the world, we must deal through our government, and that those of us who desire to influence world affairs may with profit travel abroad, may certainly with profit consult with colleagues abroad, but that our influence, if it is to be effective, must be exercised through our own government.

I would like to suggest that in the field of education very often educators have been inclined to travel in the stratosphere in order the better to avoid the realities, or, if you like, the hog trough of practical politics. I saw many of them in the early thirties who were devoutly concerned with cultural cooperation. I would say nothing against that. Indeed, I have had a little experience in that field and have seen some of the dividends that come from it. But, I suggest it would be a mistake to believe that our influence can be used decisively simply on the basis of relations between individuals.

If we seriously desire to influence our policy in relation to the rest of the world, I would suggest that it could be done more effectively by retiring to the obscurity from which they came a

half-dozen United States Senators than it can through UNESCO or any other international cultural organization. I would trade you now a complete file of the accomplishments of all the international cultural organizations in the last five years for just another four or five senators like Paul Douglas and Frank Graham. In other words, I would like to see more educators in politics and—if I may say so without offense—fewer educators who are being pushed around by politics while they remain educators.

I think we need a high command to fight this war in which we are engaged. I was told as recently as a month ago by two leading statesmen in Europe that they were never quite sure from day to day of the name of the individual who was conducting and controlling American policy. On Mondays they thought it might be Louis Johnson, on Tuesdays it might be Secretary Snyder, and on alternate Wednesdays our Secretary of State had a chance to try his hand. It is not just a matter of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing. It is rather a case of the fingers not being coordinated, and so a considerable amount of time is spent pointing fingers, one at the other, on the part of men who are in responsible positions.

I think we must decide whether our definition of democracy is an item for export. If we do so decide, then we should spend more money, more effort, in attempting to export it. We should spend more money and more effort in bringing foreign scholars and students to this country and in sending American scholars and students abroad.

Above everything else, I would suggest that we must recognize the nature of the Russian strategy in this war. There is at the moment no indication that the Russians are being driven by inner compulsions or dissensions as were the Nazis. They can well play a patient game in the hope and the belief that we will destroy ourselves, that we will bankrupt ourselves, that we will lose most of our liberties in the process of trying the defend them.

I think above everything else that we must recognize what is a fact—or at least I believe it to be a fact—that the right of dissent is in danger in this country; that dissent is being confused with subversion; that men who are writing and talking

are less inclined than they were a few years ago to write and talk bluntly lest they be accused of disloyalty or subversion.

We are now in a state of mild hysteria. I, myself, can see no possibility that we will escape in the near future from that state of hysteria, suspicion, and confusion. It is a mistake to think that this is in any sense parallel to the position that existed after the end of the First World War, because then there was no great body of power anywhere in the world that threatened us and to which our subversive elements owed allegiance and loyalty. And it seems to me of the utmost importance that we protect, insofar as we can, the right of the citizen to be wrong, the right of the citizen to hold unorthodox and unpopular views.

If war should come, then it seems to me of the utmost importance that we have sound moral ground on which to stand. I would suggest that we cannot create or cultivate that moral ground by making deals with dictators whose principles we profess to abhor. I think if I had anything to do with teaching political science these days, I would do my best to expose my classes to the transcript, or better still, recordings, of the hearings before the Senate subcommittee having to do with Owen Lattimore; in saying that, it would be none of my purpose to defend or condemn Lattimore. It would be rather to expose students of political science to the tactics that are being employed in a situation where there are no rules of evidence, no rules of procedure, and where not only one man's reputation but the reputation of scores of people may be destroyed by single, casual sentences or by loaded questions.

I saw one thing during the war which impressed me above everything else. That was in London during the blitz, when for two days the House of Commons sat and debated while German bombers were overhead. The House might have been destroyed at any moment; yet the House sat and debated for two days the conditions under which enemy aliens were being held on the Isle of Man because the members of the House were determined that there were to be no concentration camps, no illegal arrests in Britain, even though the Island fell.

I remember one other occasion and then I will have done,

because I have not yet reached the point where my own reminiscences fascinate me. I remember another occasion during the blitz when I lost my third office and I was scrambling about attempting to salvage a typewriter and a few files and I picked up a charred piece of paper. It was a page from a pamphlet written by an old professor of mine, and there was part of a sentence still legible, and it said, "I believe the most urgent task confronting the world today is education." At that time, lacking an office, typewriter, files, and everything else, it seemed to me a wholly ridiculous statement. But, in retrospect, it seems to be both wise and profound.

I would like to end this rambling discourse by giving you a quotation which is not widely published in this country. It has direct relation to what I was saying about the right to be wrong. It was a speech made by Adolph Hitler in Königsburg in 1932, before he came to power. In the course of the speech he said, "I tell you that the great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it." We now fear the totalitarian state, and it should be our purpose to do everything we can to avoid imitating it.

Question Period

Question: Would Mr. Murrow be willing to comment on "The Voice of America" and on the cultural activity?

Mr. Murrow: I think the first and most significant thing to be said about "The Voice of America" is that the listenership is sufficiently wide both in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries that the Russians have elected not to ban listening, not to make it illegal. They are using very powerful transmitters to jam it, which means in turn they must take the transmitters out of service for the purpose of transmitting their own propaganda abroad. It is always the tendency on the part of everyone who has anything to do with short-wave broadcasting, or medium-length broadcasting, for that matter, to overestimate the size of the audience. I think that is probably true in the case of "The Voice of America," but I make that simply as a general statement.

I have seen a considerable number of Germans who have been brought to this country, either under Army or private auspices. I think many of us fail to recognize a very simple difficulty experienced by the Germans that we bring to this country and those who worked with us in Germany. That is, that they are collaborators. They are collaborators even though they are collaborating with Americans who have no evil designs upon them or their country, and they suffer the same stigma that was applied to the French or the Dutch or the Belgians who collaborated with the Germans.

I know very little of the publication program in terms of cultural relations. The evidence, particularly in Italy, of American action, not so much in the cultural field, but in the political field and the economic field, is illustrative of what has been achieved in the course of the last five years. I was there for the last general election and the preceding election. The Communists showed great strength in the industrial north because of the wide unemployment. The factories were idle and there was a shortage of material. In the '48 election the Communists lost strength in the north because of the availability of materials and Marshall Plan aid. At the same time they gained strength in the south because the Italian government had done nothing to improve marketing procedure or anything of that sort.

QUESTION: Would Mr. Murrow care to give his evaluation of the UNESCO program?

MR. MURROW: I served as a member, for a year I think, of the Advisory Committee on UNESCO. I did my best to read the documents that came to my desk week after week. I was unable to do so. Therefore, I was negligent in my duties. I can only give you, therefore, a superficial comment, and it would be this: It appears to me that the program is spread so thinly over so many projects, so many research undertakings, that I cannot find a single or a half-dozen pilot projects which might produce something that would be dramatic and persuasive and illustrative of what UNESCO might do. Beyond that, I am not competent to comment in detail on the program.

QUESTION: What is your estimate of the United Nations?

MR. MURROW: Basically it is suffering from the same disease or weakness as the League of Nations. That is that all major states in it are attempting to use the United Nations as an instrument of their own policy. It has, I think, failure and futility built into it in terms of the veto upon which we, together with the Russians, insisted.

It has accomplished, however, much more than most of us are disposed to remember, in terms of the settlement in Iran, India and Pakistan, and Indo-China. It serves as a useful sounding board not only for us, but it gives us in turn an opportunity to examine Russian propaganda and Russian tactics. That it can ever settle of itself the conflict that divides the world, I do not believe. It may be—and this has happened in the past—that meetings or conversations between the delegates may be initiated in the corridors of the U.N., and may produce agreement in limited areas on limited subjects.

I personally would regard it as a tragedy if we were to follow Mr. Hoover's suggestion of breaking the United Nations and attempting to expel the Communists in it.

QUESTION: Recognizing the strategic importance of Germany, what are some of the elements for a sound program for dealing with that area?

MR. MURROW: I would doubt, in dealing with Germany, that education as such, that is, education for democracy, or however one wants to define it, would be decisive. It seems to me that if we purpose to cement Germany to the Western powers, we must give them an economic outlet for their products. This might conceivably be done by a great western development board for Africa or southeast Asia; I don't know. But it requires something of that magnitude and that imagination.

I think we must probably give them an opportunity to defend themselves—in spite of the danger that is involved in that decision. Beyond that, I don't know. I have indicated, I am sure, in the course of twenty minutes, that to most of these problems I do not know the answer. I find enough difficulty explaining the problems to myself without finding the answers.

PRESIDENT CONANT: Would you care to comment on the proposal that we might try to work out with the Russians withdrawal of the troops from the whole of Germany without a rearmament?

MR. MURROW: Of course, it is obvious that the Russians would withdraw behind the frontier. We would withdraw presumably to our own country. The Russians would leave somewhere in the vicinity of 150,000 people, police trained in military formation, equipped with automatic weapons and a certain amount of armored gear.

If we were now to withdraw, I should think the danger to the Western Zone would be very great. That we must at some time withdraw seems to be inevitable. But to do it now, I think, would rank as a very considerable victory for the Russians and operate as a very discouraging factor on the Western Zone.

DR. ZOOK: Would you be willing to comment on the Point Four Program?

MR. MURROW: I would think the Point Four Program may well be one of our best—I wouldn't say "last"—hopes. I think we must eliminate this magical date of 1952 from our thinking. I know of no responsible statesman who would say in private that by 1952 the job of economic rehabilitation will be done.

I think, unless something like Point Four is developed and expanded enormously, we who are a fat people cannot talk a language that is meaningful to people who are hungry, and most of the people we are talking to, particularly in Asia, are hungry. Pakistan seems to me an admirable example of what might be done. Seventy percent of the jute is in Pakistan, 15 percent of the cotton production, and I think 12 cotton mills. They are in great need of capital, industrial plants, and equipment.

Another thing I think we must do, which unfortunately we seem unable to do, is to persuade some of our leaders to stop misleading the public. When we are told that Western Europe will be placed in a satisfactory position of defense after another three or four years with an expenditure at the rate of three or four billion dollars every year, I know no one below the

rank of sergeant in Western Europe anywhere who will subscribe to that theory, and I think unless we have the imagination to expand and develop something of the nature of Point Four, then our protestations in the hungry part of the world are going to fall on very skeptical ears.

QUESTION: Mr. Murrow, what do you think will happen or result from the proposed march of the Free German youth in Germany on May 28?

MR. MURROW: I can report that opinion in Washington on that is divided. I try to avoid prophecy on the radio, but I see no reason why I shouldn't risk one here. My own feeling is that the Russians will not push this to its ultimate resolution and I base this primarily on the fact that the Russians have been told in very solemn language that they will not be permitted to cross the second boundary even if it involves shooting, and, therefore, I would doubt that the effort is made.

There will certainly be disturbances. Both the British and ourselves have reinforced our garrisons in Berlin. If the Russians could maneuver us into shooting a few unarmed German youth, this, I would think, they would regard as being to their advantage. But, my personal impression is, it is not likely to result in open shooting. But, I can say, with Mr. Winston Churchill, that not even I have always been right.

QUESTION: You stated that you felt that the Russians have more to offer the Germans than we and that the effort of education for democracy in Germany is of limited possibilities. If that is true, how could you feel it would be safe to arm the Germans?

MR. MURROW: I do not believe it would be safe to arm the Germans. I would have no certainty as to the purposes for which the Germans would use those arms. What I meant to imply, and I probably said it badly, was that it would be a calculated risk in the effort to attract and cement Western Germany to Western Europe if we give them economic opportunities (and I suggested a large development corporation in Africa or something of that sort), and at the same time give the German people some opportunity to provide for their own defenses.

It is certainly a calculated risk—or maybe uncalculated or incalculable.

QUESTION: Would you care to comment briefly on the political situation in Germany as far as the three major parties are concerned? Which group do you feel actually has more influence now and will probably affect the way Germany will go politically in the future?

MR. MURROW: I have not been in Germany for almost a year. I have considerable reports from there almost daily. My guess would be that the Socialists have, at the moment, the major strength, but what it will be next month or two months from now, I do not know and I cannot find from the experts who are resident on the ground any measure of agreement as to which way the tide is turning. I realize it is an unsatisfactory answer, but that is the only one I have.

QUESTION: How would you hold southeast Asia?

MR. MURROW: I think instead of attempting to converge a policy with the British and the French regarding southeast Asia, for which an effort will be made next week in London, we should attempt to converge a policy with the people who live there: India, Pakistan, Indonesia. We have now committed ourselves in Indo-China. This, in the opinion of many, including myself, was a policy of doubtful wisdom. However, we are committed. It appears to be our purpose now to give them only limited help. If we are committed, then it seems to me we should give them the help in terms of arms and equipment that is required, but it seems to me the effort to hold southeast Asia by converging a policy with Britain and France, rather than attempting to get an agreement among the nations in southeast Asia, may lead us into a disastrous situation since the European powers have a tradition of colonialism, to put it mildly, in the area and are therefore suspect.

Fleming, James

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

December 3, 1947

Dear Jim:

Forgive the delay in answering yours of October 27th; it got lost somewhere and I found it today after coming back from two weeks in London.

I'm sorry you didn't like the editorial on October 27th. It's a big subject, and I'd like nothing better than to sit down and have a session with you about it. However, the Cairo rumor was officially denied by the British government. So far as the individuals in the Hollywood hearing were concerned, I hold that it is no part of my responsibility to pick out the sheep from the goat. And so far as the "Song of Russia" and "Mission to Moscow" were concerned, I ain't a movie critic. I just don't think legislation exists which permits that a Congressional committee of inquiry should inquire into what people believe.

If you are still in town give me a shout on the phone and let's talk about it over a drink.

As ever yours,

Mr. James Fleming
The Algonquin
59 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

E. R. M.
F. 1155

James Fleming
The Algonquin
59 West 44th
New York 18
October 27th

Mr. Ed Murrow
The Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I don't like what's going on in the film inquiry any more than you do, but God Damn it, you're editorial tonight is out of focus. (October 27th.)

1. The so called Cairo rumor which alleged that Britain and Germany were discussing peace terms in Spain was never retracted. The Russian reading public if their memories are that long still believe it. You stated flatly that it was retracted. It just wasn't. Now that's just bad research.

2. "Song of Russia" and "Mission to Moscow" deserve some finer definition. Both had no relations to the facts and in the showings of them I viewed among Russians in Moscow (high party people) the Soviet audience tittered in cynical fashion at the practically one hundred-percent inaccuracies. "Americans are suckers"--that was their reaction. Check with Bill Downs on this.

3. Let's defend the broad issue of the integrity of the individual in our society, but in so doing any honest reporting will make some pretty obvious distinctions. For example Lawson and Don Stewart (through his wife Ella Winter) are all out Communist-line. Surely a reporter has resources for discriminating rather than by implication taking these bastards under his wing like a mother hen. The fact that the investigators are naive and unable to act like civilized men just isn't enough excuse for persons able to discriminate to find themselves in the position of defending a really evil situation.

If I seem aroused please believe it's because I have a great respect for your analysis, and I have the temerity and the first hand facts to take issue because I'm of the opinion that you have attacked the general issue without enough discrimination and definition. The larger issue is clear, but an indiscriminate defense saves the skins of some very mouldy characters.

Best,

Jim Fleming

Davies, Joseph E.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 20, 1947

Dear Mr. Davies:

Thank you for sending me the copy of your letter to Congressman Thomas. There is something that somehow tells a reporter that a story is phony, even when he doesn't know the facts. I had the feeling much of the published material regarding the arrangements for filming "Mission to Moscow" was distorted. The penultimate paragraph in your letter is a magnificent statement of recent history that most people have forgotten.

I hope that we may find an opportunity to meet again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph E. Davies
815 - 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

dm

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

Dear Mr. Wilson: I value your good opinion so send

~~Mr. Joseph Edward Davies~~

the enclosed as to the facts. also to send congratulations & cordial regards. JED

M.
1155

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY MORNING, JUNE 14, 1947

June 10, 1947

Representative Thomas,
Chairman,
House Subcommittee of
The Un-American Activities Committee
Washington, D.C.

My dear Congressman Thomas:

There has just come to my attention a recent press report, purporting to give the testimony of Colonel Jack Warner of Warner Brothers, at a hearing in Hollywood before your subcommittee on Un-American activities.

The article states:

"Warner named Joseph E. Davies, former Ambassador to Russia, as the liaison man who carried to Hollywood orders from the late President Roosevelt to make the picture 'Mission to Moscow'."

It states further:

"Warner said his company, Warner Brothers studios, did not wish to produce the film based on a book written by Davies but was literally coerced into the production by insistence from Washington."

The writer purported to base these statements upon a transcript of secret testimony before your committee. I know Colonel Warner, and I know that he would have made neither of these assertions; because they are not true.

That your committee may be informed, I wish to state, categorically and unequivocally, and for the purposes of the record, that at no time did I serve as the "liaison man" to carry to Hollywood "orders from the late President Roosevelt".

I specifically deny that "Warner Brothers studios did not wish to produce the film" but "was literally coerced into the production by insistence from Washington".

The fact is, that in 1942 when "Mission to Moscow" was written and filmed, the moving picture industry, to their credit, was seeking moving picture material of the character of "Mission to Moscow" to aid in the war effort, for at that time the Allied cause was in desperate jeopardy and it was vital that Russia should withstand Hitler's mighty attack. Disaster would have been catastrophic if Hitler smashed Russia. France had already fallen. Hitler was already master of Europe. Military and diplomatic authorities had asserted that Hitler would smash the Red Army and drive through Russia like "a hot knife through a tub of butter". Within six months the Germans were at the very gates of Moscow. At this time along a 1600 mile front the Russian Army faced two and one-half million men in the greatest fighting land force the world had ever known. Its Army and its people were resisting desperately every inch and every foot at horrible cost in casualties and life. All during these months the Soviet Government was appealing desperately

for speedy delivery of lend-lease material and for a cross-channel second front to take some of the weight off their back. Added to this, they faced a vast pincers-movement. Rommel was smashing through Egypt and threatening the Near East and the Russian oil fields for the purpose of making junction not only with the German Army in Russia, but with the Japs at the Persian Gulf. That was the picture and these were the desperate conditions which confronted the Allies, including ourselves, and the issue was then trembling in the balance. The Allied leaderships and their Armies and their peoples were doing everything humanly possible to help Russia and to sustainthair morale and courage in their desperate defense against these terrible odds.

The book, "Mission to Moscow" was written for that purpose, and to bring better understanding and confidence as between fighting allies.

Due to these conditions, the book "Mission to Moscow" had an extraordinary success. It became an immediate "best seller", and hundreds of thousands of copies were sold. Publishers in thirteen countries sought and received contracts for its publication. The book was published in thirteen countries, and in eleven different languages.

Such were the conditions under which the contract for the film rights of the book was entered into with Warner Brothers. Great moving picture concerns were looking for material of this kind in order to aid in the war effort in their respective fields. I was approached by various concerns with reference to the movie rights for the book. Warner Bros. came into the picture because I happened to know Harry Warner very well. I had been impressed with his wisdom, his extraordinary public spirit, his intense devotion to our country, to our way of life, and to our economic system of regulated competition and free economy. Neither he nor I were Communists, nor believed in Communism; but we both felt intensely the necessity to beat Hitler and to protect a peaceful order in the world after the war, if that were possible. I knew of the great war film in War No. 1 which Warner Bros. had produced in filming Ambassador Gerard's great war book. They had also fought a bold and courageous fight against the Nazis before Hitler's war and in the production of "Confessions of a Nazi Spy". To my knowledge they had been producing patriotic and educational films for the purpose of service to their country, without concern for profit.

I therefore called Harry Warner up and told him of the approaches which were being made to me with reference to filming "Mission to Moscow". I told him frankly that I would prefer his company should do it, and they could have the film rights if his company wanted them. I told him, also, that so far as price to be paid for it was concerned, I was confident that his attitude would be fair and as far as the terms were concerned, he could write his own ticket. He took it up with his brothers, and the contract was entered into.

Such were the facts. That is how Warner Brothers became interested in producing "Mission to Moscow".

To allege or to give countenance to the assertions above quoted, is to do a great and serious injustice to three as fine and patriotic Americans as can be found in any industry: I mean the Warner brothers. They are patriotic, high-minded, and anything but Communists. That is the reason I wanted them to do the book. They are not the kind of people who could ever be coerced into doing anything that would be inimical to their beliefs, their convictions, or the interests of their country.

As far as I am personally concerned, I have never failed to make it clear that I am opposed to Communism. I am now and always have been devoted to our political system and a free economy; but these beliefs did not deter me from seeking better understanding to win the war and secure the peace.

It is an unjustified reflection also upon the great companies in the moving picture industry to suggest that they could be coerced into any action, or would be required to be coerced into performing the great service in the war effort at so critical a time as then existed.

Finally, it defames the dead to assert that a President of our country would seek to coerce any citizen or citizens into action which would be contrary to their free choice, and in violation of their constitutional rights.

It is the simple truth, and a matter of fact, that when "Mission to Moscow" was written, and when this picture was made, it would have been difficult to find anyone in public life in Washington or any intelligent publicist in the United States, who did not recognize then that it was vital to civilization and to ourselves, that Russia should be kept fighting, and that anything that could be done to sustain their morale, their courage, and their fighting, was a service to the war effort and deserved support.

I go on the assumption that neither you, Mr. Chairman, nor the other members of your committee, would consciously or deliberately do an injury to either the living or the dead by giving sustenance or support to assertions of the character above described. It is for this reason that I am addressing this letter to you.

Very truly yours,

Joseph E. Davies

Urey, Harold C.
Prof.

February 7, 1950

Dear Professor Urey:

You appear to be under the impression that the broadcast regarding your speech here in New York last week, was done by my good friend, Edgar Ansel Mowrer since your letter was addressed to him. That is a not uncommon mistake; it occurs so frequently that we do not hesitate to open each other's mail. In this case, I was the guilty party. Your speech seemed to me of such significance that I devoted the major part of my broadcast to it; a copy of the relevant portion is enclosed. I hope that my summary of what you said was accurate.

I ventured to differ with you on what we both regard as a minor point. We are at one in being "immensely concerned about the people of the United States understanding the seriousness of the situation". I have done my modest best toward that end but you will appreciate the difficulty for a mere reporter without scientific knowledge or training, when dealing with such cataclysmic happenings. That is why I devoted so much time to your speech.

I hope that when next you are in New York we may meet. Meanwhile, my thanks for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Harold C. Urey
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
INSTITUTE FOR NUCLEAR STUDIES

January 30, 1950

Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer
The Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mowrer:

Several of my friends have told me that you were critical in your radio broadcast of my statement that with hydrogen bombs in the hands of the Russians it might be unnecessary for them to be used at all. I understand you expressed the view that I underestimated the spirit of resistance of the United States. Of course, this is a matter of opinion as to what we might decide to do, but I think the end result of whether we resisted or not would be precisely the same. My scientific colleagues and I have been discussing this question, and I think it is rather our general opinion that the hydrogen bomb would be the overwhelmingly decisive weapon, and if this is true, then we would eventually submit either before the use of the bombs or afterward. Our failure to move energetically on this frightens me very, very much indeed. Our action on this has been made, I believe, on the advice of men who also did not initiate the work on the atomic bomb. In fact, it seems to me that it is as difficult to get to President Truman today as it was to get to President Roosevelt in the early days of the atomic bomb.

I am not at all concerned about some criticisms of my point of view, but I am immensely concerned about the people of the United States understanding the seriousness of the situation. If we wish to resist and to defend our liberties, we had better prepare, and that immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold C. Urey

Harold C. Urey

HCU/lm

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New York Post

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LATE SPORTS BACK PAGE

Artistic Modern Furniture is devoting its usual advertising space to presenting a matter it considers of utmost public importance.

McCARTHY,

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McCarthy said that his lawyers had been unable to find, anywhere in the United States, anyone who would testify that he believed anything Benton had said. Therefore, he declared, it was not possible to prove he had suffered any damage from Senator Benton's remarks.

Benton's charges:

. . . lying under oath . . . lacked character, ethical standards and integrity . . . calculated deceit . . . conscious and deliberate deception . . . fraud . . . hoaxing the United States Senate.

We believe Benton's charges. We are willing to testify in court to that effect. In our opinion, millions of other Americans believe Benton's charges and would like to volunteer to testify in court. If you are among them SPEAK OUT! Fill out and mail the coupon below. We shall forward your expression of support to Senator Benton.

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SHUTE

J.H.P. March 26, 1954

CBS - "M" Matter

The following is a summary of information obtained from Mr. Gerhard P. Van Arkel at a conference in his office today:

1. Van Arkel has limited his activity largely to proof of the 10 cases detailed in Sen. Benton's statement of Sept. 28, 1951.

2. The documentation for those 10 cases is largely referred to in the statement, which was a careful job.

3. Van Arkel has documentation to back up those 10 cases—voluminous in nature and would take a long period to go through the mass in detail—e.g., he worked about a month on McCarthy's Marshall speech alone—he also has voluminous material on Malmedy, Lustron, etc.

4. Van Arkel took the following depositions:

a. Wheeling speech—depositions of four persons, two of whom saw reference to 205 Communists in script, one of whom heard 205 mentioned on air and two of whom played back tape the next day and heard 205. The tape was erased a few days after the speech in accordance with usual practice.

b. Marshall speech—depositions of Paul Hoffman on Marshall plan and Gen. Bedell Smith on loyalty.

c. Tydings committee—depositions of Tydings and of Ed Morgan, former committee counsel, identifying

transcripts, etc.

5. Kiendl's files do not have much of the material as Van Arkel did the spade work and was the repository.

6. Van Arkel strongly believes that any material in Sen. Benton's statement can be used with impunity because:

a. The statement was made under privilege. Benton purposely did not assert that as a defense.

b. The facts stated are true and can be so proved. That was the defense asserted, together with a denial that the statement was made maliciously.

c. The libel suit against Benton has been dismissed. The praecipe simply stated that the suit was dismissed, without mentioning whether it was with or without prejudice. Van Arkel assumes that in the absence of a reservation, the dismissal was with prejudice. He has a general feeling that a sort of "res judicata" concept can be invoked against any future suit by McCarthy on the Benton statement, but has not really considered the point.

7. Van Arkel was disappointed that the case was dismissed because he was looking forward to grilling McCarthy for a month or so.

8. Information as to the financial affairs of McCarthy is contained in the committee report of the investigation of Senators McCarthy and Benton pursuant to S. Res. 187 and S. Res. 304, which has been reprinted by ADA. The Department of Justice has announced that it sees no basis

for prosecution on the legal questions raised and has turned the questions relating to income tax matters over to the Internal Revenue Service for consideration. No announcement has been made by the Service as to its examination. Mr. Van Arkel referred to indications of financial transactions in matters of legislative interest—e.g., the Lustron payment, and the Arundel endorsement of a $20,000 note when sugar was under control. Van Arkel also stated he doubts if McCarthy has continued to handle his financial matters as crudely as the fashion revealed by the report.

9. When the committee report was transmitted to the Department of Justice, the committee also sent a list of the contributors to McCarthy's anti-Communist fund, and a list of checks through McCarthy's accounts. Those lists were not published in the report and might have some leads if they could be obtained and run down. Van Arkel has a recollection that among the checks were a number of checks drawn monthly by McCarthy in favor of Robert Morris, an employee of one of the committees, in varying amounts of from $100 to $200.

10. The best account of which Van Arkel knows about McCarthy's career prior to the matters covered in Benton's statement is in a book by Jack Anderson, a member of Drew Pearson's staff, entitled, McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The Ism. That covers Wisconsin incidents, including trouble with his law partner, income tax trouble, and

censure as a judge. Van Arkel says it is documented with photostats, and that Warren Woods, of Roberts and McInnis, attorney for Drew Pearson, advised him about a year ago that he, Woods, had satisfactory documentation for the book. Van Arkel says that so far as the matters covered by the Benton statement are concerned, he, Van Arkel, believes he has better documentation than Woods. Van Arkel understands that Anderson has prepared a manuscript for a new edition bringing things up to date, which will cover, among other things, the story of McCarthy's war wounds. Van Arkel suggested that the manuscript might be obtained by getting in touch with Woods.

11. The story of McCarthy's war wounds, obtained by falling from a ladder and landing in a bucket crossing the Equator, has been developed in a series of articles by Bob Fleming, published in the Milwaukee Journal. Van Arkel thinks this is one of the most damaging stories about McCarthy, but he does not have the details.

12. Van Arkel does not know of any firm support for the numerous current rumors and innuendoes about McCarthy relating to homosexuality, connections with gamblers, etc. In view of all the reporters and others who have been on the trail, he thinks something would have been turned up by now if there was any real substance behind them.

13. McCarthy called Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas Sun, a Communist. Greenspun is the person

who sued Senator McCarran and others for violation of the antitrust statutes in connection with an advertising boycott. That suit resulted in an out-of-court settlement for Greenspun. Greenspun published a story in his paper about purported unnatural activities in Wisconsin and McCarthy has not brought suit. The story was apparently based on an affidavit given by a bellhop in a Wisconsin hotel which Van Arkel thinks is of a dubious nature. Van Arkel thinks Greenspun published the story in the hope McCarthy would bring a libel action in Nevada which would permit Greenspun to file a counterclaim on the charge McCarthy libelled him by calling him a Communist. Van Arkel would stay away from this matter.

14. Van Arkel stated that in connection with the Benton defense they had considered employing a private investigator and had decided against it. They did, however, have current information about McCarthy gathered by Lucille Lang, who has a lot of clippings, etc., collected over the last year. Van Arkel will put us in touch with her if we wish. I gather she does not have much more than what would appear in a newspaper clipping bureau.

15. Van Arkel speculated as to what line McCarthy might take when he appears on April 6. He said he thought McCarthy might open with an attack on the commentator, renewing previous charges about the summer school, and then attack the organized opposition which was keeping him from

the vital job of kicking Communists out of Government. Van Arkel feels it is almost impossible to counter McCarthy effectively on the issue of kicking Communists out of Government because he generally has some basis, no matter how slight, for his claim of Communist connection and, in these times, no one can be sure what derogatory information may eventually be turned up about any particular individual and also, in the past a suggestion from Senator McCarthy has often led to dismissal because the agency concerned did not wish to stand up to him. Accordingly, Van Arkel believes it would be very difficult, if not impossible, effectively to disprove McCarthy's claims that he has kicked "Communists" out of Government.

16. In passing, Van Arkel indicated that Louis Bean had recently made a study for Senator Benton which resulted in a conclusion that McCarthy was not a very influential factor in various elections in which he took an active part. That study may be available from Senator Benton.

17. Van Arkel is happy to cooperate in whatever way he can and will make available to us any material which he has.

Office of William Benton
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

March 19, 1954

To friends of Senator Benton who have been interested in the case he has made against Senator McCarthy; and to those who have written to Mr. Benton in the past two weeks about McCarthy's withdrawal of his libel suit:

So many letters and telegrams have poured into this office since Senator McCarthy's withdrawal of his $2 million libel suit that Mr. Benton has suggested I acknowledge all of them with this note, until he has a chance to acknowledge them individually.

Most striking has been the idea that apparently struck thousands of people throughout the country simultaneously. Since Senator McCarthy had claimed that he was dropping the suit because he "couldn't find anyone who believed Benton", they offered to step forward and testify they did believe Benton. Hundreds wrote or wired Benton, from every quarter of the country, or McCarthy (with copies to Benton).

One man suggested the formation of "I believe Benton" Clubs; another wanted to call them "Joseph's Witnesses".

Among the messages, to choose at random, were a wire from 44 staff members of the San Francisco Chronicle; a statement from 33 members of the faculty of the University of Connecticut; and another statement from a faculty group at Pennsylvania State College.

A furniture store in New York, not known to Mr. Benton or me, took an ad in the New York Post for Tuesday, March 16th. I am enclosing a copy. The manager of the store reported that nearly 1,000 coupons from volunteer witnesses had come in by Friday, and they were still arriving.

At the instance of several prominent New Yorkers, the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a bi-partisan organization, is sponsoring an advertisement scheduled for the New York Times and New York Herald Tribune, based on the letters and wires that have come in to Mr. Benton and others. The Committee has made available some copies of this proposed ad, which is also enclosed.

I understand that similar ads signed by local "witnesses" are in process in Washington and Philadelphia.

It is possible that this may develop into an impressive nation-wide demonstration of the belief that it is time that Senator McCarthy be called to account.

Sincerely yours,

John Howe

John Howe
Assistant to William Benton

WANTED: BELIEVERS

THAT "SENATOR McCARTHY PRACTICED CALCULATED FRAUD AND DECEIT ON THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND ON THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY"

[quoted from testimony under oath by Senator William Benton September 28, 1951]

ON MARCH 5 last, when Senator McCarthy withdrew his $2,000,000 libel-and-slander suit against former Senator Benton, he claimed that his lawyers could not find anywhere in the United States anyone who would testify that he believed anything Benton had said.

Benton had charged McCarthy with offenses so serious that no man who could be proved to have committed them, or some of them, should be allowed to remain in public office. The charges were documented, and were later printed as a publication of the United States Senate.*

* * *

IF SENATOR McCARTHY is honest in claiming he is dropping this libel-and-slander suit because he cannot find believers of the charges, the signers of this advertisement will accommodate him. They believe the charges.

Moreover, they are convinced that several million other Republicans and Democrats can be found who consider these charges believable.

Consequently, in this advertisement—and, it is hoped, in others to follow—we solicit the signatures of citizens who look upon the Benton charges as serious enough to have their truth or untruth demonstrated, once and for all.

* * *

THE SIGNERS of this advertisement are convinced that McCarthy is making use of the nation's abhorrence of Communism to cloud over and cover up the serious charges made against him.

Can it be that he is afraid to have his record passed upon by a jury of twelve plain men and women, whom his own attorneys would assist in selecting?

Can it be that he is afraid to appear on the witness stand, under the protection of a judge, where he could be properly examined as to the facts?

He commenced the $2,000,000 libel-and-slander suit while the last election was going on. Can it be that he did so primarily to influence Wisconsin citizens to vote for him, and, having accomplished that purpose, he now seeks—with an excuse that is an insult to every intelligent American—to pull the wool further over their eyes?

Senator McCarthy cannot be allowed to do this, through the apathy and indifference of the public.

It must be evident to every thoughtful citizen—to those who have so far admired Senator McCarthy, as well as those who have been offended by his methods—that this matter is not personal, but has become an issue of transcendant public importance.

The American people are entitled to know the full facts, at least those having to do with public affairs, about any public servant, no matter what his position.

* * *

THE ESSENTIAL POINT in this case—and it was raised and emphasized in the first instance—is whether any man should be allowed to occupy a seat in the United States Senate, where he must act for the people, if he is proved guilty of such offenses as those charged by former Senator Benton.

Clearly, a judge and jury can be depended upon to determine whether such charges are true or untrue. If they are untrue or libellous, even though little money damages be awarded, the Senator's impugned honor will have been cleared and the public good will have been properly served. Theodore Roosevelt once sued a slanderer—for nominal damages, not $2,000,000—and was happy to accept an award of 6¢, merely to establish the facts for the public.

* * *

TO FURTHER THE PURPOSE of bringing this matter to trial, the signers of this first advertisement would welcome having similar non-partisan groups come forward throughout the nation.

We hope the signatures thus nationally collected will show the supporters of Senator McCarthy that the excuse he gives for dropping the suit is phony. They surely want what millions of other Americans want: to have the truth or falsity of these charges determined, once and for all in open court.

Further, we hope the signatures will encourage the U. S. Senate to give these charges the thorough investigation, open to the public, which they have not yet received.

To that end we solicit your signature—you who are reading this—on the coupon below. Also any financial contribution you care to make, in order to pay for advertising about this matter, will be welcomed. Send any amount, even a dollar—every dollar will be used to spread this message.

* Investigation of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy—Hearings before the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, on S. Res. 187, United States Government Printing Office, Washington: 1952.

SUMMARY OF THE BENTON CHARGES *

Testifying at the invitation of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on September 28, 1951, Senator Benton concluded his testimony with the following summary of the ten cases he had just finished presenting in detail:

"CASE NO. 1 establishes that Senator McCarthy apparently lied under oath to a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee last year by denying he had said in a speech at Wheeling, W. Va., that "I have here in my hand a list of 205 names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party." This case further indicates deliberate deception of the Senate by Senator McCarthy in altering the text of that sensational speech when he read it into the Congressional Record.

"CASE NO. 2 illuminates the lack of character, ethical standards, and integrity of Senator McCarthy by detailing his acceptance of $10,000 from the Lustron Corp., a corporation which had had a vital interest in the outcome of the deliberations of a Senate housing committee presided over by Senator McCarthy as acting chairman and vice chairman, and a corporation dependent on the RFC, which in turn is the concern of the Banking and Currency Committee, of which Senator McCarthy was a member.

"CASE NO. 3 highlights Senator McCarthy's efforts to hoax the Senate with the incredible charge that Gen. George Catlett Marshall has been part of a 'conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man.'

"CASE NO. 4 establishes that Senator McCarthy practiced calculated deceit on the United States Senate and the people of the country by falsely stating on the Senate floor that Senator Tydings had forced him to make public the names of Government officials against whom his unsubstantiated charges of communism were directed.

"CASE NO. 5 reviews the fraud and deceit practiced by Senator McCarthy on the Senate, on the people of the United States, and on the people of Maryland through taking major responsibility for what this subcommittee, in its investigation of the Maryland elections, already has branded as "a despicable, back-street campaign," and in particular through responsibility for the lies in its campaign tabloid *From the Record*.

"CASE NO. 6 examines an instance of deliberate deception of the Senate by Senator McCarthy in offering to repeat off the floor, away from the umbrella of senatorial immunity, libelous statements which he later refused to repeat off the floor.

"CASE NO. 7 shows Senator McCarthy pressing on the Senate a claim to possess a so-called FBI chart consisting of photostats listing Communists in the State Department, when in fact, on the word of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI did not send any such chart to the State Department and, of course, made no evaluation of information as was indicated.

"CASE NO. 8 illustrates conscious and deliberate deception of the Senate in Senator McCarthy's promise to list the names of 81 Communists for any Senate committee—a promise on which he was forced to renege—after implying they were the fruit of his own investigations—because in fact his cases obviously came from a 3-year-old list of unnamed cases previously compiled by a House committee.

"CASE NO. 9 raises the question whether Senator McCarthy falsely accused Americans and excused convicted Germans involved in the infamous Malmedy massacre, possibly on the say-so of a member of the German underground, and whether Senator McCarthy deliberately lied about the Malmedy affair on the floor of the Senate.

"CASE NO. 10 adds to the evidence that Senator McCarthy himself committed perjury, the further evidence that he continues to employ a man described by a Senate committee as his administrative assistant who, while in his employ, is charged with committing perjury as well as with other serious misdeeds."

THE SIGNERS: **Hundreds of people have spontaneously expressed their opinion about this matter by mail, telegram and telephone — to their newspapers, to the National Committee for an Effective Congress, to Senator McCarthy (with copies to Senator Benton) and to others. Below are a few with whom the National Committee has been able to get in touch on short notice, and who wish to sign this advertisement:**

The National Committee for an Effective Congress has sponsored the group of people who sign this advertisement. The cost of the advertisement has been underwritten by the Committee and others. Contributions will be handled by the Committee as a trustee and deposited in a special account.

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680 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

I BELIEVE!

I believe that former Senator Benton's charges against Senator McCarthy are far too serious, in the public interest, to be ignored upon any ground.

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Address _____

City _____ State _____

$ . . . . . This sum is to help pay for inviting others to join with us. (Checks should be made out to National Committee for an Effective Congress.)

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McCarthy Drops Libel Suit Asking 2 Million of Benton

He Had Been Called Unfit to Hold His Seat —Says No One Believed Accusations —Former Senator Sticks to Charges

By W. H. LAWRENCE
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, March 5 — Senator Joseph R. McCarthy quietly withdrew today the $2,000,000 libel and slander suit he filed two years ago against former Senator William B. Benton, Connecticut Democrat.

Mr. Benton had said the Wisconsin Republican was unfit to sit in the Senate.

Mr. Benton made public that Mr. McCarthy was dropping his suit. He said he could understand why Senator McCarthy refused "to face examination under court-room conditions."

Confirmation came later from Senator McCarthy. He said his lawyers had been unable to find, anywhere in the United States, anyone who would testify that he believed anything Mr. Benton had said. Therefore, he declared, it was not possible to prove he had suffered any damage from Mr. Benton's remarks.

The undramatic end to the libel suit, a cause célèbre at the time, came on a day when Senator McCarthy had turned from his new fight with the Eisenhower Administration.

He went back instead to the airing of two old cases of alleged Communists who were discharged from a defense plant during the Truman Administration after Government agencies had withdrawn "security clearances." One was dismissed in 1947, the other in 1950.

There were no new exchanges during the day between Senator McCarthy and his critics within the present Administration, which he has charged also kept Communists in the Army and working on secret defense work.

There was a report in well informed circles that Senator McCarthy had agreed to meet soon with Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, to see if they could settle amicably differences on how the Army should handle

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

LIBEL SUIT DROPPED: Former Senator William Benton of Connecticut, who revealed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy had withdrawn a libel suit against him.

M'CARTHY GIVES UP BENTON LIBEL SUIT

Continued From Page 1

known and alleged Communists, who under the law are subject to the draft act as are all young Americans.

Senator McCarthy was joined by Senator Henry M. Jackson, Washington Democrat, in conducting a morning hearing of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations at which the two former defense plant workers testified.

The star witness, an admitted former Communist, was Peter A. Gragis, of Levittown, L. I., who confessed today that he had committed perjury in obtaining his clearance to do classified work at the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory in Nutley, N. J. He was dismissed in 1950 when his security clearance was withdrawn.

He Balks 32 Times

Frank McGee, also formerly employed at the Nutley plant, was identified by Gragis as a Communist but Mr. McGee invoked the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination thirty-two times in refusing to answer questions about Communist party activities.

He would not say whether he had committed perjury to obtain a security clearance that allowed him to handle "secret papers," which he said usually covered the top of his desk in the defense plant. He was dismissed in July, 1947.

Mr. McGee flatly denied, however, that he had participated in or had any knowledge of espionage or sabotage. He testified he did not believe in the forceful and violent overthrow of the Government. He said anyone who did belonged in "a booby hatch." But he invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked if he advocated peaceful methods of bringing the Communist party to power.

Senator McCarthy asserted that Mr. McGee was a paid organizer of the Communist party today. Mr. McGee challenged the Senator to waive his Congressional immunity and prove the charge. Senator McCarthy asked him if he was a paid Communist agent as of today, or last week, or last month. The witness replied he was not.

"Have you ever been on the payroll of the Communist party?" Senator McCarthy asked.

"I don't like the direction that question is going," Mr. McGee replied.

The crowd in the hearing room laughed loudly.

After consulting his attorney, Victor Rabinowitz, he invoked the Fifth Amendment as the basis for his refusal to answer. The Fifth Amendment provides that no person can be required to testify against himself in any criminal case, and the courts have construed this to mean no person can be required to furnish testimony before a Congressional committee that might provide the basis for a subsequent criminal indictment.

McCarthy v. Benton

The confrontation of these two witnesses was the only formal action of the day by the McCarthy committee.

The big news took place in the office of the Clerk of the Court of the United States District Court. There, a paper signed by Edward Bennett Williams, attorney for Senator McCarthy, and by Gerhard P. Van Arkel, attorney for Mr. Benton, was filed. It said:

"Please enter the above captioned case dismissed."

The caption was "McCarthy v. Benton."

It was on March 26, 1952, that Senator McCarthy filed his suit against Senator Benton. He said he would be his own attorney so he could get "people like Benton on the stand under oath and make them either tell the truth or perjure themselves." The trial, he said, would give the American people "a better idea of who and what are behind Benton in his attack on McCarthy for exposing Communists."

Mr. Benton specifically had waived his Congressional immunity after charging before a Senate Elections subcommittee that Senator McCarthy apparently had lied under oath when he denied he had altered a text to juggle figures relating to his original, now famous, charge that there were 205 Communists in the State Department.

He also listed other reasons why the Wisconsin Republican was unfit to hold his seat, including:

¶An allegation that Senator McCarthy lacked "character, ethical standards and integrity" when he accepted $10,000 from the Lustron Corporation, a big borrower from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for a booklet on housing.

¶An assertion that Senator McCarthy tried to "hoax" the Senate when he declared that General of the Army George D. Marshall was part of "a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any such venture in the history of man."

There were many other charges of "calculated deceit" and "conscious and deliberate deception" laid against Senator McCarthy in his handling of the original Communist charges.

Benton Sticks to Charges

When the suit was withdrawn today, former Senator Benton issued through an aide in Washington a statement asserting that Senator McCarthy "could never have won it because I told the truth about him and he knows it."

"McCarthy was guilty of fraud and deceit in 1951 and he hasn't improved with age," the Benton statement declared.

"I say again, as I said in 1951, that the issue here is greater than the conduct of a single Senator. It is the symbolism of the Senate itself. If the Senate is to tolerate mendacity and corruption, shame is brought on the whole American people. The capacity of our people for leadership, in a world desperately requiring their leadership, is shaken and undermined."

Senator McCarthy said his lawyers had advised him that a court trial of the case, which had been set for "a pre-trial conference next Monday," would be "a waste of time." He said the possibility of proving that damage had resulted from Senator Benton's charges had been reduced greatly by the November, 1952, election results.

Senator McCarthy observed that Senator Benton had been defeated for re-election, while he had been re-elected "by the largest vote ever given anyone." The Wisconsin election results that year showed that Gov. Walter J. Kohler had a margin of 400,000 votes, President Eisenhower more than 350,000 votes and Senator McCarthy 150,000 votes.

Gragis to Return

Senator McCarthy gave his confirmation of the dropping of the Benton libel suit after the hearing involving Gragis and Mr. McGee.

He asked Gragis to return for another public hearing Wednesday morning, when, he said, he would be asked to identify as former fellow Communists four other persons formerly employed at the Nutley plant.

Gragis replied that this would not inconvenience him because he did not think he would have a job by next Wednesday anyway. Senator McCarthy offered to intercede with his employer. Gragis said it wasn't his ex-Communist associations that had caused the trouble, but rather lack of business. The committee would not disclose his present employment.

Gragis had testified that he regretted to say that he had become a member of the Communist party in 1936, and that he had remained a member until 1950. During this time he had numerous defense plant jobs.

Roy M. Cohn, subcommittee counsel, said Gragis had given names of many persons he had known to be Communists but he would not ask him to name publicly any who were not in the hearing room or who had not previously been mentioned before the commitee.

Gragis did not have any evidence of espionage or sabotage by any of the persons he knew to be Communists.

It was Senator Jackson who brought out the testimony that Gragis deliberately had concealed his membership in the Communist party when he sought and received "security clearance" for his job at the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory.

Clash on Rules

Senator McCarthy interrupted his Democratic colleague during this line of questioning, and insited that the committee hear immediately from Mr. McGee, who had been named as a Communist by Gragis.

He asserted it was a committee rule that any one named as a Red should have the opportunity to respond promptly. This statement was in direct conflict with the contention of E. C. Hayes, Washington attorney, who said today he had been trying since Feb. 26 to get a renewed opportunity for Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, suspended Signal Corps employe, to appear and deny accusations that she had been a Communist party member.

Mrs. Moss, who was named as a Communist still on duty in the Army at the peak of the controversy with Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, was ill and unable to testify when she appeared before the committee on Feb. 24.

She was ready to deny Communist activity, but her attorney said she had been made highly nervous by Senator McCarthy's assertion he would have her indicted for perjury if she entered such a denial.

Mr. McGee invoked the Fifth Amendment on nearly every question dealing with his alleged Communist activities, and said flatly that he would not give the names of other alleged Communists to the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the committee because "I refuse to engage in witch-hunting."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 1954.

'I BELIEVE BENTON'

Industrialist Wires McCarthy He Would So Testify

STAMFORD, Conn., March 6 (UP)—A New England industrialist said today he believed former Senator William Benton's charges that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was guilty of perjury, fraud and calculated deceit of the American people.

The business man, Walter H. Wheeler Jr., president of Pitney-Bowes Inc., added that he was willing to swear to this on the witness stand. Mr. McCarthy dropped a $2,000,000 libel suit against Mr. Benton yesterday, saying that his lawyers advised him he could not prove damage because they could find no one who believed Mr. Benton's statement.

"I believe them," Mr. Wheeler said today in an interview. "This man McCarthy is a pretty dangerous character. He is dangerous to the concept of freedom in this country."

Mr. Wheeler said he had sent a telegram to Mr. McCarthy, now reported to be on a fishing trip off the Florida coast, saying that "* * * your lawyer could not have looked very hard. I would be glad to testify for you that I believe what Senator Benton has said about you, and am sure there are many millions of others in this country who would be happy to do likewise."

Mr. Wheeler is a former president of the New England Council, a private development organization and during World War II served as a $1-a-year man as New England director of the War Production Board.

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TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1954

No Day In Court

A suit is dropped and the time seems appropriate for recognition of ex-Sen. William Benton's courage.

One news sensation after another centers around the name of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. You start to mull over one when the next is upon you.

But before Adlai Stevenson devoted much of his Miami speech to the senator and McCarthy filled the air with demands for equal radio and television time to answer—before a Pentagon official resigned for the reported reason that McCarthy's abuse of Army officers hadn't been strongly enough protested—way back last Friday in fact,—there was a McCarthy news item that deserved more attention than it got. This was the dropping of the Wisconsin senator's suit against ex-Sen. William Benton of Connecticut.

Benton, during his service in the Senate, undertook the perilous job of exposing his Wisconsin colleague and forcing the upper chamber of the Congress to face the problem which McCarthy's investigating tactics had created. He lodged serious charges against McCarthy, and McCarthy replied with a two-million-dollar libel suit. McCarthy also came into our state in the last campaign to aid in defeating Benton. Connecticut's junior senator invited the vengeful wrath of The Grand Inquisitor and got it in full measure.

So Benton went down to defeat. But there remained the issue of the libel suit. However while many libel suits are filed only a few come finally to trial. And so it has proved with this one. For the other day the suit was dropped, because, McCarthy said, he couldn't find that anyone believed Benton's allegations. That's a reason that looks as good in print as any the senator might have given. It dismisses an old antagonist as beneath McCarthy's serious notice.

However, a certain something deserves to be said in ex-Sen. Benton's behalf. If McCarthy poses a problem—and many think he does—and if the problem is one for the Senate itself to settle—and that is the view of many, including inferentially President Eisenhower himself—then Benton went about it in a direct and courageous way.

Whatever the upshot for him politically he acted candidly and determinedly in a way that stands in pleasant contrast to all the truckling to the senator from Wisconsin that is the current style.

SATURDAY 3/6/54

6

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When the Showdown Comes

Once more Senator McCarthy has rejected a court test of his integrity—once more refusing battle after prebattle bluster and bombast in which he promised to defend his honor to the death and destroy his attacker.

In March of 1952, McCarthy filed suit for $2,000,000 against former Senator William Benton (Dem., Conn.) on the charges of libel, slander and conspiracy.

Benton had demanded McCarthy's expulsion from the senate. He charged McCarthy with perjury, deceit and fraud and with lying under oath to the Tydings committee which investigated McCarthy in 1950. Benton's charges were made before the senate elections subcommittee and were therefore privileged.

To make McCarthy's suit possible, Benton voluntarily waived immunity and dared McCarthy to take action. Further to open himself to suit, Benton sent out his testimony in press releases.

Here were the most serious charges that could be made against a senator. McCarthy could not ignore them. He held a press conference and announced that he would sue. He promised to demand a jury trial to bring out the real facts before the public. He promised to serve as his own lawyer to prove that Benton had lied. McCarthy played the filing of the suit to the hilt—in his usual campaign for headlines.

Two years have passed. Friday McCarthy quietly dropped his suit, just before a scheduled pretrial conference.

Protected by senatorial immunity, McCarthy talks big. Backed by senatorial authority, he's the "tough guy"—he browbeats witnesses, makes reckless charges, twists evidence and truth. But when he faces court where he can't throw his weight around, where he is subject to the same rules as everyone else—then McCarthy turns tail and runs.

Why? Why does the senator refuse to allow a court test of the charge that he has lied and committed perjury, fraud and deceit? If Benton's charges were false, why did McCarthy back away from them?

Isn't his refusal to go to court every bit as incriminating as he claims it is for witnesses before his committee to take refuge in the fifth amendment to escape answering questions?

The power to curb McCarthy directly rests in one place and one place only: the U.S. Senate. Last week the Senate, via its Republican Policy Committee, recommended some improved rules for the conduct of investigating committees, of which McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations has the most notorious record. This feeble reform would not curb McCarthy even if it should go into effect. Not written, but unwritten rules are the kind McCarthy fractures. To really curb him the Senate would have to abolish his committee. There are good technical arguments for doing this, but to do it the senators would have to develop just as much anger as they would need to expel him from the Senate.

There are good technical reasons for doing that, too. Senator Benton's effort to press them in 1951 fell awfully flat, but perhaps Benton was less quixotic than premature. The Senate, under the Constitution, is empowered to write its own definition of unsenatorial conduct. In 165 years it has expelled 15 senators, refused seats to another 15, forced the resignation of seven and censured three. Some of these victims were better equipped than McCarthy to represent an American state. The Senate is a tolerant place; its focus of dignity is hard to find, but it exists.

By any definition, McCarthy is a bad senator. He has shown no interest or capacity for national problems other than his own. His name is unconnected with any major piece of legislation. In the 1951–52 session he voted less frequently than 72 of his colleagues. He once stretched his senatorial privileges to the point of defying and insulting the old Gillette subcommittee when it tried to investigate *him*. He has withdrawn his libel suit against Benton, thus inviting credence to some very damaging charges. If the Senate were in a mood to expel McCarthy, it could find reasons enough.

To expect this may be wishful thinking. If so, McCarthy himself is unlikely to be curbed. Can the McCarthy problem, then, be solved some other way?

LIFE editorial (in part)
3/22/54

NEW YORK, N. Y.
POST
MAR 7 - 1954

Man Running for Cover

Back in March, 1952, William Benton, then Democratic Senator from Connecticut, waived his Senate immunity and accused Joe McCarthy of "perjury, fraud and calculated deceit of the American people." He listed ten specific counts, including such political whoppers as McCarthy's attempt to link General Marshall with treason and such dubious financial deals as McCarthy's acceptance of a $10,000 literary fee from the Lustron Housing Corporation.

McCarthy, entering a campaign for re-election, filed a $2,000,000 libel suit against Benton. He was undoubtedly aware the suit could not come to trial until long after election day; it served only to discourage public discussion of Benton's charges.

Subsequently many of Benton's accusations were sustained in the report of a Senate investigating committee—a committee which asked McCarthy to testify on six different occasions. Each time McCarthy ducked. He never appeared before the committee.

The law moves slowly; McCarthy was scheduled to appear next week at a pre-trial hearing in connection with his suit against Benton. There he would have finally been forced to answer detailed political and financial questions about the charges of large-scale fraud which Benton had leveled against him and which the Senate report had elaborated.

So, on Friday, McCarthy abandoned the suit, lamely explaining that it was unnecessary to pursue it because nobody believed what Benton had said.

Joe McCarthy is a man who likes to grill other men. But he runs fast when the roles are reversed.

FOOTNOTE: As an historic item we republish on this page today the first American political cartoon in which the term "McCarthyism" was spelled out. The date was nearly four years ago; but Herblock's observation remains a perfect commentary on the dilemma haunting the Republicans today.

Hartford Times - 3/8/54

McCarthy Backs Out

On March 26, 1952, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy filed his $2 million libel and slander suit against former Senator William Benton, with a typical dramatic gesture that is now revealed as a bluff. He said he would be his own lawyer so as to get "people like Benton on the stand under oath and make them either tell the truth or perjure themselves." He welcomed the chance to give the American people "a better idea of who and what are behind Benton in his attack on McCarthy for exposing Communists."

On March 5, 1954, a few days before trial proceedings were to begin, the man who revels in putting others on the stand and grilling them in a manner that no court would tolerate, dropped his suit. He prefers not to take the stand, himself, in defense of his character and reputation. His promised expose won't come off. Mr. Benton, who courageously invited the court action by waiving Senatorial immunity, now comments that "McCarthy was guilty of fraud and deceit in 1951 and he hasn't improved with age."

Senator Benton had charged that McCarthy lied under oath in 1951 when he denied he had altered the text of a delivered speech by juggling figures relating to his claim that 205 Communists were in the State Department, that McCarthy had accepted a $10,000 fee from the Lustron Corporation, then a large RFC borrower, for preparing a booklet on housing, that McCarthy perpetrated a "hoax" on the Senate in attacking General Marshall's patriotism, and that because of his "calculated deceit" he was unfit to sit in the Senate.

McCarthy's retreat is not unexpected, nor is his excuse untypical. He says the Benton attack has not damaged him because, since it was made, he has been re-elected and, furthermore, since his lawyer has been unable to find anyone who believed the charges, he could not claim any damage. Thus, McCarthy avoids a showdown in court and an opportunity to test the charges under rules of law.

N.Y. TIMES
3/19/54

1954.

McCarthy Recall Sought By Wisconsin Editor

SAUK CITY, Wis., March 18 (UP)—An editor started printing petitions today for a recall election for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy so the state could "shake off the cloak of McCarthyism."

Leroy Gore, editor of The Sauk City Star, a weekly, said he had been a Republican for thirty years and a "friend" of the Wisconsin Republican, but wrote that "there isn't much sense in prolonging the suspense and agony."

"To be brutally frank," he wrote, "four years is too many years to wait for an opportunity to shake off the cloak of McCarthyism."

The editor said the proposal "pains me a great deal" to make, "but Joe pains me even more now." He admitted it might be impossible to collect the 400,000 signatures needed to bring about a recall election, but "if we could get 100,000 or so, the mere fact of protesting might do some good."

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Says None Believed Charges

McCarthy Drops Libel Action Against Benton

By Raymond J. Blair

WASHINGTON, March 5.—Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R., Wis., withdrew today the $2,000,000 libel and slander suit he filed in 1952 against former Sen. William Benton, D., Conn., who had accused him of "fraud and deceit" and asked that he be expelled from the Senate. Sen. McCarthy said he took the action because his attorneys had been unable to find any one who would say he believed Mr. Benton's charges. "Unless we can get some one who believed him, there are no damages," he stated.

"Benton's defeat in Connecticut and my own election in Wisconsin by the largest number of votes any one ever got prove that few if any people in Connecticut or Wisconsin believed the charges."

Benton Puzzled

But Mr. Benton retorted that Sen. McCarthy "refuses to face examination under courtroom conditions—I can understand why."

He said the Senator filed the suit because he was up for re-election in 1952 and "felt he had to accept the challenge."

"His suit was a political suit, never a genuine legal suit," Mr. Benton said. "He could never have won it because I told the truth about him and he knew it."

Mr. Benton made his charges against Sen. McCarthy in testimony Sept. 28, 1951, before the Senate Elections subcommittee, in support of his resolution to expel Sen. McCarthy.

He cited ten cases involving Sen. McCarthy's efforts to prove communism-in-government which, Sen. Benton said, supported his charges that the Wisconsin Senator was guilty of "perjury and deception of the Senate and, through his role as a Senator, deception of the American people."

In the spring of 1952, Sen. McCarthy chided Sen. Benton

Continued on page 4, column 2

Benton Suit

(Continued from page one)

for hiding behind the Congressional immunity he enjoyed when testifying before the subcommittee. Sen. Benton then waived his immunity and the McCarthy suit followed.

Sen. McCarthy said today one reason he withdrew the suit was that he had been informed the trial would take at least a month.

"I couldn't afford the luxury of exposing Benton and neglecting my business for that time," he explained.

Withdrawal papers were filed this afternoon in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. A formal statement of withdrawal was submitted by Edward B. Williams, attorney for Sen. McCarthy, to Gerhard Van Arkel, representing Mr. Benton. Parties to the suit had been told to appear in court next Monday, at a hearing at which a trial date was to have been set.

Court costs will be paid by Sen. McCarthy, according to John Howe, an assistant to Mr Benton. These, he said, are minor and are for filing fees transcripts and the like.

Also, Mr. Howe said, Sen. McCarthy withdrew his suit "with prejudice," meaning that he cannot file it again.

Suit by Benton Hinted

There is a possibility, Mr. Howe indicated, that Mr. Benton might sue Sen. McCarthy for malicious persecution.

This step, he said, has been suggested by Mr. Van Arkel, but, he added, he did not think Mr. Benton would do it.. "He has never sued any one in his life," he said.

However, Mr. Howe said, Mr. Van Arkel feels the suit could be won and has mentioned $100,000 as a possible claim for expenses, lawyers fees and trouble entailed in meeting the McCarthy suit.

Mr. Benton is in Miami attendin a twelve-state Southern regional meeting of Democratic leaders. In a statement issued here through Mr. Howe, he said he had "demonstrated" that Sen. McCarthy "had been guilty of fraud and deceit."

Sees No Change

"McCarthy was guilty of fraud and deceit in 1951 and he hasn't improved with age," he said in the statement. "My friends in the Senate tell me I would be receiving much wider support for my resolution to expel McCarthy from the Senate."

Mr. Benton urged the public to read his 1951 testimony and a subsequent report by the Elections subcommittee on Sen. McCarthy and get in touch with the Justice Department and Internal Revenue Service.

He said the issue involved was broader than the conduct of one Senator.

"If the Senate is to tolerate mendacity and corruption, shame is brought on the whole American people," he said in his statement.

Cites Wheeling Speech

Mr. Benton in his 1951 testimony went into Sen. McCarthy's 1950 Wheeling, W. Va., speech in which he initiated his charge that there were Communists in the State Department, his Senate attack on General of the Army George C. Marshall, his participation in the 1950 Maryland Senatorial campaign and other matters to support his charge of "fraud and deceit."

The Senate subcommittee investigated Mr. Benton's charges. It made a report raising questions about the Wisconsin Senator's finances but making no recommendations. The Justice Department studied the report but Attorney General Herbert Brownell jr. concluded Sen. McCarthy had violated no Federal law.

LATE NEWS
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COMICS

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New York Post.

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THREE SECTIONS
40 PAGES

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1954

Cold

Volume 153
No. 92

BLUE
FINAL
LATE SPORTS
PAGE 4

Artistic Modern Furniture is devoting its usual advertising space to presenting a matter it considers of utmost public importance.

McCARTHY,

whom do you think you're fooling?

McCarthy said that his lawyers had been unable to find, anywhere in the United States, anyone who would testify that he believed anything Benton had said. Therefore, he declared, it was not possible to prove he had suffered any damage from Senator Benton's remarks.

Benton's charges:

. . . lying under oath . . . lacked character, ethical standards and integrity . . . calculated deceit . . . conscious and deliberate deception . . . fraud . . . hoaxing the United States Senate.

We believe Benton's charges. We are willing to testify in court to that effect. In our opinion, millions of other Americans believe Benton's charges and would like to volunteer to testify in court. If you are among them SPEAK OUT! Fill out and mail the coupon below. We shall forward your expression of support to Senator Benton.

Send to:
Artistic Modern Furniture
169 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

I believe Benton's charges.

Name _____

Street & No. _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Artistic Modern FURNITURE **169 East 33 St., New York City**

TO - Mr. John Howe

For your information.

Irving Berezin

Office of
FROM - ANNA M. ROSENBERG
Associates

IUE-CIO News, 3/15/54

Some People DO Believe!

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations

734-15th Street, N.W. Washington 5, D. C.

JAMES B. CAREY, *President*
AL HARTNETT, *Secretary-Treasurer*

EXecutive 3-6096

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

March 6, 1954

This weekend you withdrew your $2,000,000 libel and slander suit filed against former Senator William Benton of Connecticut in 1952.

We understand your reason for dropping this suit is that no one who believed Benton's charges could be found. You are quoted as saying: "Unless we can get someone who believes him, there are no damages."

The following members of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, meeting today in New York City at a meeting of the IUE-CIO Civil Rights Committee, have signed their names to the following statement:

"We the undersigned, members of the IUE-CIO, meeting here in New York City at an IUE-CIO Civil Rights Conference, wish to have it noted that we do believe the charges filed against Senator McCarthy on September 28, 1952, by former Senator Benton in which McCarthy was accused of 'perjury and deception of the Senate and, through his role as a Senator, deception of the American people'."

John J. Welsh, Philadelphia, Pa.
Roy V. H. Wilkinson, Haddonfield, N. J.
Kathleen W. McNee, Haddonfield, N. J.
Ernest Arnold, Buffalo, N. Y.
Edith Chizmadia, Erie, Pa.
Clova Brown, Huntington, W. Va.
James E. Brown, Bridgeport, Conn.
Andrew Gross, Fairfield, Conn.
Charles L. Snodgrass, Plainfield, Ind.
George Lee Force, Bridgeport, Conn.
Edward Dix, Maple Shade, N. J.
Charles Giacobbe, Mt. Ephraim, N. J.
Zacharias Stoner, Philadelphia, Pa.
William Waldron, Springfield, Mass.
Charles J. Lukas, Willimansett, Mass.
Edward P. James, Rochester, N. Y.
E. J. Kraft, Dayton, Ohio
Wesley M. Steinhilber, Dayton, Ohio
Willard E. Bainter, Dayton, Ohio
Lemuel H. Steed, Dayton, Ohio
N. G. Bradfield, Dayton, Ohio
Harry H. Wise, Cleveland, Ohio
Ernest Kerpen, Elmont, L. I., N. Y.
Josephine Sambolin, New York, N. Y.
Bernard Zisk, Three Rivers, Mass.
Reginald Funn, Springfield, Mass.
Edward J. King, Ludlow, Mass.
Edward Brunelle, Ludlow, Mass.
Norman R. Hughes, Indian Orchard, Mass.
George Outrakis, Sharon, Pa.
Charles E. Shepherd, Pittsfield, Mass.
Warren H. Glascoe, East Orange, N. J.
Mrs. Lorena Abraham, Montclair, N. J.
Bobbie L. Smith, Newark, N. J.
Ernestine D. Duncan, Montclair, N. J.
Stephen Valentino, Bristol, Conn.
A. Rogers, Bristol, Conn.
Chester C. Nemphos, Lynn, Mass.
Herman W. Carter, Cambridge, Mass.
Edward Marshall, Cambridge, Mass.
Thomas I. Dunn, Dayton, Ohio
Dominick DeVito, Elizabeth, N. J.
Wilbert T. Green, Rahway, N. J.
David P. Widamen, Philadelphia, Pa.
John E. Freeze, Bridgeport, Conn.
Cecilia Holt, Hartford, Conn.
Joseph R. Carvalko, Bridgeport, Conn.
Myron M. Mack, Bridgeport, Conn.
Walter D. Moran, Hartford, Conn.
Thomas Henry, Buffalo, N. Y.
James Wilson, Philadelphia, Pa.
Elijah Scott, Cincinnati, Ohio
Ethel W. Fletcher, Cincinnati, Ohio
Myrtle K. Rush, Cincinnati, Ohio
Raymond Sambolin, New York, N.Y.
John Paran, Springfield, Mass.
Demus Corley, Jr., Dayton, Ohio
Grace Mucci, Meriden, Conn.
Canfield Stevens, Meriden, Conn.
Florence Stevens, Meriden, Conn.
Ceil Kaminski, Meriden, Conn.
Anna Whitney, Meriden, Conn.
John J. Barrett, Lynn, Mass.
John Stevens, Malden, Mass.
Richard J. Crowley, Everett, Mass.
Frank L. Clarke, Malden, Mass.
Stanley Hollander, Yonkers, N. Y.
Albert E. Uprichard, Yonkers, N. Y.
Charles L. Johnson, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Stanley Kriwicki, Bridgeport, Conn.
Ollie D. Jones, Cleveland, Ohio
George T. Berry, Philadelphia, Pa.
E. Grimes, Camden, N. J.
Jack H. Adams, St. Paul, Minn.
C. Leo Williamson, Dayton, Ohio
William Malson, Yonkers, N. Y.
John B. Williams, Orange, N. J.
Marion F. Patten, Dayton, Ohio
Francis McGrath, Jr., Farrell, Pa.
Al Giordano, Philadelphia, Pa.
Armando LaMorte, Newark, N. J.
Arthur B. Mills, Springfield, Mass.
St. Clair Beeman, Minneapolis, Minn.
W. Richard Carter, Bridgeport, Conn.
Al Hartnett, Washington, D. C.

Al Hartnett, Chairman
IUE-CIO Civil Rights Committee

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA
342 MADISON AVENUE
SUITE 702
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

WILLIAM BENTON
PUBLISHER & CHAIRMAN

March 18, 1954

Dear Ed:

I've never had an experience quite like that of the last ten days, since Joe McCarthy abandoned his suit against me.

You may remember the reason he gave: that he couldn't find anyone who believed me, therefore he couldn't prove damage. This was so patently ridiculous (McCarthy makes such tactical errors so rarely I'm sure someone must have put the statement out in his name) that literally thousands of people apparently had the same idea spontaneously - to offer themselves to him as witnesses, to testify that they believe me. A number proposed the creation of "I Believe Benton" Clubs; one man wanted to organize the society of "Joseph's Witnesses".

I've had many scores of letters, most of them copied to McCarthy. I've seen a good many in the newspaper letter columns. I'm enclosing a few items that happened to be on top of my desk - an ad inserted in Tuesday's New York Post by a furniture store on 33rd Street; a clip from a union newspaper; and the proof for a proposed ad in the Times and Tribune for next week. (written by Harvey Ackerman!)

I've also had calls and callers with ideas, and that's why I'm writing you. A fellow from Washington, not known to me, came in with the following idea.

He suggests that when McCarthy appears on your program April 6th, you mention the testimony I gave, on which I waived my immunity, and on which McCarthy then sued me. He suggests that you then offer to send the text of my testimony to anyone who asks you for it. I'm enclosing a copy.

This testimony hasn't been widely distributed. It was covered by the papers at the time. My office has given mimeographed copies to people who inquired for it. The text was published as a Senate document, as part of the record of the hearings by the subcommittee, but I'm sure the small supply of these was long since exhausted.

Ed, my friends tell me this is well-written; and Willis Smith, who sat next to me in the Senate, and was former president of the American Bar Association, told me it was one of the finest legal briefs he had seen - I'd never thought of it as brief. Thus I'm encouraged to pass the suggestion along.

I'm further encouraged by the fact your program played such a part in the whole episode. I'm positive there wouldn't have been a suit except for what happened on your program.

While I waived my own immunity, I assume this document is still privileged, as a Senate document, to anyone who wants to distribute it. It may be that the Committee for an Effective Congress, or some other group, would take responsibility for reprinting it and sponsoring it if you wanted to push it on April 6th.

I think I can get this done

Very sincerely yours,

Bill Benton

William Benton
Publisher

There wouldn't have been, or it would never have occured to me to waive immunity

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Shute

Note:
From Richard C.Hottelet, CBS correspondent in Germany.
Answered by Mr. Murrow 3/23
dmcd

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

20 March 1954

Dear Ed,

I see by the agencies that McCarthy has accepted your offer to appear on SIN on April 6th. And you are reported to have said that the record would show who had rendered service to the communist cause. From this I draw the hope that the process of exposing McCarthy to public examination will be carried an important, perhaps decisive step further. Anaerobic bacteria have the fortunate quality of assisting in their own destruction when exposed to fresh air.

Let me recall to you a couple of facts which might assist you in showing how much aid and comfort McCarthy has provided the Kremlin. The first instance illustrates a brand of sabotage which, were it found on the other side of the committee table, would be enough to crucify one of the chairman's victims. I enclose a copy of the cable I sent on June 22, 1953 to Charlie Collingwood who was at that time sitting in for you on the 7:45. I hope he used it at the time.

The second is part of a cable I sent you on November 11, 1953,in connection with McCarthy's investigations of alleged espionage at Fort Monmouth.

A third exhibit of the sort of nincompoopery with which McCarthy is confusing one of the most crucial issues in human experience, the conflict between freedom and slavery, is the pamphlet written by the celebrated Mr. Schine on the nature of communism. If I remember correctly I brought you a copy of this childish opus when I came home last April; and we may have discussed it on the live See It Now show of April 12th.

Full word of your March 9th show did not reach here until after my departure for Denmark on the NATO job. But since my return I have received such praise and varied congratulation as would warm your heart and show you how the Germans would welcome McCarthy's disappearance from the political scene.

Annie sends cordial greetings to you and Janet.

Me too,

Dick

PS I strongly suggest that you ask Bedell Smith whether he has something to add to the Cohn and Schine rhubarb.

D.

Dispatched on June 22, 1953 (after June 17th uprising in E. Germany)

" press columbia broadcasting newyork via prewi

church for collingwood when central committee eastern german communist party yesterday met make first analysis situation it mentioned only one western agency by name stop this was rias dash which stands for radio in the american sector undash and is most dangerous effective anticommunist weapon unistates possesses in europe stop at same time highest communist authorities were paying rias this most sincere compliment senator mccarthy seemed by preparing do communists invaluable favor of undermining demoralizing rias stop early wednesday morning after first preliminary wave strikes had swept soviet sector berlin word reached west berlin that mccarthy intended call rias deputy director gordon ewing back to washington for questioning stop no charges were contained in news dispatch but mccarthys reputation has spread to europe and everyone in rias took it for granted that ewing might well be accused of every offense in human experience dash and in present pusillanimous condition state department this could well be tantamount his dismissal paragraph in fact mccarthy seemed preparing accusation that rias was dominated by communist clique stop in terms my own experience this preposterous and anyone seriously countenancing this charge shows either complete ignorance or mental incompetence stop rias has for so long been so uncompromisingly and skilfully anticommunist that it by far most popular radio station not only berlin but soviet zone stop its programs are generally high level and its political effect is devastating stop communists been first recognize this stop they been running press campaigns comma circulating leaflets comma voicing open threats for years to dissuade or intimidate eastern germans from listening paragraph when news mccarthy decision reached berlin wednesday morning group top german employees took alarm and rose to defense of ewing and rias record during past years stop they issued statement saying they assumed that questioning by mccarthy would tantamount impugning rias policy and humiliating personnel stop this statement issued last night said in effect they would resign if mccarthys insinuations brought changes in composition german american team which so successfully been programming rias paragraph mccarthy could do russia no greater service comma especially in present german emergency comma than by demoralizing emasculating rias stop if he does this he should awarded stalin prize enditem - hottelet "

Note: The Wednesday referred to in the cable was June 17th, when all hell was breaking loose in East Berlin after the first strikes the previous day had given ample warning that dramatic action of historic moment had begun its course in the Soviet Zone. It would appear that

McCarthy, unable to comprehend the importance of this first popular uprising against the system which he purports to be fighting, ignored the clear signs of the storm about to break and issued his statement on RIAS after the first strikes had started. This meant that on the following day, when the top editors of RIAS news and the program directors should have been occupied with nothing but coping with this crisis in the absence of any clear directives from policy makers in Washington, the best brains of RIAS had to deal as well with this irresponsible - one might say idiot - attack from behind. This was sabotage in its most literal sense and there is no doubt that McCarthy was thereby doing the Kremlin a service which the combined efforts of all the Russian espionage and subversive services were unable to render. --- Thatx RIAS weathered this storm only illustrates the solid common sense and basic decency of Ewing and his colleagues.

Cable of November 11, 1953

"press columbia broadcasting newyork
church for murrow add incidentally germans recently observed arrival mccarthy investigator named juliana or similar name stop he arrived great fanfare to interview refugee scientist from sovzone who claimed have seen secret american radar blueprints in communist hands stop investigator departed very quietly stop eyem told on competent authority that alleged sovzone scientist was twentytwo year old youth who fled two years ago stop he not remotely scientist but was possessed lurid imagination and urge appear important stop his original testimony had been marked doubtful by first interrogator and was completely disqualified as fantasy when was subsequently checked stop nevertheless mccarthy milked it for headlines and will unlikely retract baseless allegations paragraph this probably exclusive regards - hottelet"

Note: The first part of this cable dealt with German reaction to House Unamerican Activities Committee's expressed intention of subpoenaing Truman.

The Weather
Today—Cloudy, highest temperature about 48 degrees, chance of rain. Wednesday—Rather cloudy and cool. Yesterday—High, 60 at 1:40 p. m.; low, 31 at 5:45 a. m. (Details on Page 14.)

The Washington Post

FINAL

Seventy-Five Years in the Nation's Capital

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Brownell Amplifies Charges on White; Byrnes Says Truman Discussed Report

Baseball Upheld as Sport by High Court

7-2 Decision Rules Game Not Interstate Commerce, Backs Up Holmes' '22 Verdict

By Jack Walsh
Post Reporter

By a resounding 7-2 decision, the Supreme Court yesterday ruled that baseball still is a sport rather than interstate business and is not subject to Federal anti-trust laws.

Baseball men were jubilant over the reaffirmation of the historic 1922 opinion delivered by Associate Justice Holmes.

Yesterday's ruling means that baseball cannot be challenged in the courts as an illegal monopoly. The game's reserve clause and other restrictive agreements will remain in effect unless Congress takes action.

That was the course left open by the "per curiam" opinion read by Chief Justice Warren. The decision was one issued by the court rather than over the signature of an individual justice.

"We think that if there are evils in this field which now warrant application to it of the antitrust laws it should be by legislation" Chief Justice Warren read.

The opinion, less than 200 words long, pointed out that Congress has had the 1922 ruling under consideration all this time but has not seen fit to act.

The majority emphasized, too, they were not reexamining the underlying issues but affirming the 1922 decision so far as it determined that Congress had no intention of including baseball within the scope of anti-trust laws.

A vigorous 2700-word dissent was filed by Justice Burton, with Justice Reed concurring.

Justice Burton said, "Is is a contradiction in terms to say that the defendants, in the cases before us, are not now engaged in interstate trade or commerces as those terms are used in the Constitution of the United States and in the Sherman Act.

". . . It is interstate trade or commerce and, as such, it is subject to the Sherman Act until exempted."

Justice Burton wrote, "Whatever may have been the situation when the Federal Baseball Club case was decided in 1922, I am not able to join in today's decision which, in effect, announces that organized baseball, in 1953, still is not engaged in interstate trade or commerce."

He cited many reasons that he considered baseball so engaged. Among them were interstate travel by the teams, transmission of receipts between States, radio and television expanding baseball audiences beyond State lines, interstate advertising sponsored by baseball and the highly organized "farm system" of minor league clubs, coupled with restrictive contracts and understandings between individuals and among clubs.

Yesterday's ruling was the result of the Supreme Court's de-

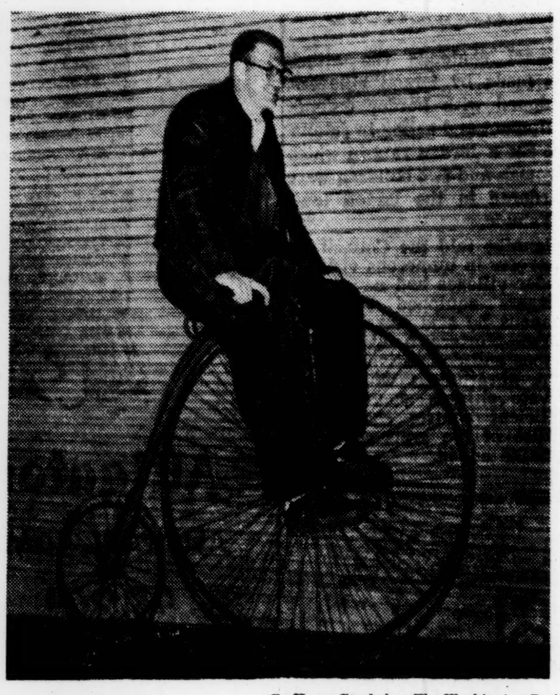
See BASEBALL, Page 23, Col. 6.

15 Hurt as Elevator Drops 4½ Stories

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Nov. 9 (AP). An elevator loaded with office workers on their way home dropped four and one-half stories in the Caxton Building in the downtown section late today, injuring 15 persons.

Thousands Come Clean

Yes sir, they never came finer, cleaner—in such tip-top condition! Thousands of late model used cars are now being offered by the Washington area's best dealers—better buys than have been offered in many a day. They'll give you many miles of trouble-free service—month after month of smooth-running new car prestige—and save you hundreds of dollars too. Turn now to The Post classified columns. Shop The Post ads first, then go out and buy!



By Harry Goodwin—The Washington Post

A Cycling We Will Go

A trial spin on a turn-of-the-century bicycle is taken by H. L. Laws at the police auction of recovered loot and unclaimed property yesterday. Laws, a professional auctioneer, made the largest purchase of articles that ranged from the bike to paintings. (Other photo, story on Page 16.)

Chief Commended Scientist For Taking Documents Home

(Second in a Series of Articles)

FORT MONMOUTH, N.J., Nov. 9.—One of the most headlined charges in the McCarthy investigation of espionage at this Army Signal Corps Center was that a scientist who took 43 secret documents home in 1946 was caught, suspended and then reinstated.

The Washington Post now can disclose that the scientist actually was commended by the military commander of the research laboratories here for "highly praiseworthy" motives in taking the documents home so that he could work on them.

The man was officially reprimanded in the incident. But the reprimand was not for having the documents in his possession. The reprimand was for failing to keep them in a safe in his home, and for failing to go through the formal declassification procedure of marking down all but two of the documents from the "restricted," "confidential" and "secret" designations which had expired on them, and listing them as unclassified documents.

Furthermore, the commanding officer expressed his deep "regret" for issuing the reprimand against the scientist whom he praised highly, but said the reprimand was necessary to make an example of the case.

This is the case which led to such headlines as, "Documents Taken in '46, Probe Told; Raid Recovered Them From Rosenberg Friend, McCarthy Reports."

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.), sitting as a one-man subcommittee, told reporters in New York that the taking of "secret material at will" is a "direct and serious violation of Army regulations covering security material."

The Senator expressed amazement that the man involved was only suspended for a short time, was reinstated and then promoted. He suggested the possibility of the Justice Department taking action. The man, the Senator told reporters, was a close, personal friend of convicted atom spy Julius Rosenberg.

That same day, however, Maj. Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, commanding officer of the Signal Corps Center here for the past two years, told reporters in New York when he appeared before the McCarthy subcommittee, that he was satisfied there was

See MONMOUTH, Pg. 11, Col. 1

2 Greenlease Ransom Bills Found by FBI

PETOSKEY, Mich., Nov. 9 (AP). A police chief today said FBI agents have found in Petoskey and Detroit two single bills from the $600,000 Greenlease ransom money, and are searching in Michigan for other clues to the missing $308,000.

The report created speculation that the "hot" money came into Michigan from Chicago or St. Louis hoodlums trying to pass it through professional "fences" at 30 to 50 cents on the dollar.

The FBI made no immediate comment. Police Chief Philo Wakeford of Petoskey said a $20 bill was received by a Petoskey boarding house operator and a $10 bill of the same serial group was located in Detroit.

All the $600,000 ransom money was paid in $10 and $20 bills by Robert C. Greenlease, millionaire Kansas City, Mo., automobile dealer, October 4, in hopes that his kidnaped son, Bobby, would be returned. The boy already was dead.

The $20 bill was found last Tuesday in Petoskey by Mrs. Henry J. Krauser, a nurse at Little Traverse Hospital and part-time tourist cabin operator.

Mrs. Krauser told police she got the bill from Norman Clark, a rural mail carrier, as payment of his rent. Clark said he received it late last month when he cashed his paycheck at a Monton, Mich., filling station.

Clark said he got four $20 bills from the Foxworthy and McDaniel Service Station in Manton and five more from Van's Service Station in Petoskey. He said he paid one of the $20 bills as rent on a Krauser cabin, which he occupied on his honeymoon.

Predicted Last Week's Storm

Farmer's Almanac Forecasts 'Turbulent, Erratic' Winter

BOSTON, Nov. 9 (AP).—The Old Farmer's Almanac, which predicted last Friday's devastating nor'easter, forcasts a "turbulent and erratic" winter.

The 162-year-old annual publication, which goes on sale Tuesday, said that there would be " at least one spanking northeast storm along the Eastern Seaboard during the first two weeks of November. The rest of the month will be cold with some snow after "mild and fine" weather for one week, the Almanac said.

Here are the predictions, in part, for the next few months:

December—"Raw and dull all month with nothing very exciting or harmful."

January—"Cold storms" during first 10 days. "Windy and boisterous" preceding the "January thaw," then "bitter cold."

February — Continued cold, with "heavy" snowstorm between the eleventh and seventeenth. "No three good days in a row" during the latter part of the month.

The Almanac is pessimistic about all of March and, "during the first 10 days of April watch out for the storm of the year in which rain or snow or both will fall all over the United States."

West's Big 3 May Confer Before Yule

Conference of Ike, Churchill, Laniel Planned in Bermuda On Soviet Relations

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Post Reporter

President Eisenhower will meet with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and French Premier Joseph Laniel, probably in Bermuda, before Christmas, authoritative sources reported here last night.

The meeting undoubtedly will discuss Western relations with the Soviet Union as well as problems among the three nations.

Impetus for the meeting came from the recent Soviet refusal to sit down with the three Western nations at the Foreign Ministers' level to discuss the key European problems of Germany and Austria. Now the Big Three chiefs of state will discuss what position they should take with regard to Russia.

The Bermuda conference, if that is where it is held, would fulfill long-postponed plans for such a meeting on the British island in the Atlantic.

It was said here last night that the time and place of the new meeting have not yet been firmly settled. But there was no doubt that the meeting would take place.

President Eisenhower last week said that Russia had rejected the West's invitation to a meeting in Switzerland scheduled to begin yesterday. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles yesterday reinforced the President's declaration with a statement analyzing what Dulles called the "Soviet demands," which must be met before any East-West conference.

Paris reports last night said officials there felt that a three-power conference was "urgent" in the light of the Soviet turndown. The French were reported as feeling that no decision on the future of Germany should be taken before a top-level Big Three meeting.

It was reported here that Dulles would attend the projected Bermuda meeting along with French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden.

One reason for the uncertainty over the time for the meeting may be the absence in the Far East of Vice President Nixon. He is due back on December 11.

The United States, since the postponement of the Bermuda conference last summer, has shied away from even a top-level Big Three meeting for fear it might be interpreted as leading to a top-level Big Four meeting with Russian Premier Georgi Malenkov. Premier Laniel has been invited to Washington, but President Eisenhower has not shown any enthusiasm for a proposal that he go to London to see Sir Winston.

The Russian rejection of a foreign ministers conference now has cleared the way for the newly scheduled Bermuda meeting without putting the United States in the position of considering a Big Four gathering. Sir Winston agreed with Dulles at the foreign ministers' meeting in London last month to put aside the idea of meeting with Malenkov until next spring, after there is some decision in France on the European army plan.

Banks, Schools To Close Here Armistice Day

All banks in the District and nearby Maryland and Virginia—with the exception of those in Alexandria—will be closed Wednesday in observance of Armistice Day. Alexandria banks will be open for business as usual.

School officials said public schools in the District and Alexandria will be closed, as will all parochial schools in the Archdiocese of Washington. Public schools in Montgomery and Prince Georges, Arlington and Fairfax Counties will conduct classes.

Parochial schools will be open in Arlington and Fairfax Counties. In Alexandria, all parochial schools will be open except St. Mary's, St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Academy.

Ex-Secretary Recalls Plea On Fund Job

Declares Appeal That President Bar Nominee From Post Was Futile

James F. Byrnes said last night that he discussed with former President Truman an FBI report on Harry Dexter White, on the very day White was confirmed as executive director of the International Monetary Fund.

The Governor of South Carolina and former Secretary of State, in a statement issued at Columbia, declared that word of Senate approval of the White nomination reached him and the President while they were discussing allegations of White's "affiliations with Communists."

Byrnes reported that he first urged the President to get someone in the Senate to move the reconsideration of the approval of the nomination. When Truman rejected that suggestion, he urged him not to sign the commission, but the President thought he was compelled to do so under the law. Then Byrnes suggested that the President call White in and acquaint him with the charges, a course that he thought would stop any court action to compel issuance of the commission.

The then Secretary of State also discussed the FBI report with the late Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, and got the impression that Secretary Vinson favored the Byrnes solution. He said he heard no more of the matter until he read press stories that White was commissioned.

White was confirmed for the monetary post on February 6, 1946.

In his statement to the press, Governor Byrnes said he did not recall the exact date but remembered receiving from a representative of J. Edgar Hoover the day before White's confirmation a copy of a report about White "and his affiliations with Communists" that he was told had been sent to the White House.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell in his Monday statement said a White report went to Secretary of State Byrnes on December 4, 1945. Governor Byrnes did not recall this report and pointed out that he was out of the country the greater part of December, 1945. (Byrnes was preparing for the Moscow conference at this time. He was in Berlin on December 14. He took off that day for Moscow and remained there until the conference was concluded on December 27, 1945).

The Attorney General's list of recipients of the FBI document does not disclose the distribution of any copies of a White report on February 5 of 1946, when Governor Byrnes recalls receiving his first information. A copy was sent to Fred Lyon, chief of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, on March 15, 1946, and might have reached Secretary Byrnes. No explanation of these discrepancies was forthcoming Monday night.

Byrnes reported that a presidential aide had telephoned Leslie Biffle, then Secretary of the Senate, during his White House conference, to find out where the White nomination was at the time. Biffle, he said, advised of the Senate's favorable action. Asked about the telephone call last night, Biffle said he did not remember any conversation about White's confirmation but that he received so many such inquiries that he could not say it had not taken place.

Truman declined comment when informed in New York of Byrnes' statement.

Marshall to Go to Oslo To Receive Nobel Prize

OSLO, Nov. 9 (AP). — Gen. George C. Marshall messaged the Norwegian Nobel Committee today that he would be here Dec. 10 to receive personally the 1953 Nobel peace prize. He said he had recovered sufficiently from an illness to make the trip, barring unforeseen complications.

Albert Schweitzer, who was named 1952 Nobel peace prize winner at the time Marshall's selection was announced, sent word that he would not be able to visit Oslo to receive the award in person.

Brownell Text on White Case

Following is the text of the statement Attorney General Herbert Brownell issued last night in the Harry Dexter White case:

Last Friday, I disclosed that the records in the Department of Justice show that the Truman Administration, before appointing Harry Dexter White as executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund, had twice been told by the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that White was known to be engaged in espionage activity for the benefit of the Soviet government.

I made this disclosure because I believe that the American people are entitled to know these facts. Since last Friday the question has been raised in the press as to whether the information that White was a spy was transmitted to the White House before or after White's appointment.

White entered upon his duties and assumed the office of executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund on May 1, 1946, having been first publicly nominated for the position by President Truman on January 23, 1946, and having been confirmed by the Senate on February 6, 1946.

The records in the Department of Justice show that months prior to White's entering upon office, Mr. J. Edagr Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on two separate occasions sent reports describing White's spying activities to the White House for the attention of the President, with copies also to other important officials in the Truman Administration.

The first of these occasions was on December 4, 1945. As I mentioned in my speech last Friday, on that day the FBI transmitted to Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to the President, for the attention of the President, a general report on the subject of Soviet espionage activity in the United States, which report was dated November 27, 1945, and contained among other things, a summary of the espionage activities of Harry Dexter White as of that date.

Because of the general nature of this report, copies were sent by the FBI to other top Administration officials and the records show that copies were sent by the FBI on December 4, 1945, to Attorney General Tom C. Clark and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes; on December 7, 1945, to James V. Forrestal, the Secretary of the Navy, and Spruille Braden, then the Assistant Secretary of State.

Copies of the report were furnished to Admiral William D. Leahy, then Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, the White House, on February 20, 1946; to Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, then assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, War Department, on February 26, 1946; to Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, on March 5, 1946; and to Fred Lyon, then chief, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, on March 15, 1946. A second copy of this report was furnished to Attorney General Tom C. Clark on July 24, 1946.

Notwithstanding this report, which had been received by the White House more than a month before, President Truman made public announcement of the nomination of Harry Dexter White for the position of executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund on January 23, 1946.

Because of this development the FBI compiled a special report concerning Harry Dexter White and his espionage activities under date of February 1, 1946, in which the FBI made the following statement concerning the authenticity of the information reported:

"This information has been received from numerous confidential sources whose reliability has been established either by inquiry or long established observation and evaluation. In no instance is any transaction or event related where the reliability of the source of information is questionable."

According to the records in the Department of Justice, this special report concerning White was delivered personally on February 4, 1946, to Brigadier General Vaughan for the attention of the President.

On the same day, a duplicate of the report was, according to the Department of Justice records, delivered to the office of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, together with a covering letter which closed with the following statement:

"In view of the obvious interest of the White House in this situation, I have taken the liberty to similarly inform Brig. Gen. Harry Hawkins Vaughan, military aide to the President, of the information with respect to White."

A triplicate of the same report was, according to the records, also sent to Fred B. Lyon, Division of Controls, Department of State, who at the time was security officer for the department of Government most directly concerned with the International Monetary Fund and with White's appointment thereto.

The distribution of these reports concerning White clearly shows that the Truman Administration had full and adequate notice of White's spying activities long before he assumed the duties on May 1, 1946, of this most important and sensitive office.

Text of Byrnes' Statement

Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina issued the following statement yesterday on the Harry Dexter White case:

"I do not recall the date, but on the afternoon of the day preceding the confirmation by the United States Senate of the nomination of Harry Dexter White as Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund a representative of Mr. Edgar Hoover delivered to my secretary a copy of a report about Mr. White and his affiliations with Communists, which report I was advised had been sent to the White House. This was the only report about White that was called to my attention. I was out of the country the greater part of December, 1945.

"The following day, after I had read the report, I requested an engagement with the President. That afternoon I was invited to come to the White House.

"I told President Truman I had received a copy of the report sent to him by Mr. Hoover, that I was shocked by its content, and I asked what he intended to do about it. The President stated he had read the report and that he also was surprised.

"When I asked the status of the nomination of Mr. White he said it was still pending in the Senate. I told him, in view of the charges contained in Hoover's report, I thought he should immediately ask the Senate to withhold action and then withdraw the nomination.

"The President had a member of his staff telephone to Mr. Leslie Biffle, the Secretary of the Senate. The President asked Mr. Biffle of the status of the nomination, but did not give Biffle any reason for his inquiry. Mr. Biffle stated that the nomination had been favorably acted upon that afternoon.

"The President apparently was as disappointed as I was by the statement of Mr. Biffle. In further discussing the matter, I suggested to the President he might ask some one in the Senate about moving to reconsider the vote by which the nomination was approved. He did not think well of that suggestion. I then suggested to him that the only other thing to do would be to refuse to issue the commission to White. He said he had been advised on a previous occasion that once the Senate had acted, he could be required to sign a commission. I told him that if he should send for White and tell him about Hoover's report, White would never resort to the courts.

"I got the impression that the President was disposed to follow that course. However, he said he wanted to think it over.

"During our conversation, the President had told me he appointed White upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. (Fred M.) Vinson. Later that afternoon, Mr. Vinson came to my office. He said the President had told him what had occurred and of my recommendation. Mr. Vinson was quite worried about it. However, I got the impression that he agreed with my suggestion that the President refuse to commission White. He said he was going to talk with the President again about it.

"I heard no more from either of them about the matter, but later I noticed in the press that White was commissioned by the President and became the Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund."

Top Officials Also Given 'Spy' Data, He Asserts

Attorney General Lists Recipients Of Information on Treasury Aide

By Frank R. Kent, Jr.
Post Reporter

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., said yesterday "full and adequate notice of spying activities" by the late Harry Dexter White was given the Truman Administration before it advanced White to the post of executive director of the International Monetary Fund.

The Attorney General said this in a statement issued late yesterday in supplement to the explosive charges he made Friday in Chicago that Mr. Truman had promoted White from Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to the Monetary Fund post "in the face" of FBI information that White was a Red spy. The charge drew prompt and emphatic denial from Mr. Truman.

Amplifying, Brownell yesterday said not only were reports sent to the White House for Mr. Truman's consumption, but duplicates dated November 27, 1945, also were sent to top officials of the Administration.

He listed these recipients of copies dated November 27, 1945, and the dates they were forwarded by the FBI as follows:

Attorney General Tom C. Clark and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes—December 4, 1945.

James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, and Spruille Braden, then assistant Secretary of State—December 7, 1945.

Admiral William D. Leahy, then chief of staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, the White House—February 20, 1946.

Lieut. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, then assistant chief of staff, G-2, War Department—February 26, 1946.

Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury—March 5, 1946.

Fred Lyon, then chief, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State—March 15, 1946.

Brownell said a second copy was sent Clark July 24, 1946.

"Notwithstanding this report, which had been received by the White House more than a month before," Brownell said, President Truman made public announcement of the nomination of Harry Dexter White for the position of Executive Director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund on January 23, 1946.

Because of this development, Brownell said, as he charged in his Chicago speech, the FBI compiled a special report on White. Department of Justice records showed this was delivered personally to Gen. Harry H. Vaughan on February 4, 1946 for attention of Mr. Truman, the Attorney General asserted.

While Brownell was amplifying his charges here, a new facet of the controversy bobbed up in New York. T. Vincent Quinn, now district attorney for Queen's County, said charges White was connected with a Russian spy ring had been presented to a Federal grand jury in 1947, but the jury did not return an indictment because it felt the evidence was insufficient.

At the time, Quinn was special assistant to the United States Attorney for the general purpose of presenting to the grand jury persons mentioned by Elizabeth Bentley, admitted former Communist, in her story of activities as a courier for a Soviet spy apparatus. Miss Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, who later proved the nemesis of Alger Hiss, both mentioned

See WHITE, Page 2, Col. 1

Difficulties Foreseen In Korea Talks. P. 4

	Pages		Pages
Amusements	40	Herblock	10
Classified	30-33	Movie Guide	26
Columnists	10, 11	Obituaries	14
Comics	42, 43	Radio-TV	41
Crossword	14	Sports	23-27
District Line	42	Weather	14
Editorials	10	Women	35-38

WHITE—From Page 1

Brownell Amplifies White Case Report

White in connection with their Red activities.

Quinn said White appeared before the grand jury and was questioned at some length. He said the grand jury was the same body that later indicted the 11 top Communist leaders in the United States on charges of conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the American Government.

White died August 17, 1948, of heart seizure about a week after he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities to deny the Bentley and Chambers charges.

Of those listed by Brownell yesterday as having received copies of the FBI report, Admiral Leahy told the United Press he had no recollection of ever receiving an FBI report personally while on duty at the White House.

Sure He Never Saw It

"I don't think I ever saw such a damn thing," he said. "Of course, the report may have been sent to me, but I have no recollection of it, and I'm sure I never saw it."

He said he would check his personal files to see if he can find the copy to which Brownell referred.

Braden told a Washington Post reporter in New York, where he now heads that city's crime commission, that he remembered receiving a report on alleged Communists late in 1945 but he could not recall any mention of White.

He said he was sure he would have remembered because he had a serious run-in with White over a Cuban currency reform proposal.

"I remembered it mentioned Alger Hiss, his wife, and his brother, Donald Hiss. I noted that because Alger Hiss was an important functionary at the State Department at that time," Braden said.

"I can't remember whether it mentioned Harry Dexter White or whether it did not. But if it had dealt extensively with White I would have remembered it," he said.

Lyon Is In Paris

Lyon now is in Paris as counsellor of embassy for the Department of State.

General Vandenberg is receiving treatment in Walter Reed Army Hospital and is not receiving telephone calls.

In another related development, Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, (R-Wis.) called William Henry Taylor, assistant director of the International Monetary Fund, before his Senate Investigating Subcommittee for a closed-door hearing.

McCarthy announced he was calling a "protege" of White for questioning about FBI reports of Government officials said to be connected with a Soviet spy ring in the 1940s.

Byron N. Scott, attorney for Taylor, told the Associated Press his client had denied "any number of times" that he was a member of any espionage apparatus.

Meanwhile, two other committees were bidding for the presence of General Vaughan. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee headed by Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) already has subpenaed Mr. Truman's former miiltary aide and close personal friend to appear at a closed hearing Thursday.

Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, also announced he had subpenaed Vaughan for a Thursday appearance. Vaughan has said he has no recollection of the reports.

In his original speech, Brownell said the first FBI report was delivered "to President Truman through his military aide, Brigadier General Harry H. Vaughan. "The second, he said, was "handed by the FBI to Brigadier General Vaughan for delivery to the President."

In yesterday's amplification, Brownell said the first report was "transmitted to Brigadier General Harry H. Vaughan for the attention of the President."

In the second instance, the Attorney General said, the report "was delivered personally to Brigadier General Vaughan for the attention of the President."

Mitchell Says Brownell Still Plays Politics

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Nov. 9 (AP).—National Democratic Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell said here tonight that Attorney General Herbert Brownell "last Friday was talking about Harry Truman; now he's talking about the Truman Administration" in the Harry Dexter White spy charges.

He made the comment after Brownell today said that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover advised the White House, four Cabinet officers and four other high officials of the Truman Administration that White was a Russian spy before former President Truman promoted the late Treasury official to represent the United States in the International Monetary Fund.

Brownell originally said that a report on White was delivered to Truman in December, 1945; today he said that the report was delivered to Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, Truman's military aide, for attention of the President.

Mitchell, who flew here to address a State-wide Democratic luncheon meeting Tuesday, said that Brownell either charges that "someone near the President (Truman) took advantage of him or he's charging a former President of the United States with treason.

"In either case, I'm willing to leave it up to the lawyers of Little Rock and Arkansas whether such charges should be tried at a luncheon club or through the judicial processes designed for such matters."

Mitchell said he'd "been waiting all day" for the documentary evidence he said Brownell had promised in the case.

None has been forthcoming, he added.

Mitchell again accused Brownell of seeking to divert attention from "Republican failures" by "political charges" and said that the Attorney General's conduct was "out of character for the chief law enforcement officer of the United States."

He said that there were "three messes" in New York State which could affect Brownell's "man," Gov. Thomas Dewey, and that Brownell was attempting to take the minds of the public away from them.

Brownell is a former Republican national chairman and a close associate of Dewey's.

Mitchell suggested that Brownell should go back to being a Republican spokesman but added that he's now supposed to be Attorney General for all the people in the United States, not a party mouthpiece."

Truman Girds for Battle With Brownell Over Charge He Promoted an Alleged Spy

By Edward T. Folliard
Post Reporter

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—Former President Harry S. Truman appeared to be ready to turn political warrior again. He is angry and he is sharpening a lance for use on Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who has accused him of favoring Harry Dexter White, "a Russian spy."

He may aim it beyond Brownell—at President Eisenhower, who gave the Attorney General a green light for his attack.

Mr. Truman delivered a tuning-up talk here tonight in the Roosevelt Hotel after the American Jewish Congress had presented him the Stephen Wise award for courageous leadership in promoting civil rights.

"Fear of communism," he said, "is being manipulated by a few to create hysteria. Fear is a great silencer. Too many people are being quiet for fear of being called Communists. When people are afraid to speak or explore new ideas, then freedom is really in danger."

He made no mention of Brownell's attack.

One thing is certain: Mr. Truman is not going to take Brownell's charge lying down. He is not a man who likes to be picked on. He knows his way around in the political arena, and he thinks he will be able to make the Republicans regret the day that they decided to link his name with that of an alleged traitor.

The former Chief Executive came to New York today to make a series of speeches. He smilingly turned aside all attempts by reporters to get further comment from him on the Brownell speech. He was evidently holding his fire for what he thought would be the right moment.

The Missourian seems to have experienced several emotional reactions to Brownell's sensational speech in Chicago last Friday. In a way it seemed incredible to him—incredible, as he saw it, in view of his record as a soldier, a Senator, and as President of the United States, and also in view of his efforts to halt Russian expansion and to rearm the West against the Soviet threat.

Mr. Truman quickly concluded that Brownell's blast was a political maneuver, loosed at a time when the Republicans were having reverses at the polls. Even so, it didn't make much sense to him. Trying to look at it dispassionately, he was convinced that it was an unwise political move—something that simply should not have been done.

The former President, once he cuts loose, has no intention of using up much time defending himself. He will take the offensive, and he won't be delicate about it.

Brownell said in his Chicago speech that "White's spying activities were reported in detail by the FBI to the White House by means of a report delivered to President Truman through his military aide, Brig. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, in December of 1945."

This has been widely interpreted to mean that the FBI report actually was delivered to Mr. Truman, and was in his possession when he promoted White from assistant secretary of the Treasury to United States Executive Director in the International Monetary Fund.

General Vaughan has said, that while he received many FBI reports, he had no recollection of one about Harry Dexter White.

Mr. Truman says, simply, that he never saw such a report.

How, his associates ask, is Brownell going to disprove this, and show that he actually did get the FBI report on White?

One thing that seems to puzzle Mr. Truman most is the attitude of President Eisenhower. He used to be an ardent admirer of his successor; as he often said at White House news conferences, he was "very fond" of him.

It used to seem that the feeling was mutual. Mr. Truman appears to feel now that a decided change has come over the man he summoned from Columbia University to head up the NATO forces in Europe and erect a shield against Soviet aggression.

Britain, U. S. and France Condemn Israel in Massacre

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Nov. 9 (AP).—Britain, France and the United States today condemned Israel for what they called the massacre of Arabs in the village of Kibya.

Spokesmen for the three countries told the U. N. Security Council that a detailed report by U. N. truce supervisor Maj. Gen. Vagn Bennike confirmed their belief that the attack was carried out by Israeli armed forces and the government of Israel was responsible for it.

They said, however, that they would await speeches by Jordan and Israeli representatives before asking Council action against Israel.

Chief United States Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, jr., said he has "no doubts" that Israel was to blame. France's Henri Hoppenot said a wave of "horror and reprobation was stirred throughout France by the Kibya massacre."

Britain's Sir Gladwyn Jebb warned that such acts constitute a threat to peace throughout the Middle East.

The truce supervisor said Israeli troops have stepped up their anti-Arab attacks this year.

Bennike's observations were part of his answers to questions previously raised in the 11-nation Council's current inquiry into Israeli destruction on October 14 of the Jordan village of Kibya. At least 53 villagers were killed in the attack.

Israel contends the attack was made by Israeli villagers, equipped with border defense equipment and acting in retaliation for a Jordan raid in which a woman and two children were murdered in the Israeli town of Yahude.

Bennike told the Council his observers in numerous visits to border villages had never seen villagers equipped with the weapons he said were used in Kibya—Mortars, bangalore torpedoes and demolition charges.

"A government which arms private citizens should insure sufficient control against the misuse of the arms supplied," Bennike added.

Senate Unit Will Seek Reds in Labor Unions

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 9 (AP).—A Senate Internal Security subcommittee began a probe today of any Communists who may have infiltrated the labor unions.

The group is headed by Sen. John M. Butler (R-Md.). The initial session was closed, but two days of public hearings are scheduled later in the week. Butler said the hearings will center on the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, which was expelled from the CIO several years ago for what was described as left-wing tendencies.

Talk of Slump Here Scored

An advertising expert last night scouted talk of a depression in Washington and told a group of retail advertising men: "You are pretty sure to be better off than the businessmen of any other city in the Nation."

"You don't know how lucky you are, " William H. Boyenton, director of the advertising division of the School of Journalism at Rutgers University, told the group.

He said big Government is "here to stay" and predicted a continuing good market in Washington. "I don't think you have much to fear," he added.

Boyenton criticized talk about a depression because, "I know if you want a depression, you can talk it until you have a depression."

Boyenton addressed the annual newspaper advertising seminar of the Washington Advertising Club. The session was held in the Community Room of The Washington Post.

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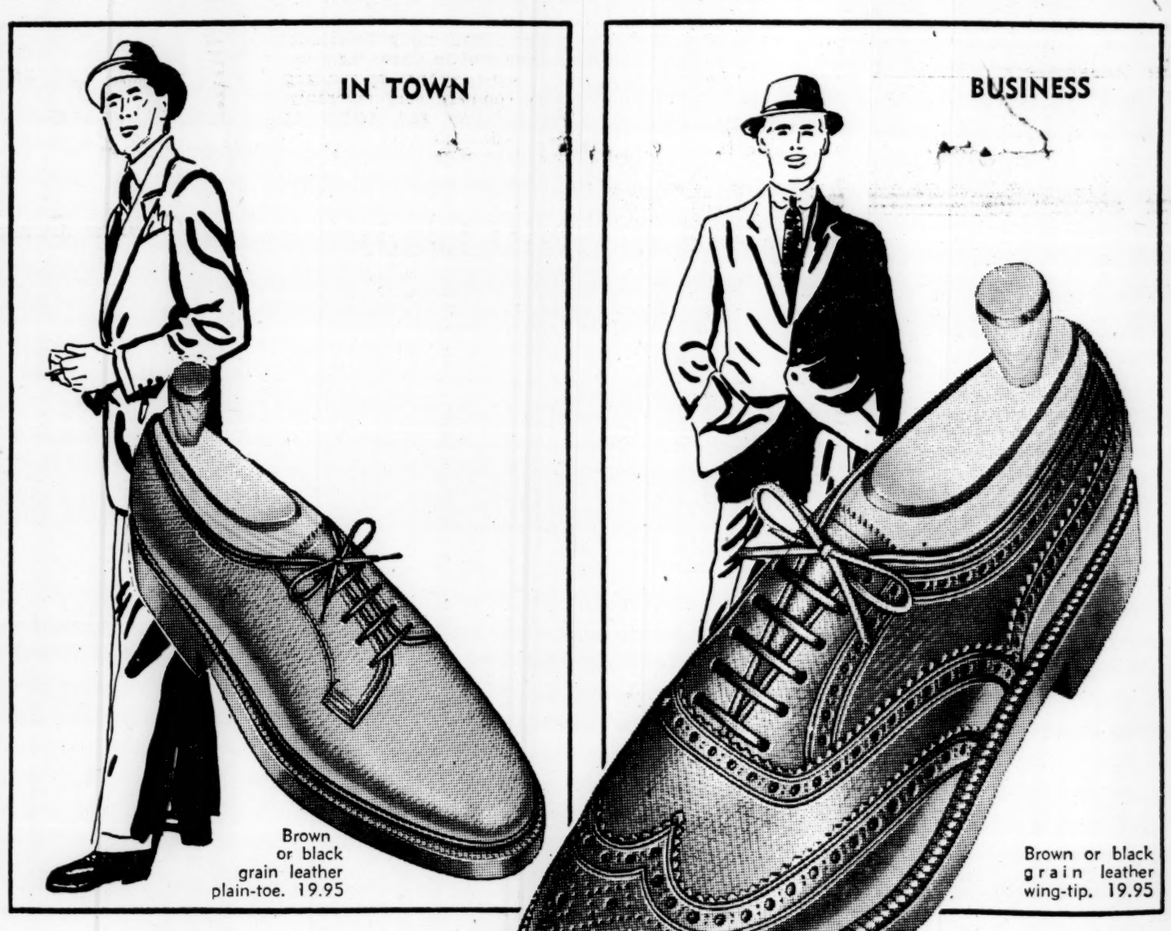

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Today And Tomorrow . . . By Walter Lippmann

German Unity On Ice

BONN—If there is anything novel or distinctive in the Soviet reply of last week, it is the lack of any attempt to intervene in the chief immediate problems within Western Europe. The note does, to be sure, oppose strongly the rearmament of Germany within the European Defense Community and under the aegis of NATO. But what it says is not designed, shows no serious practical intention, to stall the pending negotiations between France and Germany. The note contains no proposal which affects these negotiations.

Lippmann

The invitation to Lugano offered the Soviet Union the opportunity to make proposals which would at least have delayed, and might well have broken off, the movement toward the European Army. Lugano was a plain invitation to negotiate about Germany at least three months before the EDC treaty can be ratified. That treaty could not be ratified if the Soviet Union had made a serious proposal for the unification of Germany and for the withdrawal of the armies of occupation.

The point of the note is that it rejects any negotiation on the question of a European army, and of NATO as well, before negotiations may even begin on the question of German unity.

THE SOVIET REPLY must, therefore, be read as announcing a decision to refuse German unification—perhaps not forever but for the near and foreseeable future. The composition and the tone of the note show clearly, it seems to me, that the present policy of the Kremlin in Europe is to remain in status quo. The actual preoccupation of the authors of this note was not to influence events in non-Soviet Europe. It was to consolidate their position inside Soviet Europe. This note is, in short, not propaganda and psychological warfare. It is a firm declaration of policy addressed to the Communist world, to the satellite governments, to the apparatus of the Communist parties, and to the inhabitants of the Soviet orbit who are wondering what is to come. It tells them in no uncertain terms that nothing is to be conceded in Eastern Europe in order to come to terms with the West.

Between the death of Stalin and the liquidation of Beria there was some faint reason for thinking that the new regime might wish to negotiate a withdrawal of its forces from the center of Germany. There can be little doubt now that since the East German uprising in June and the reverberations in the other satellites, the Kremlin does not dare to withdraw from or to relax its grip upon any part of its orbit. If anything of that sort were done, say in Eastern Germany, the Kremlin has every reason to fear that all of Eastern Europe would become unmanageable. The Soviets have decided, therefore, that they must stay where they are, that they must not allow the leaders of the satellite governments to fear that they might be leaving, that they must allow none of the people to hope that they will be leaving.

For that reason, they cannot enter into any kind of negotiation about the unity of Germany. Any serious move toward the unity of Germany would undermine the structure of the Soviet orbit.

IT WOULD BE an overstatement to say that the governments in London, Paris and Bonn are surprised or much disappointed at the refusal of the Soviet government to negotiate about the unification of Germany. The West European governments, as I have indicated in previous dispatches, are not now in a position and are not now prepared to face the great issues German unification would pose. Their reasons for avoiding the question of German unity are entirely different, obviously enough, from those of the Soviet Union. But the net desult is that both sides at the present time are compelled to avoid the question.

Because of the deep and well understood impossibility of genuine negotiations, the Lugano conference and the exchange of public notes about Germany have never in recent times been more than exercises in psychological warfare. Had the question of German unity been negotiable at the present time, it would not have been necessary for Churchill to keep on calling for an informal conference at the highest level. Informal contact already would have been established through one of the many channels that are always open.

I WAS IN BONN when the Soviet reply was received. It made little impression because, so far as I could make out, there is no longer any serious hope in any quarter among the West Germans that their country is soon going to be reunited. It is remarkable, I believe, how general in all of Western Europe, among the people and among officials, is the feeling that the present situation is better than any attempt to change it.

The usual view has been that if the tension is to be relaxed, there will have to be a settlement. There is a rising view, not yet perhaps clear and explicit, that there will never be a settlement unless first the tension is relaxed. There is certainly a strong tendency all over the West to relax the tension without taking the risks of attempting a settlement. It has come to seem too dangerous, too difficult and too troublesome, too doctrinaire and too sentimental, to take seriously anything but making the best of things as they are.

The critical question is whether and for how long the status quo can be maintained without the prospect of a settlement or the risk of war. That is the question which I kept asking in Bonn. The answer, such as it is, must go over to my next report.

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GRIN AND BEAR IT By Lichty

"I'm as civic minded as anyone . . . but I feel we're devoting too much time to civic affairs and not enough time to the affairs of absent members . . ."

U. S. Wins Review of Ruling Freeing Rubenstein on Bail

The Supreme Court yesterday granted the Government a review of an Appeals Court ruling that Serge Rubenstein, millionaire financier convicted of draft-dodging, must remain free on bail while fighting deportation proceedings.

Rubenstein's attorneys, Edward J. Ennis and Jack Wasserman of Washington, had described him as a "stateless native of Russia" in their opposition to the Government's petition for review.

According to the records Rubenstein's first brush with the law occurred in April, 1943, when he was arrested on a deportation warrant charging him with illegally entering the United States. The proceedings later were dropped.

In 1947, he was sentenced to two years in prison on conviction of evading the draft. It was on the basis of this conviction that the Government on December 29, 1952, issued a deportation order against him.

File for Judgment

Rubenstein's attorney's immediately filed in the District Court for a judgment declaring the order invalid, and for an injunction against his arrest and revocation of bail. Judge David A. Pine denied the motion. The Court of Appeals subsequently ruled in favor of Rubenstein. The court held his detention could not be justified unless it could be shown he was likely to abscond or was a security risk. It ruled he could not be arrested pending judicial determination of the deportation action.

In his first opinion delivered from the Supreme Court bench, Chief Justice Earl Warren upheld the right of a longshoreman to compensation for injuries suffered in a ship fire.

Earl Porter of Texas City, Texas, whom the Chief Justice described as "totally illiterate," was injured during a fire aboard the SS Southern States in December, 1949. He sought compensation under the Federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Act. Lower Federal courts ruled he had not filed formal claim within 30 days.

Warren pointed out the foreman of the gang and other workers saw Porter injured. In his opinion, Warren wrote: "The burden of any failure of these agents to report must fall on the employer and not on a longshoreman who follows the routine the employer prescribes . . . This act must be liberally construed in conformance with its purpose, and in a way which avoids harsh and incongruous results."

Warren's eight associates concurred in the opinion.

Other Court Actions

In other actions yesterday, the Supreme Court:

Upheld, 8 to 0, an order that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and Southern Pacific Railroads pay half the costs of two major grade-crossing improvements in Los Angeles. The railroads contended they were being compelled to subsidize their competitors, trucks, buses and passenger automobiles. The court ruled that the railroads could not complain because their share of the costs was not based solely on special benefits accruing to them from the projects. Chief Justice Warren did not participate.

Ruled, 8 to 0, that the Federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Act applied to a fatal accident ashore on a marine railway. The decision was in a case affecting the widow and children of an employe of the Avondale Marine Ways, Inc. of La.

Set aside, 7 to 2, a $57,500 award won by the Illinois Central Railroad from a trucker for damages to a railroad bridge. The award was made by a jury in Federal Court at Paducah, Ky. in suit against the Vess Transfer Co. and Charles Darnell, truck driver. The truck company and Darnell appealed, contending the suit should have been tried in a State court in McCracken County, Ky., where the accident occurred.

Upheld the tax levied on a trust fund set up by Morris Lober of New York for his children. When Lober died in 1942 the trust property amounted to $125,000. The court ruled, 7 to 2, that Lober held so strong a control over the trust that he had not divested himself of it to the degree required to avoid the tax.

To Rule in Tax Case

Agreed to rule on whether Washington State may collect $2,265,810 under its business and occupation tax law from General Electric Co. for its operations of the Government-owned atomic energy plant at Richmond, Wash.

Refused to rule on the validity of a 7-month-old West Virginia law providing for local option elections to determine if horse race tracks may be constructed. Nicholas J. Tweel, owner of a new track at Hurricane, brought the appeal.

Declined to review the conviction of the Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Bridgeton, N. J., office manager on charges of operating a disorderly house for the purpose of transmitting horse race bets. The refusal lets the conviction stand.

Refused for the second time to reconsider a decision rejecting claims for damages growing out of the 1947 Texas City, Tex., ship explosion.

Refused to review the case of seven Michigan businessmen involving Federal taxes on income derived from sale of surplus Army half-track motors. The seven contended the incomes were received by their wives in three 1946 transactions in which the husbands did not take part.

The President's Appointment List

By the United Press

President Eisenhower's calling list for Tuesday:

9 a. m.—Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.).

9:30 a. m.—Harry T. Madison, new National Commander of Jewish War Veterans, and Past Commander Frederick S. Harris.

9:45 a. m.—Hugh Johnson, New York, vice president of A. S. Barnes & Co., publishers, to present a book "Encyclopedia of Sports."

10:30 a. m.—At Shoreham Hotel, greetings to annual convention of United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Noon—Presents Harmon Trophy for aviation achievement to Col. Bernt Balchen, Mme. Jacquelin Auriol and Test Pilot William Massie.

12:45 p. m.—Representatives of the Booksellers Association to present 200 books for the White House library.

1 p. m.—Lunch with representatives of the armed services and civic groups in honor of USO-Pal week.

9 p. m.—Diplomatic reception.

Monmouth Chief Praised Suspended Radar Scientist

MONMOUTH—Fr. P. 1

no espionage group operating here.

"My mind is open," General Lawton added. He said he might have been unaware of spying "because such people are clever in their operations."

Only Comment on Probe

That is the only comment General Lawton has made on the inquiry. There is reason to believe that it caused irritation to the investigators. Sitting in with them was Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens who has made no comment whatsoever pro or con about "espionage," but has highly praised the subcommittee's work.

The 43 "missing" documents charge, plus the alleged close friendship of the man with members of the atom spy ring, has served as one of the strong reasons for leading many readers to believe that an extensive espionage ring has been operating here until it was personally "broken" by McCarthy in his current investigation.

Here is the information publicly available which can now be pieced toegther on the man involved in the "43 secret documents" incident:

The man is an electrical engineer who volunteered to serve as a Marine Corps radar officer in World War II. He has a distinguished career in Government service, in which he had a leading role in the development, design and installation of the radar sets used at the outbreak of World War II. He has been a key figure here in the conception, design and development within the laboratories of a coordinated system of defense to alert the Nation to the approach of enemy aircraft.

Removed from Secret Work

In January, 1952, apparently as a result of the accumulation of the charges listed below, he was removed from the handling of secret projects at Evans Signal Laboratory and placed on non-classified work. Evans is probably the most "sensitive" of the three laboratories here, which employ a total of 7800 civilians, and it is here that most of the suspensions have taken place. At Evans work is done in the fields of radar, nucleonics, meteorology, thermionics, and applied physics.

Because this specialist's case has featured so prominently in the allegations, and probably contains the strongest list of charges, it is presented here in length. The employe received a notice of suspension, dated September 23, 1953, from the Secretary of the Army, which states:

• "It has been reported that you associated with Morton Sobell and that in 1947 he listed you on an employment record as a reference known to him for 12 years. In 1951 Morton Sobell was found guilty . . . on conspiracy to commit wartime espionage and was sentenced to 30 years in prison."

• "It has been reported that you were an associate of Julius Rosenberg and attended a meeting of the Young Communist League with him in approximately 1937. In 1951 Julius Rosenberg was found guilty . . . of conspiracy to commit wartime espionage and was sentenced to death. The Young Communist League has been cited by the Attorney General as a "subversive," "Communist" organization . . ."

• "It has been reported that you have or had maintained a close association with reportedly suspected Comunist Party members or sympathizers including——and—— . . ."

• "It has been reported that you admitted attending several meetings of the Young Communist League while a student at the City College of New York and expressing approval of the theories of the Young Communist League."

• "It has been reported that in 1946, while you were employed at the Evans Signal Laboratory, 48 classified documents were found in your home and that on two other occasions during 1946, you attempted to violate security regulations by removing papers or bringing papers in the Evans Signal Laboratory without proper authorization."

• "It has been reported that in 1948 your sister's name appeared as a registrant with the American Labor Party."

Described as "Raid"

• "It has been reported that in 1946 and 1947, the name of your mother appeared as a registrant with the American Labor Party. The American Labor Party is referred to in these charges because of reports that it has been infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers from its inception and became dominated and controlled by the Communist element as early as 1944."

Sen. McCarthy, in giving his version of the documents incident, referred to it as a "raid," and expressed amazement at the employe's reinstatement. The Senator said the taking of "secret material at will" is a "direct and serious violation of Army regulations covering security material." McCarthy told reporters the same employe was "a close personal friend" of Julius Rosenberg.

In his sworn affidavit, the employe gives the past record on the documents charge, as summarized earlier in this article:

One day in 1946, he states, he was leaving the laboratory area to mail a registration card to the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. He states that he was stopped at the gate by a guard who asked for an explanation of the card and noted the employe's name.

That afternoon, the engineer states, two military intelligence agents talked with him in his superior's office and in the course of discussion, he was asked if he had any documents in his home. "I replied that I did—some documents which I was using in working overtime at home . . ." He said he was asked to serve a waiver permitting a search of his house, and did so.

"We then visited my apartment where I produced the following written or printed material: 13 unclassified documents, some of which were personal notes; 12 documents marked "Restricted"; 11 . . . marked "Confidential"; and 7 documents marked "Secret."

Mostly Declassified

The employe produced official information showing that only two of the documents should have been classified—as "confidential"—"while the remainder had been declassified. Every document which I removed from Evans Signal Laboratory was removed with proper authorization and in accordance with the procedure in effect at the time." The discrepancy between the 48 documents in the charge and the 43 reportedly involved was unexplained.

Letters in his case show he was suspended two weeks without pay during an investigation. He received an official reprimand, signed by Col. J. D. O'Connell, commanding officer of the Signal Corps laboratories.

Colonel O'Connell called the failure to keep the documents in a proper safe, and the failure to declasify them, "especially reprehensible in view of your long and outstanding record of achievement in the research and development of some of the most important radar sets used during World War II . . ."

Colonel Praises Motives

But in a separate, covering letter the colonel said: "In my opinion, the motives which led to your having had classified documents in your possession were highly praiseworthy. You have always had a high devotion to duty. Although the extenuating circumstances were very clear . . . the actual violation . . . cannot be condoned."

In answering the charges naming Rosenberg and Sobell, the employe said they attended City College of New York when he was there up to 1938.

He said the only time he ever saw Rosenberg was in the school laboratories except for one occasion, the Young Communist League meeting. The engineer said he attended one meeting, when he was 19, as a result of Rosenberg's "persistent" persuasion to do it and show he had "an open mind."

After listening to the conversation at the one meeting, the employe said, he realized there was no "free discussion" in a democratic sense and that the members were simply following instructions. He said he questioned Rosenberg about the procedure, and the explanations only served to convince him further that the Communists were "dominated by Moscow . . ."

He said he last saw Rosenberg at school in June, 1938, and "I had no further contact with him whatsoever . . ."

In the '30s, the engineer said, the Communist Party was very active on the CCNY campus. "Today, the nature of the Communist conspiracy is fully understood by Americans of all ages," said the suspended employe. "In the thirties this was not so; each individual had to find out for himself . . . After this (YCL meeting) experience I was never deceived by the activities of the Communists; in speech and in thought, I was and am anti-Communist."

As for Sobell, the engineer said his only association with him has been "limited to business or official relations. At no time did I have any social contact with him . . . At no time prior to his arrest did I know or suspect that he was either a Communist sympathizer, fellow-traveler, or party member."

Others Were Employes

Between graduation in 1938, and late 1946 or early 1947, he had "absolutely no contact" with Sobell, he said. His only association with Sobell from then until 1948, when he last saw him, the employe said, was when he saw Sobell at the General Electric Co. and later Sobell came to the laboratories as an official representative of the Reeves Instrument Co. He said he "cannot explain" why Sobell used his name as a reference he gave in 1947 to the Reeves Company.

The engineer said one of the two other men he is accused of associating with was a fellow employe who worked under him. After he last saw him in early 1948 or 1949, when the man went to work on secret contracts for a private firm, the engineer said, he heard "rumors" that "his wife was a Communist sympathizer and that he too might have been one. . . ."

The other "association" charge, he said, concerns another employe who in 1943 worked in the same section as himself with whom he had only "infrequent" business relationships.

As for his sister and mother's registration with the American Labor Party, he said his sister, except for 1948, has registered as a Democrat. The ALP supported Henry Wallace in 1948 and the employe said his sister later realized that "Wallace and many who supported him were dupes of the Communists."

He said he is sure his mother, "who is barely literate," did "not know that the ALP was dominated and controlled by the Communists when she enrolled under its label" in 1945, which he said he discovered, and also in 1946 and 1947, as charged. He said he convinced her to drop the registration.

Old New York Party

[The American Labor Party, mentioned in several of the charges, was originally the New York party which supported Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. Later, in the late '40s, it was accused of having been completely "captured" by the Communists. In 1944 the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House said the Communists "succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control." The party, however, is NOT on the Attorney General's "Subversive" list.]

In his affidavit, the engineer declared, "At no time in my life have I knowingly maintained a close association with any reportedly suspected Communist Party members or sympathizers."

He stated that instead of being a security risk, his record shows he has repeatedly made proposals to improve various phases of security, after his one admitted "carelessness" in failing to safeguard properly the 43 documents he took to his home.

"On the basis of my past record," he declared, "and what that record promises for the future, I submit that my separation from employment at Fort Monmouth is clearly inconsistent with the interests of national security in the highest sense of the term."

WEDNESDAY: A family of three, all employed at Fort Monmouth, are among those hit by the security suspensions.

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THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 L ST. N.W.
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NOV. 15-21

Republican Wins California Election

The Weather
Today—Some cloudiness, high 54 degrees; partly cloudy and somewhat colder at night and on Thursday. Yesterday—High, 52 at 2:25 p. m.; low, 42 at 4:40 a. m. (Details on Page 24.)

The Washington Post

FINAL

Seventy-Five Years in the Nation's Capital

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Truman, Tom Clark, Byrnes Subpenaed; Ex-President Scores 'Fake Crusaders'

Ike Pledges To Support Employes Of USIA

President Addresses Oft-Attacked Agency To Hike Morale After GOP Reorganization

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

President Eisenhower yesterday pledged employes of the once maligned and often reorganized United States Information Agency that he will back them up personally if they do their jobs properly.

Mr. Eisenhower made a mid-afternoon trip to the Interior Department auditorium where some 900 USIA workers were discussing "morale" problems with Director Theodore C. Streibert.

Outlines Policy

In an off-the-cuff speech he spelled out the new information policy he unveiled at the White House a fortnight ago—told USIA workers to show the world by example what America stands for, rather than resort to the usual forms of "propaganda."

He told employes of the tempest-tossed agency, which had been one of the favorite targets of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) and others before it was last reorganized in August:

"No one who serves in this organization with what his chiefs or his associates say is decency and to the best of his ability is ever going to suffer if I can help it.

"On the contrary, I shall try to do my best to pin the accolade of a 'well done' to every such person . . .

"I come here to say good luck to each of you, and this Administration is with you. Go ahead and do your chores, and you will earn everything the Government could possibly give you."

First Direct Action

Mr. Eisenhower has often promised to safeguard the integrity of the Civil Service system, but his personal reassurance to the USIA staff was the first direct action by the President to rebuild morale of a badly "riffed" agency.

Some 2000 employes have been let out of USIA's worldwide service agencies since August, reducing total personnel to some 7000. Since it came into being in 1948 under another name, the agency has been reorganized five times. It has had more than half a dozen "new bosses" in that time—three of them in the last nine months.

President Eisenhower dropped in to talk to the assembled staff just before Director Streibert held a question-and-answer period with the Washington employes. Streibert answered any and all questions. Many of them, at his request, were submitted in writing the day before.

What the USIA staff chiefly wanted to know was: "Is the RIF (Reduction in Force) over?" Streibert told them that so far as his organization was concerned, he thought he could say that it was.

Associated Press

Mele(e) in Brenda's Suite

When Brenda Frazier Kelly, heiress to millions, said a firm goodnight to Italian Movie Director Pietro Mele on the steps of her New York apartment, he didn't want to go home and a melee ensued, including three of New York's finest. At the donnybrook's end, Mele was dragged kicking and struggling from a bedroom in Brenda's apartment. (Story P. 9.)

Tramburg To Head Social Security

(Picture on Page 6.)

By Eve Edstrom
Post Reporter

John W. Tramburg, who gained Washington's confidence when he was District welfare director, yesterday was appointed Federal Social Security Commissioner.

The 40-year-old Republican from Wisconsin was named by President Eisenhower to succeed Arthur J. Altmeyer who drafted the Social Security program and had administered it since its beginning in 1935.

Altmeyer was "reorganized" out of the job when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare replaced the Federal Security Agency last April. The Social Security post then became an appointive position instead of a Civil Service job.

Tramburg's appointment is subject to Senate confirmation at the session starting in January. White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said Tramburg was recommended by both Wisconsin's Republican Senators, Alexander Wiley and Joseph R. McCarthy.

Since Tramburg resigned as District welfare director in January of 1950, he has been serving as executive director of the Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare. He also is chairman of the Council of State Public Assistance and Welfare Administrators.

One of Tramburg's chief reasons for taking the Wisconsin post was that it placed him at Madison which is only 22 miles from his home town of Fall River, Wis. But his leaving here was described as a serious loss in local welfare circles.

Tramburg came to Washington in 1939 as a Juvenile Court probation officer. Three years later he became assistant superintendent of the Industrial Home School for delinquent children. After service with the Navy, he returned as the school's superintendent in 1946.

Morale among the children at the ancient Wisconsin ave. institution was at a new low when Tramburg took over. Within six months, he had his charges in line and calling him a "good guy."

10-15% Rise Sought Here On Phones

By Don Olesen
Post Reporter

The Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. yesterday asked District Public Utilities Commission's permission to raise local rates between 10 and 15 percent for all types of service except pay stations and long distance.

The increase would affect 246,023 District subscribers—196,653 residential users and 49,370 business subscribers.

The increase would average out to about 70 cents on each telephone in the District—excluding pay phones, the company estimated.

A company spokesman said the new rates would bring in about two million dollars more each year in net income and boost the company's rate of return from the present 5¼ to 7 percent.

C&P complained of "a serious decline in its rate of earnings" in 1952 and so far this year.

Last May 13, the District PUC authorized the company to raise its pay phone rates in the city to 10 cents a call, and its monthly charge for each extension telephone to 60 cents, from 50 cents.

Now the company wants to raise its monthly flat rate charge to residential users to $6 from $5.25 for individual lines, and to $5 from $4.50 for two-party lines.

Message-rate residential subscribers who now pay $4.25 for individual lines would pay $4.75 under the new schedule. Residential subscribers paying the message rate for two-party lines would have their monthly charge raised to $3.25 from $2.75.

Magsaysay Ahead in Philippines

Quirino Strongholds Fall to Conqueror Of Huks in Race For Presidency

MANILA (Wednesday), Nov. 11 (AP).—Ramon Magsaysay, who crushed the Communist-led Huks in the Philippines, appeared headed for the presidency today. He had a huge lead over President Elpidio Quirino in unofficial tallies from yesterday's election.

Official tabulations were slow but put the former defense secretary ahead by more than 400,000. He was reported cracking some of Quirino's supposedly strongest provinces.

A late unofficial national tabulation gave Magsaysay (Mag-sigh'-sigh) 638,013 votes to Quirino's (Ka-Ree'-no) 219,735.

A late unofficial Manila count gave Magsaysay 178,848 and Quirino 44,157 from 1492 of 1500 precincts.

The commission on elections estimated the voting would run more than 85 percent of the Philippines' 5½ million registered voters.

Constabulary (National Police) headquarters in charge of preserving order said the election appeared to have passed peacefully as a whole despite bloody melees in Cavite Province, where six persons were killed. Two others died elsewhere.

Returns showed Magsaysay, the Nacionalista Party candidate, was shattering tradition on Mindanao in the far south where the remote provinces of Lanao, Misamis Occidental and Sulu always have voted for incumbents. He was gaining the lead in all three provinces.

Quirino, who campaigned largely on an issue of alleged American intervention, also was trailing on Luzon in some sectors of his so-called "solid north."

In other contests Magsaysay's Nacionalista-Democratic coalition was running well ahead of the Liberal incumbents.

In the vice presidential race Nacionalista Carlos P. Garcia led his Liberal Party opponent Jose P. Yulo, 299,009 to 116,518, on the basis of early returns, including Manila.

Seven Nacionalista-Democratic senatorial candidates were leading Liberal rivals for eight seats. Senators are elected at large and not by districts. Only one Liberal was among the high eight.

A total of 102 members of the House of Representatives was being elected. This race appeared close with one tabulation showing 29 Nacionalistas leading. Twenty Liberals and one Independent were ahead in other districts.

Quirino Liberals control the House while the Nacionalistas already control 11 of 24 Senate seats.

Republican Wins Race In California

Arnold Concedes As Lipscomb Takes Lead of More Than 7500 Votes

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 10 (AP).—Democrat George Arnold late tonight conceded the election of Republican Glenard P. Lipscomb in today's special election in the Twenty-fourth California Congressional District.

"I should like to congratulate Mr. Lipscomb first as the candidate and winner and second to pay my personal respects to him as an individual.

"The campaign was hard fought, clear and fair. As Democrats we are not afraid to take a licking, for we fought very hard for the principles in which we believe."

Returns from 206 precincts out of 221 gave Lipscomb 39,847; Arnold 32,220; John L. E. Collier, Republican, 3461, and Irving Markheim, Democrat, 1062.

Lipscomb hailed his asserted victory as a vote of confidence in the Eisenhower Administration and the record of the Eighty-third Congress, "proving that the people are desirous of continuing the Administration's accomplishments of the past 10 months."

The Twenty-fourth District, comprising South Pasadena and a section of northeast Los Angeles, has been consistently Republican for years with only one recent exception. Norris Poulson, who resigned to become mayor of Los Angeles, won both nominations in June, 1952 with 43,418 votes to a total of 6069 for three Democratic candidates.

The Democrats had an advantage of 6402 in this year's registration of voters, with 75,289 registered Republicans in the district to 81,691 Democrats.

Kaiser Will Sell Willow Run to GM for $26 Million

By the Associated Press

Kaiser Motors Corp. yesterday announced it will sell its huge Willow Run plant to General Motors for $26,000,000 and pay it on its debt to the Government.

With the sale, the manufacture of all Kaiser cars will be moved to the Toledo plant of Kaiser's new subsidiary, Willys Motors, Inc.

President Edgar F. Kaiser said the proceeds, plus an additional $613,000, will be paid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC).

This will reduce the Kaiser debt to the Government to $18,640,000.

At one time Kaiser owed $74,789,843 on various loans including the one which financed purchase of the plant.

Willow Run was built by the Government as a World War II armament plant. Kaiser said his company had put about 23 million dollars into it.

Takes 'Off-Cuff' Slap At Probes in Speech

By Edward T. Folliard
Post Reporter

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—Former President Harry S. Truman tonight took a crack at "fake crusaders" who dig up records of the past to hide their "political failures" of the present.

Mr. Truman obviously was referring to the latest "spy case" sensation — Attorney General Herbert Brownell's charge that Mr. Truman promoted Harry Dexter White, "a Russian spy," even though he had a 1945 FBI report exposing White's activities.

The former Chief Executive's swat at fake crusaders, old records, and political failure was off-the-cuff. It came near the end of a prepared speech in which he charged that the American Government was "yielding to hysteria" over communism. He said that unless our national leaders stand firm against panic, "we are in for some bad times."

He described as "ridiculous" the talk that he was sometimes "soft" in dealing with Communists when he was in the White House. He said he moved relentlessly against all of our enemies, at home and abroad, but also sought to preserve the rights of the individual.

Looking up from his manuscript, Mr. Truman said:

"Now I'm rather skeptical of fake crusaders who dig up records of the past to try to cover

See TRUMAN, Page 4, Col. 4

Truman, Beaming, Disconcerts Photog

NEW YORK, Nov. 10 (AP).—Harry S. Truman, subpenaed in the White case, beamed broadly tonight at the banquet in his honor. A photographer protested:

"You're fouling me up. My office told me to get a picture of you looking glum and all you have done is smile."

"You're not going to get a picture of me looking glum," Truman said. "You can tell them I said they should go to hell."

Sought Bentley-Red Link

Paper Says 500 FBI Agents Vainly Probed White for Year

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 10 (AP).—The Newark Evening News said today that 500 FBI agents quietly worked for a year on the Harry Dexter White case in a futile attempt to establish contact with suspected Communists in Government through Elizabeth Bentley, meanwhile making no move against White.

At the end of that time, the News said in a Washington dispatch by Arthur Sylvester, the FBI "gave up the operation" in January, 1947, and White and 30 others in the Government "were dismissed."

The News said "FBI suspicions against White were alerted when Elizabeth Bentley, confessed courier for a Communist espionage ring, went to the FBI in 1945 and first told her story."

During the year that followed, the newspaper quoted an unidentified former official close to the White case, "every effort was made to put Miss Bentley back into her Communist espionage contacts.

"No move was made all year by the FBI against White or any other suspect. In line with usual practice the agency did not want to arouse the suspicions of persons on whom it was checking.

"However, by January, 1947, the official said, the FBI concluded it couldn't reestablish Miss Bentley's contacts and gave up the operation.

"Whereupon White and the 30 others were dismissed."

The News, still quoting the former official, said Miss Bentley's story was the only information the FBI had on White and she was the sole basis of the FBI reports against him.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell has said FBI reports on White were sent to Truman Administration officials in 1945 and 1946—at the time the unidentified official says FBI agents still were checking the Bentley story.

Red Embassy Is Spy Center, Groves Says

CHICAGO, Nov. 10 (AP).—The wartime head of the atom bomb project declared today Russia is operating "active espionage centers" in Washington and at United Nations headquarters. Lieut. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, retired, asserted he thinks "it is a terrible thing" to let Russia operate such centers in this country.

"I am referring to places such as the Russian Embassy in Washington and the United Nations," Groves said, adding:

"We know that the Russian Embassy was involved in espionage during World War II. In fact, espionage went on throughout the country because of our weak-kneed policy of permitting Russian nationals to travel unimpeded throughout the United States."

Groves spoke before a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Illinois Manufacturers Association. He also discussed atomic power development for industrial use.

Queen Mary in Drydock

SOUTHAMPTON, England, Nov. 10 (AP).—The liner Queen Mary moved into drydock today for her annual overhaul. She will be out of service until December 17.

Democrats Say House Unit Took Action Without Their Approval

FOREMAN of White grand jury says 'hands were tied.' Pg. 5.

BISHOP OXNAM 'regrets Truman was subpenaed.' Pg. 4.

MITCHELL DECLARES GOP acted "in desperation." Pg. 4.

By Frank R. Kent, Jr.
Post Reporter

Former President Harry S. Truman, Supreme Court Associate Justice Tom C. Clark and Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina were subpenaed yesterday to appear before the House Committee on un-American Activities to answer questions concerning the late Harry Dexter White, accused of Communist espionage.

Mr. Truman was served the committee summons in New York yesterday afternoon. He accepted the subpena and indicated he may appear on Friday. Gov. Byrnes, former Secretary of State, accepted his summons to appear Thursday but refused to say whether he would comply.

It was learned late last night that Justice Clark, former Attorney General in the Truman Administration also had been served a committee subpena in his Supreme Court offices to appear on Friday. There was no indication whether he would honor the summons.

Action Believe Proper

A committee source last night said although it was believed Clark could not be called to testify about any matter before the court he could be questioned concerning events occuring during his Attorney Generalship.

The committee summons to all three men resulted from charges by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr. that White, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, had been advanced to the post of executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund although two FBI reports concerning his alleged Red activities had been forwarded to the White House before his appointment.

Although Mr. Truman was reported to have accepted his summons calmly in New York, the opposite was true of Democratic members of the committee in Washington. Many of them complained that they were not consulted before the issuance of the subpena.

Walter Traces Details

Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), ranking minority committee member and one of the most influential members of the House, said he learned about the summons in the following manner:

"About 4 p. m. Monday my secretary called me in my district and told me General Vaughan (Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to President Truman) had been subpenaed to appear before the committee Tuesday morning. A newspaperman had told her.

"I called the committee clerk, (Thomas W. Beale, sr.) and he said he knew nothing about it. Then I called the committee

See WHITE, Page 4, Column 1

Armistice Day Rites

President to Honor War Dead In Arlington Ceremony Today

(Picture on Page 3.)

The Nation today will honor its war dead, with President Eisenhower leading in ceremonies at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery.

At 11 a. m., the hour at which World War I hostilities ceased, the traditional minute of silence will be observed. At 11:01, the President will step forward to lay the Presidential wreath at the Tomb.

Armistice Day is a holiday for Federal and District employes. All banks in the District and nearby Maryland and Virginia—with the exception of those in Alexandria—will be closed. Most schools will remain open.

School officials said public schools in the District and Alexandria will be closed, as will all parochial schools in the Archdiocese of Washington.

Public schools in Arlington, Fairfax, Prince Georges and Montgomery Counties will hold classes. Parochial schools in Arlington and Fairfax and Alexandria—except St. Mary's, St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Academy—will be open also.

Yesterday—the 178th birthday of the United States Marine Corps—the country's war dead were honored in wreath laying ceremonies at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

A red and gold flowered Marine Corps emblem was placed

See DAY, Page 3, Col. 4

14 Lost as Plane Falls Into Sea

TOKYO, Wednesday, Nov. 11 (AP).—A United States Navy amphibious patrol plane with 14 men aboard crashed in the Korean strait between Japan and Korea yesterday and no survivors have been found, the Navy announced today.

U. S. Officials in Naples

NAPLES, Italy, Nov. 10 (AP).—United States Air Secretary Harold E. Talbott and Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Air Force chief of staff, arrived here from Rome today for conferences at NATO's southern European headquarters. They were accompanied by Lieut. Gen. David M. Schlatter, commander of Allied air forces for southern Europe.

With Daisy-Chain Footnotes

Reading One's Way Into Guilt By Association Is New Chapter

Third article in a series

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

FORT MONMOUTH, N. J., Nov. 10.—In one of the most far-reaching examples of "guilt" by association" charges ever made in a security case, an electrical engineer here, let's call him "John Doe," is accused of having "favored the 'leftist' policies" of a newspaperman and author whom he doesn't even know personally.

Furthermore, his brother, a chemical engineer, who will be called "William Doe" here, also has been suspended for having, among other things, this brother, "John Doe," who allegedly "favored the 'leftist' policies" of the writer in question.

And in addition, "Mrs. John Doe," the wife of the first engineer, has been penalized by removal from classified work and transfer to nonsensitive duty. This action, presumably, was taken because she has a husband, "John Doe," and brother-in-law, "William Doe," linked together, and linked to her, in the same unique accusations.

The three employes, their attorneys, and many of their coworkers have expressed bewilderment at what is referred to as the "daisy-chain" form of "guilt by association."

They ask how far this kind of "association" theory will be

See MONMOUTH, Pg. 13, Col. 1

Today is Real Deal Day . . .

Some wonderful buys in used cars are advertised today in the Post classified section. The area's most reliable dealers are offering hundreds of Armistice Day Specials that will save you plenty on clean, late model jobs. Get a real deal TODAY—it may be your best chance to buy before winter gets down to business. To save time, trouble and money—pick your make, model and price right now in The Post classified columns.

Wagner Appoints Administrator

NASSAU, Bahamas, Nov. 10 (AP).—New York City's Mayor-elect Robert W. Wagner, jr., today named Luther H. Gulick to serve as city administrator. The appointment is contingent on adoption of legislation required to set up the new office.

Wagner said the administrator would not have the power of appointment, and added that the budget director would continue to report directly to the mayor and the Board of Estimate.

Chest Drive Lagging; Action Urged. Pg. 23

GERM WARFARE "confessions" by former American POWS cannot be excused because of "pressure" conditions, Defense Secretary Wilson says. Page 2.

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Security Case 'Daisy Chain' Involves Kin of Accused

MONMOUTH—Fr. Pg. 1

extended in the processing of security cases:

Will it be applied also to distant relatives and friends who work in the Government?

Will coworkers of suspended men come under suspicion, in turn, because they work with a man, or the brother of a man, accused of favoring the policies expressed by a writer who may be regarded as "leftist" by some persons, but who is legally within his rights in expressing those opinions?

The two suspended engineers are among the at least 30 employes still under suspension at this Army Signal Corps Center as a result of the sensationally-publicized dual investigation conducted by the Army and by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.).

Following are the full sets of charges against the brothers, as received from the Department of the Army in letters dated October 13, 1953: Charges against the first brother, "John Doe," an electrical engineer, a veteran and Federal employe for nine years—

• "You favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner, who was affiliated with or a member of several organizations cited as Communist or Communist fronts."

• "You listed as areference ——, who was reportedly a member of the Young Communist League, and who was suspended in 1951 on security grounds."

Additional Charges

• He is accused also of being in "close and continuing association" with his brother, who is accused of the additional charges listed below.

"William Doe," the chemical engineer, also a veteran and Government employe for five years, faces these charges:

• "You are reported to have stated to a fellow employe in 1949 that you 'fell for the Communist Party propaganda' while in the military service during World War II."

• "You are reported to have stated that you attended a rally in Yankee Stadium, New York City, in 1948, at which Paul Robeson spoke."

• "You are reported to have signed a Workers Party Nominating Petition in 1940, circulated on behalf of ——. The Workers Party has been designated as an organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450 (President Eisenhower's order creating the present Federal Employes Security Program).

• "You listed in 1949 as a reference——, whose name appeared on the mailing list of the Civil Rights Congress and the American Council for a Democratic Greece, both cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist. ——is also reported to have been treasurer of the American Association for Scientific Workers . . . cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.

"John's" Reported Deeds

• "Your brother, ("John Doe"), with whom you are in close and continuing association, is reported to have:

"a. Favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner, who was affiliated with or a member of several organizations cited as Communist or Communist fronts.

• "b. Listed as a reference—who was reportedly a member of the Young Communist League, and who was removed from employment in 1951 on security grounds."

"Mrs. John Doe," the wife of the first man, the electrical engineer, is among a group of at least 12 employes who have been stripped of access to classified information, without charges being placed against them.

In "John Doe's" reply to the charge that he "favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner . . .," he pointed out that if contained no definition of "leftist," which means all things to all men.

"Max Lerner," he said, "is a noted lecturer and writer . . . He is essentially a critic and observer whose interests range through things political, social, religious and economical . . . Thus, what he states or writes cannot be considered policies, in the sense of a political platform, but rather opinions of an individual . . . I respect Max Lerner's ability to cover so wide a range with intelligence and intellectual honesty . . . This does not mean that I sustain his opinions but rather his approach . . .

"However, the charge implies that Max Lerner reveals those political attitudes which endanger this Nation by favoring communism. That, I believe, is far from true. He has consistently in his writings and lectures condemned brain-washing, slave labor, Kremlin-led conspiricies and tyranny. In this I support him. If his opinions were otherwise, I would damn them. Mr. Lerner is a liberal, so am I . . ."

"Why this charge?" "John Doe" asked hypothetically, and replied: "It seems that several years ago the Men's Club of Red Bank, N. J., sponsored a series of lectures at the Mechanic Street Public School in Red Bank. One or more of these lectures was delivered by Max Lerner . . . It is significant that before Mr. Lerner could speak he was cleared as acceptable by public school authorities and that his lecture was attended by prominent local citizens of Red Bank," including, the employe said, the mayor. "I categorically deny," he declared, "that Mr. Lerner expressed any 'leftist' policies in his lecture . . ."

"I do not know Mr. Lerner personally," said "John Doe," "and know of no organizations, subversive or otherwise, in which he may have membership. I further deny sympathetic association with any person who is a member of or is affiliated with a subversive organization."

"It should also be added," he said, "that I have read Walter Winchell in the 'Daily Mirror,' John O'Donnell in the 'Daily News,' the Alsop brothers and Walter Lippmann in the 'Herald Tribune,' Hanson Baldwin in the 'New York Times.' I read NOT out of sympathy (but) . . . to understand and reserve the right in each instance, as with Mr. Lerner, to criticize and disagree."

Abhors Communism

[In New York City yesterday, Lerner, who is a columnist for the New York Post, and professor of American civilization at Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., commented: "My writings speak for themselves. Anyone who has read me knows what abhorrence and contempt I have expressed for communism—both in the Kremlin and in America—as well as for our own political adventurers. The Communists know it, too, which is why I have been the target of frequent and continuing attacks in the Communist press."]

As for the association with the man listed as a reference who was later found to be "reportedly a member of the Young Communist League" and suspended, "Mr. A" said that in 1948 he had lunch with the man several times in an office group. The coworker, he said, had offered to give him checks for Veterans Insurance premiums to avoid the bother of a money order.

The engineer said he has not seen this man since December, 1950, had no political discussions with him, or suspicions about him, and the man at the time was a "cleared" employe at the Coles Signal Laboratory here.

The brother, "William Doe," replying to the remainder of the charges against the pair, said the statement that he "fell for the Comunist Party propaganda" was a distortion of remarks he made about wartime Army orientation films depicting the "gallant stands" of our World War II Russian allies at Stalingrad and other battles. As noted earlier in this series, a remark such as "I fell for" the Communist Party propaganda appears on its face to be one that only an anti-Communist would make.

Attended 1948 Rally

The employe said he did attend the Yankee Stadium rally in 1948 as charged—along with many thousands of other spectators. He said "it was mere chance" that he was on the way to a film show, when he heard that former Vice President Henry Wallace would speak there, and was curious to hear him. He said he did not even know Robeson was to appear.

He said he has no knowledge of having signed a petition for the Workers Party, and knows nothing about that group; he said it was "a complete shock and surprise" to him to hear that a man he listed as a reference, a fellow chemical engineer, has reportedly belonged to subversive groups, and the employe said he "obviously" would not have listed him had he known of that.

Another employe, a top rank electrical engineer since 1935, and like many of the suspended employes, a graduate of City College of New York, faces charges which involve association with his brother-in-law, his wife, his sister, and several other persons.

His brother-in-law is accused of being an official of the Communist Party in New York City in 1949-1950. The suspended engineer said he has seen him only rarely; once tried to "dissuade" him from "pro-Communist sympathies" he expressed, and when he confronted the brother-in-law with the charges in the engineer's suspension letter, on instructions from his attorney, the brother-in-law refused to talk about them.

This man's wife, an employe here from 1942 to 1944, was accused of being a member, in 1944, of the United Federal Workers of America—which the engineer flatly denied. He said his sister "cannot recall" signing Communist petitions, as charged.

The engineer, also accused of attending and helping to prepare for a rally of the New Jersey Independent Citizens League, held on the property of a reported Communist member, said he went as a spectator only to hear Henry Wallace speak. He said he had no knowledge the rally was held on an alleged Communist's property. The name of one of the men with whom he is accused of associating with, the suspended engineer said, "is completely strange to me"; two others, he said, were co-workers whom he never suspected of pro-Communist views.

It was men like these whose cases are summarized in this series of articles, who were rushed before the McCarthy subcommittee meeting behind closed doors in New York City last month in an atmosphere of a dramatic expose.

One was an employe in the radar section of the laboratories here, who was in the group which had been stripped of access to classified documents. The man, it was announced sensationally, as medical attendants rushed about, and the press waited anxiously, had "broken down" under questioning, and had promised to "tell all."

The man apparently did have a collapse. According to information here, the reason for it was that his mother had died two or three days before his appearance—and the combination of that and the questioning caused his collapse.

The implication was that the man was providing key information about the subject at issue—espionage. From all information available here, however, his testimony concerned only persons he had known and involved nothing of a sensational nature.

Access Restored

The man has since been returned to his regular status in the radar section of the laboratories, and his access to classified information has been restored, it was learned.

One of the known suspension cases contains an actual charge of past Communist membership although that is denied in a sworn affidavit. This case, concerning an engineer, was processed long before the McCarthy subcommittee publicly entered the scene, and a hearing date was originally set for November 12, but a request is pending to postpone it because the man was injured in an accident recently.

He and his wife are charged with having been "dropped by the Neptune Branch of the Communist Party" in Brooklyn, in 1940, in order to enter "mass" organizations. He says he simply attended dances of a social club in a building where a Young Communist group later met and continued to hold dances, some of which he may have attended.

Other charges against him are that he signed Communist Party nominating petitions in 1941, which he said he may have, but he contended that was investigated by the FBI when he first came here and he was given the job; that an alleged Communist used his name as a reference (he said it was without his knowledge); and that his sister-in-law signed Communist Party petitions.

Another case points up an issue which was raised with the Defense Department about two months ago, and drew a reply in apparent contradiction to the policy shown in one of the current suspensions.

A Defense Department directive—which goes far beyond defining the standards for security than they are set out in President Eisenhower's security order—provides that a "close continuing association" with a subversive individual can be held to exist "even though later separated by distance, if the circumstances indicate that renewal of the association is probable."

A Defense official was asked at the time if it could mean that where a student in college knew a professor who was subsequently believed to be a subversive, would the student then come under suspicion?

The official said that was a highly unlikely hypothesis. Yet one charge against a man who has just received his suspension notice, appears to state such a case. It is:

"While attending Brooklyn College you were a member of the Physics Club in 1949, of which Prof. —— was the faculty adviser. It is reported that Prof. —— had been dropped from her position at Brooklyn College because of her failure to testify before a congressional committee concerning membership in the Communist Party."

There is no allegation in the charge that the student was influenced by the professor, or even agreed with her views. The professor figured in Senate hearings this July, long after the employe was graduated.

The same employe is one of several against whom there are unusual charges of having been an "officer" in the American Veterans Committee. As noted in the first article of this series, the American Veterans Committee, composed largely of World War II veterans, it not listed either by the Attorney General or the House Un-American Activities Committee, and includes many distinguished Americans, among them several members of Congress, and President Eisenhower as an honorary member.

Actively Anti-Communist

Despite this, and the fact that the AVC has been officially and actively anti-Communist for many years, the statement of charges from the Department of the Army asserts, in this case:

"While attending Brooklyn College from 1947 to 1949, you were an officer of the American Veterans Committee at the college. The leadership of that organization is reported to have been influenced by Communists and to have followed the Communist line in its activities and publications. It is also reported that the faculty adviser of that organization in 1947 had refused to testify before the Rapp-Coudert Committee, which was an official New York State legislative committee investigating communism in New York schools."

AVC, early in its career, was open to all members, including Communists, as were many organizations. The group, however, later cleaned itself of the Communist fringe. In this charge, and in charges involving several other groups, the Army has made no distinction between someone who was in a group in which there were Communists, and persons who were pro-Communists in those groups. The assertion in a formal Army charge that AVC is "reported" to have "followed the Communist line in its activities and publications" has amazed many persons in the AVC.

THURSDAY: Effects of the Fort Monmouth investigation.

Union Gets New Safeway Offer

Safeway Stores yesterday proposed an alternative one-year contract after the AFL Warehousemen's Local 730 turned down its offer of a three-year "package" settlement in a move to stay a threatened srike.

A walkout by the warehousemen, affiliated with the AFL Teamsters Brotherhood, would tie up 150 Safeway stores within a 25-mile area around Washington.

Safeway's latest offer—details of which have not been divulged—will be placed before a rank and file meeting Saturday.

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Armistice Day is a time for remembering . . . the supreme sacrifices of brave men, fighting to preserve our democratic way of life. Armistice Day is a time for firmly resolving that these noble sacrifices shall not have been in vain. It is a time for alerting ourselves to eternal vigilance against all enemies of freedom, everywhere . . . for renewing our determination to keep America forever strong . . . forever worthy of its heroes, whose memory we honor today.

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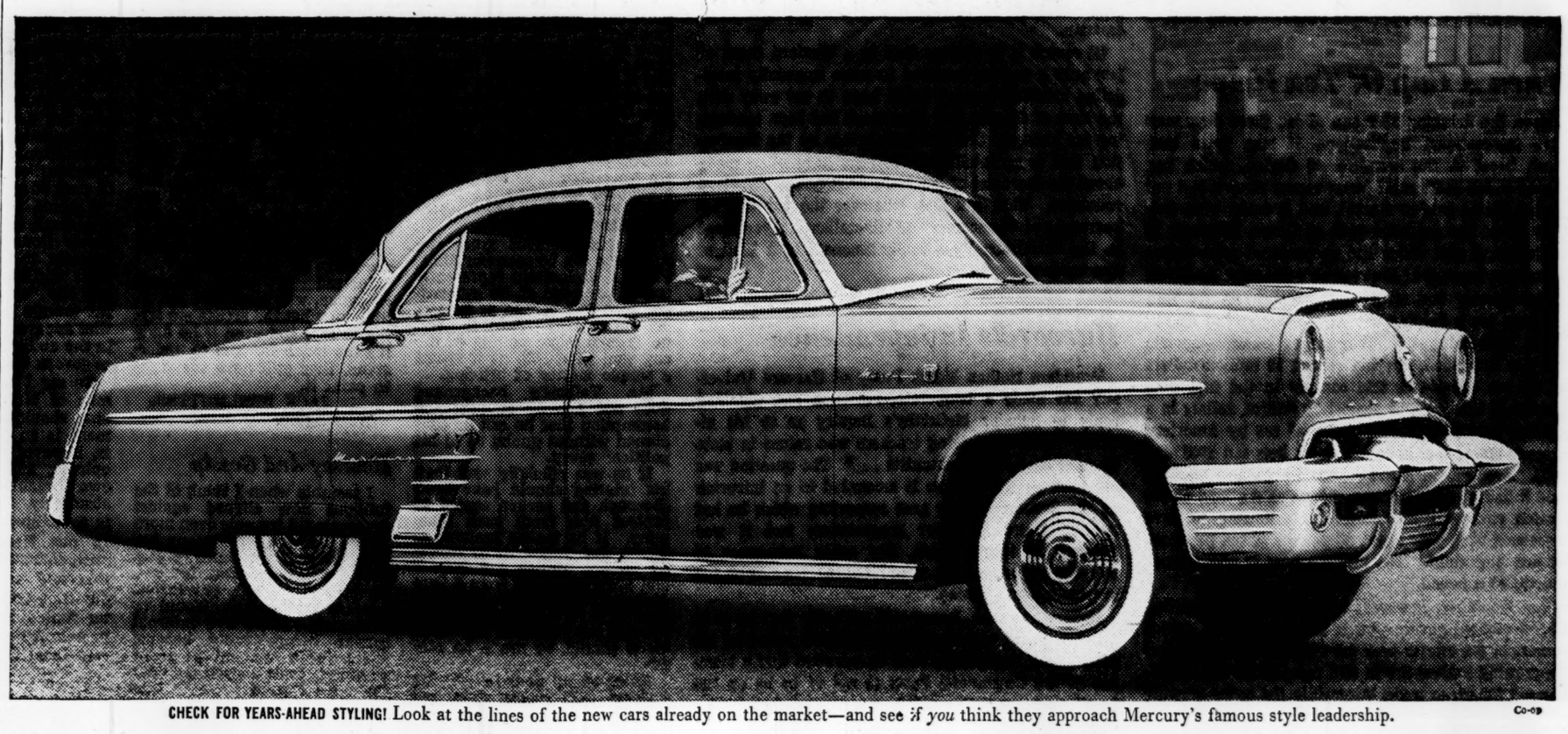

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The Weather
Today—Some cloudiness and cooler, with highest temperature about 50 degrees. Friday—Generally fair and cool. Yesterday—High, 58 at 3:15 p. m.; low, 33 at 5:55 a. m. (Details on Page 18.)

The Washington Post

FINAL

Seventy-Five Years in the Nation's Capital

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Truman Subpena Splits Probers; Rift May Delay Calling Him Here

U. N. Votes Full Debate On Atrocity Charges

Vishinsky Attacks U. S. Demand as Effort to Torpedo Korea Peace Parley

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Nov. 11 (AP).—The U.N. Assembly overrode Russian objections today and called for a thorough discussion of American charges that the Reds tortured and killed thousands of soldiers in "inhuman warfare" in Korea.

The delegates voted 53-5 for the formal debate in the full Assembly, but did not set a date. Only the Soviet bloc voted against the debate. India and Guatemala abstained.

The Indian delegate, V. K. Krishna Menon, said he would not take part in the discussion or vote on any resolution put up by any side on atrocities. He said India is concerned in Korea now as chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

United States Chief Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge urged the Assembly to hear the American case. He later arose and shouted that Russia's Andrei Vishinsky was going too far in a heated speech of opposition.

The Assembly president, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, twice tried to halt Vishinsky, but he roared on despite her oral spankings.

He charged the Americans put up the atrocity charges in an attempt to torpedo the Korean peace conference. He said the Americans actually were the culprits because they bombed and killed "innocent women and children" and even some prisoners of war. At the end, he said Lodge had not made a case for Assembly action.

Lodge tried to answer Vishinsky, but Mrs. Pandit said he could speak fully when the debate began. She said he had made his case.

Lodge listed these four reasons for the Assembly to consider the charges of atrocities:

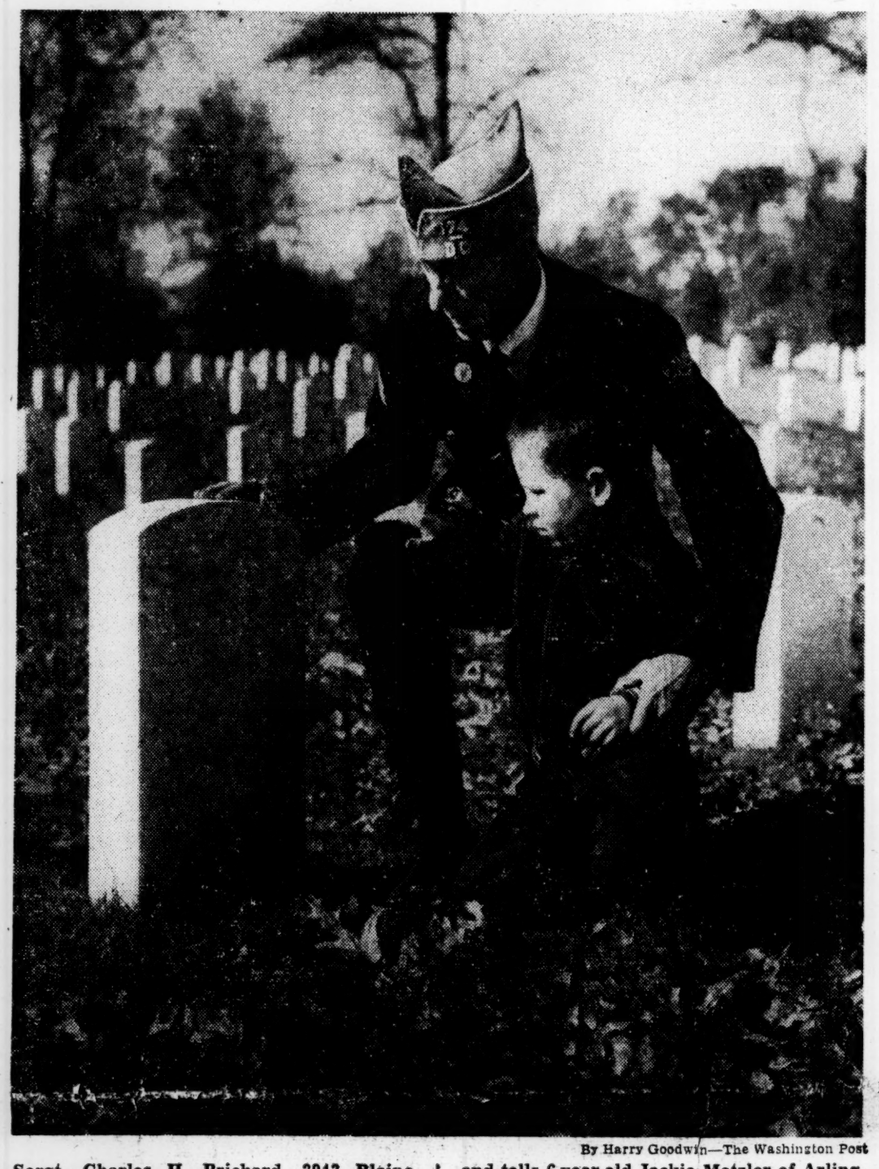
1. The acts were committed by forces engaged in military aggression, so recognized by the U. N.

2. The acts were committed against the military forces sent by the United Nations to repel that aggression as well as against the people of the country the aggressors were trying to conquer.

3. These acts "by their very nature—mass murder and many other heinous acts—are of a character which grossly violates principles of common humanity and decency."

4. The forces that committed these acts still stand today, fully mobilized and fully armed, north of the demilitarized zone in Korea.

Selwyn Lloyd of Britain briefly supported the American demand for debate. Poland's Julius Katz-Suchy indorsed Vishinsky's position.



By Harry Goodwin—The Washington Post

Sergt. Charles H. Prichard, 3943 Blaine st. nw., kneels among the rows of crosses in Arlington Cemetery on Armistice Day and tells 6-year-old Jackie Metzler of Arlington about the men who fought and died for their country in World War I.

Eisenhower Pays Homage To War Dead

President Eisenhower, at 11 a. m. yesterday, stood with head bare and bowed before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and paid a minute's silent homage to the dead of America's wars.

Then he placed the Presidential wreath at the base of the Tomb and fell back a few paces. Again he faced the white marble shrine to stand at attention as the notes of Taps filled the air and faded away down the slopes of Arlington Cemetery.

Behind him were his aides and civilian and military chiefs of the services. Behind them were massed the colors. Honor guards of all services flanked both sides of the Tomb. Looking on were thousands of citizens who, with the President, had come to honor the memory of men who died in battle.

Thus was the traditional tribute paid by the Chief Executive as another Armistice Day came around—the thirty-fifth such Armistice Day since World

See DAY, Page 13, Col. 1

Monmouth Morale Menaced

Many Scientists Fear Probes Will Affect National Defense

(Last in a series of four articles.)

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

FORT MONMOUTH, N. J., Nov. 11.—Many scientists here who have not been touched personally by the widespread security suspensions fear that the manner in which the Army and Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) have conducted the dual investigation will have serious effects on science in Government, and in turn, on national defense.

Morale is a difficult thing to measure, especially at a base like this, which is a series of installations scattered over a 15-mile area in northern New Jersey.

Senator McCarthy and Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens have given public assurance that morale here is "good." But there are physical signs which demonstrate the shock to morale caused by headlined implications that this Army Signal Corps Center is a nest of espionage agents:

• Some employes remove the "Fort Monmouth" license tags from their automobiles on leaving the signal center after work, to try to avoid being publicly associated with it in the present state of public alarm.

• A number of other employes, when visiting coworkers whom they believe are under investigation, or who have been suspended or transferred to the so-called "leper colony" of nonsensitive work, park their cars several blocks from their friends' home and walk the rest of the way, to escape a taint of suspicion by association.

• Some scientists have stated privately that they plan to resign at the first opportunity. One reason several of them have not done so, it is reported on good authority, is that they fear they may be under investigation now, and if so, want to clear their records before taking private employment.

That is not to say that this base, which includes far more military than civilian personnel, is "seething with discontent," or even that the civilians are, en masse, "demoralized." The morale problem has hit in the area most directly affected—the smaller but key groups of highly trained physicists, engineers and technicians.

Most of these men are in specialized lines of work which is performed either only in the Government, or in private firms working on Government contracts.

Washington officials have emphasized that no one has a "right" to work for the Government. That is not challenged here. But there is also a vital personal side to the loyalty-security issue, which affects scientists and many other groups. An adverse security finding against them, or even a failure to win "clearance" as a good security risk, can exclude them just as effectively from private firms which handle classified Government contracts as it can from the Government itself.

In effect, this can mean for some that they will be barred from employment in the work in which they have been educated and trained. For this reason, many scientists both in and out of Government have a direct, vital concern with

See MONMOUTH, P. 15, Col. 1

Ike Frowns On Subpena For Truman

Says He Wouldn't Have Done It; Also Doubtful About Call on Clark

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

President Eisenhower said yesterday it is inconceivable that former President Truman knowingly appointed a Communist spy to a high Government office.

He retorted with an explosive "no" when asked if he thought Mr. Truman knowingly took such action in the case of the late Harry Dexter White.

He further told a rough-and-tumble news conference:

That he personally never would have subpenaed former President Truman—and probably not Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark either—as the Un-American Activities Committee has done.

No Question of Loyalty

That he rejected any premise that Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., impugned the loyalty of the former President. He said Brownell never told him that Mr. Truman saw the FBI papers—he had merely said they went to the White House.

That Brownell will have to handle the White case in his own way and that he (Mr. Eisenhower) would not color or prejudice the case in advance. But in no event will he be a party to what looks like rank injustice to anybody.

That he believes every American should oppose ideologies designed to destroy our form of Government, but in so doing should not use unjust, un-American methods. If we use those kinds of defenses we will only destroy ourselves.

Mr. Eisenhower faced 175 reporters, all eager for facts on the White affair. It was a tense, 20-minute conference devoted almost entirely to Attorney General Brownell's dramatic charges before the Executives Club in Chicago last week.

Some Referred to Brownell

The questions flew thick and heavy and Mr. Eisenhower appeared a little annoyed as the drumfire kept up. Toward the end he told some of his interlocutors to put their queries directly to Mr. Brownell. But the questioning went on. Mr. Eisenhower finally cut them off, by serving notice he was answering his last question.

He tangled at one point with Raymond Brandt, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, when Brandt started to put a whole series of questions at the request of his office. The President said there were a lot of other people who wanted to ask questions. Brandt said the questions were all pertinent. Mr.

See IKE, Page 4, Col. 3

White Case Developments

GOV. JAMES F. BYRNES outlines his reasons for refusing to comply with a House Un-American Activities Committee summons to testify before it today. Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) wires Byrnes a subcommittee will go to Columbia, S. C., to question him about the White case. Page 6.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT says United States "moral climate" has changed, placing the White case in a different perspective from that of 1946. Page 6.

AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT of yesterday's White House news conference with President Eisenhower's comments on the Truman-White case. Page 7.

TEXT OF ATTORNEY General Herbert Brownell's statement yesterday on the Byrnes-Truman-White issue. Page 2.

MOSCOW RADIO declares the United States has established a new "record of stupidity" by subpenaing former President Truman. Page 4.

MRS. BESSIE BLOOM releases Morgenthau and Snyder letters praising her brother, Harry Dexter White. Page 3.

JEFFERSON, subpenaed in much the manner of Harry Truman, defied the call as an attempt to destroy the balance of power in Government, and thereby set up safeguards which have survived for nearly a century and a half, says Irving Brant, the distinguished biographer of Madison. Page 8.

WHEN THE BROWNELL-TRUMAN smoke clears away, it will be quite obvious that one was not a traitor and the other was not a liar. The battle is not a test of veracity, but a test of opinion. Page 8.

Brownell Says Memorandum Backs Byrnes

By Frank R. Kent, Jr.
Post Reporter

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., yesterday said the Department of State had furnished him a memorandum supporting the statement of James F. Byrnes that the White House was informed of the alleged Red connections of the late Harry Dexter White before the Senate confirmed him as United States executive director of the International Monetary Fund.

At the same time, Brownell appeared to step back sharply from his Friday charges against former President Truman. Referring to the statement he made last week in Chicago, the opening gun in the storm of controversy, Brownell said yesterday:

"There is no intention of impugning the loyalty of any high official of the prior Administration."

He said he had only charged laxity, and believed that that was the case in the White House handling of the White appointment.

Now Governor of South Carolina, Byrnes was Secretary of State at the time Brownell charges the FBI twice sent reports on White's alleged Communist connections prior to his appointment to the Monetary Fund post. On Monday Byrnes said he had received a report on White from a representative of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, the day before the Senate confirmed White's nomination to the new office.

Byrnes said the following day, February 6, he saw President Truman and discussed with him the allegations of White's Communist affiliations. He said he proposed to Mr. Truman several methods of preventing White from holding office. This was the day the Senate confirmed White's nomination.

In a statement released late yesterday afternoon, Brownell

See WHITE, Page 2, Column 1

Give 'em Hell, Messages Urge Truman

By Edward T. Folliard
Post Reporter

NEW YORK, Nov. 11—Former President Harry S. Truman was being advised today to "put on the brass knuckles" and to "give 'em hell" again in a showdown in Washington on the spy-case uproar.

The advice was contained among hundreds of telegrams that poured in on Mr. Truman today. Some of these were from people who said they were Republicans and who wanted to tell him they were ashamed of the way the GOP had treated him.

However, at a late hour tonight, Mr. Truman's plans were undisclosed; that is, he had not announced whether he will or will not appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The supena he accepted Tuesday told him to show up at 10:30 a. m. Friday.

Chairman Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) wants to question the former Chief Executive about Attorney General Herbert Brownell's charge that he gave an important job to Harry Dexter White, "a Russian spy," even after the FBI "delivered" a report to him through his military aide exposing White.

Mr. Truman is not the least bit upset by the hullabaloo he finds himself in. He was angry at first but he seems to have cooled off. This is surprising to some who call on him in his thirty-fifth floor apartment in the Waldorf-Astoria. They find him variously serene, amused and jolly.

"I haven't had so much fun since 1948," he says.

This remark is a clew to all of his thinking about Brownell's charge that he favored a traitor. He sees it simply as a political maneuver—a "desperate" maneuver by Republican strategists to cover up the Republican Administration's fail-

See TRUMAN, Page 2, Col. 4

Party Lines Drawn Tight In Row Over White Case

Velde Meets Apart With Republicans As Democrats on Committee Chafe

By Edward F. Ryan
Post Reporter

A bitter political storm yesterday threw the House Committee on Un-American Activities into high confusion over how and when it will get into its probe of former President Truman's role in the Harry Dexter White case.

The storm blew up a big question about whether Mr. Truman will actually be questioned here Friday in accordance with a committee subpena served upon him for his appearance that day. The same question applied to the subpenaing of Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark for a hearing Saturday.

The question of how and when Mr. Truman will be heard may be resolved by a committee meeting today.

No hearing of testimony is expected today.

The entire matter was left up in the air last night by conflicting communiques from the two political divisions of the committee.

Republicans Meet Alone

Divided they were. The Republicans—three members and two staff men—met together most of the afternoon in the Virginia apartment of Chairman Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.). All that time the Democrats stayed in their Capitol Hill offices, waiting in vain to get in touch with Velde or to hear from him, and fuming at their failure.

The inability of the Committee Republicans and Democrats to establish communications with each other by last night left the way open for another committee to raise the curtain today in the White probe.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee will meet in executive session today at 10:30 a. m. and 2 p. m. to quiz Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, who was President Truman's military aide. The hearing may be thrown open to the public at 2:30. When opened, the hearing will be televised by WTOP-TV, and by the American Broadcasting Co. Columbia Broadcasting System said it planned to broadcast portions of the hearing later. The National Broadcasting Co. said it would not carry the hearing "live" and Dumont television said it had not made up its mind.

Joint Quiz Hinted

Velde's chief counsel, Robert Kunzig, had told Democratic members of the Un-American Activities Committee, according to Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), that a joint Velde-Jenner quizzing of Vaughan would make "a more juicy hearing." But a spokesman for Sen. William E. Jenner's group said last night it had been decided to omit Velde from today's proceedings.

The Senate and House quizzes stem from last week's charge by Attorney General Herbert Brownell that President Truman nominated White for a better job a month after FBI reports alleging "espionage" activities by White had been sent

See REACTION, Page 2, Col. 5

Cabinet-Level Membership

U. S., Canada Agree to Set Up Joint Economic Affairs Board

OTTAWA, Nov. 11 (AP).—Canada and the United States have agreed to set up a joint economics board to iron out common trade problems without resorting to restrictive action, reliable sources said tonight.

Informants said the membership will consist of top ranking Cabinet members. Announcement of the unique board, which will guide joint Canada-United States trade policy in the same way that joint defense policy is guided through the permanent joint defense board, may be timed with the arrival of President Eisenhower. The President is due Friday for a two-day state visit.

The idea first was brought up during Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's conference with the President in Washington last May.

Creation of the board may do away with the future need of Canada's protesting against American import restrictions such as those imposed on dairy products.

And, instead of the United States threatening to impose import curbs on Canadian oats because of American surpluses, the problem of shipments would be brought before the board, which would then recommend a method of solution to both governments before the matter became one of public protest.

There is more trade between Canada and the United States than between any other two countries.

Of Canada's some $4,300,000,000 worth of exports to the world last year, more than half went to the United States, which in turn provided more than half of Canada's total imports of approximately four billion dollars.

Canada has recently protested and criticized U. S. policy on a number of points.

Under FBI Agreement

Paper Says Truman Prepared to Show White Was Shifted to Fund Job for Surveillance

CHICAGO, Nov. 11 (AP).—The Chicago Daily News said tonight that former President Truman is prepared to answer Republican charges with the assertion that Harry Dexter White was shifted to another job so he could be "better kept under surveillance."

The newspaper, in a dispatch from Washington by Edwin A. Lahey, said it was presenting for the first time the answers Mr. Truman plans to make in the White case.

Lahey wrote that "the late Harry Dexter White was moved out of his security-important job as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury early in 1946 precisely because his loyalty to the United States was under suspicion."

"White was nominated to a technical job in the International Monetary Fund (which he helped to create) under an agreement between the FBI and the late Fred M. Vinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, on the theory that White could be better kept under surveillance in this job," Lahey said.

The dispatch said that Mr. Truman, "in effect, is ready to agree with (Attorney General Herbert) Brownell, in general, but has gathered some blistering material to support his reasons for doing what Brownell in his Chicago speech termed 'incredible'."

Lahey wrote that Mr. Truman also is assembling "some crusty remarks" to direct at Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, who said he urged the former President to withdraw White's nomination because of an FBI report labeling him a Communist spy.

Lahey said Mr. Truman's response to Byrnes would be:

"The FBI report, pulled together on the basis of Elizabeth Bentley's statement, contained about 80 names of suspected Soviet agents in the Government.

"Alger Hiss was the prominent figure in that report. Harry Dexter White was mentioned in passing.

"Hiss was then in the State Department, and Byrnes was Secretary of State. How come Byrnes was so concerned about White, when he subsequently cleared Hiss?"

Lahey said it was "believed certain that the former President would stand on his first statement that he never did see the (FBI) report."

The dispatch said the Truman Administration actually ordered a sweeping investigation of Communists in Government on the basis of the FBI report. But it said the FBI in a year of work found no more than the "uncorroborated word of Miss Bentley."

Get Your Book Lunch Tickets Today

Today's the last day that tickets for the Washington Children's Book Fair luncheon will be on sale at local bookstores. From then on tickets will be sold at the front counter, Washington Post Building, 1515 L st. nw. Guests at the 1 p. m. luncheon this Saturday in the Statler Hotel will hear Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and children's favorites Marguerite Henry, Lynd Ward and Munro Leaf. Luncheon guests also are invited to attend a preview showing of the Book Fair, displaying more than 1500 of the best and newest juvenile books, at the Post building. The fair, which runs for a week, opens to the public at noon this Sunday.

Photos of Ol' Miss Grid Stars, Page 31

MARINE WING involved in accidental bombing deaths of GI. P. 11.

CALIFORNIA victory hailed by President Eisenhower and GOP as indorsement of Administration policies. Page 3.

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Brownell Says He Has State Dept. Memo Supporting Byrnes' Statement on White

WHITE—From Page 1

said he had received from the State Department a copy of a memorandum dated February 5, 1946, the day on which Byrnes recalls receiving the FBI report.

The Attorney General said the memorandum "confirms, from the records, the statement made two days ago by Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Brownell said he believed there had been laxity, but he did not intend to impugn the loyalty of any high official in the prior administration.

He quoted the memorandum he said Byrnes sent Mr. Truman as follows:

"Memorandum to the President:

"The enclosed letter addressed to Mr. Frederick Lyon of this department by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, and the enclosures referring to Harry Dexter White by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover I deem of such importance that I think you should read them.

"J.F.B."

On Monday, in a statement amplifying his original charges made Friday in a Chicago speech, Brownell said copies of the first FBI report on White went not only to the White House but to Mr. Truman's top aides. He listed them and the dates the copies were sent.

Lyon at the time was chief of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation for the State Department. He was among those listed by Brownell as receiving a copy of the report, but according to the Attorney General's Monday statement, the report was sent Lyon on March 15, 1946. Byrnes' copy of the report was sent December 4, 1945. Byrnes said Monday he had been out of the country a great deal in December, 1945.

Brownell yesterday said that Byrnes' memorandum to Mr. Truman on February 5 "shows that Harry Dexter White's espionage activities were known to the White House and other Government agencies before Senate confirmation and before his promotion to the important position of executive director of the International Monetary Fund."

In his Monday statement, Byrnes did not use the word "espionage." He used the phrase "affiliations with Communists."

The Attorney General issued his latest statement in the White controversey at 5 p. m. yesterday, several hours after President Eisenhower held a press conference. The President said it was inconceivable that Mr. Truman as President knowingly would damage the United States.

Brownell's Statement On the White Case

By the United Press

The text of a statement by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., on the Harry Dexter White case:

"The Department of State has furnished us a copy of a memorandum dated February 5, 1946 which confirms, from the records, the statement made two days ago by Gov. James F. Brynes of South Carolina.

"This memorandum from Secretary of State Byrnes to President Truman shows that Harry Dexter White's espionage activities were known to the White House and other Government agencies before Senate confirmation and before his promotion to the important position of executive director of the International Monetary Fund The memorandum reads as follows:

"'Memorandum for the President:

"'The inclosed letter addressed to Mr. Frederick Lyon of this department by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the enclosures referring to Harry Dexter by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the inclosures referring to Harry Dexter White, I deem of such importance that I think you should read them.

"'J. F. B.'

"The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security has requested the Attorney General to furnish information in the possession of the Department of Justice concerning the laxity of the prior Administration in dealing with Communist infiltration in Government. The information requested will be furnished to the committee as promptly as possible.

"In charging that there has been laxity, which I believe to be the case, there is no intention of impugning the loyalty of any high official of the prior Administration.

"That there was laxity now seems beyond question in view of the record in the Department of State which shows that former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes seen the FBI report detailing the disloyalty of Harry Dexter White to the White House prior to White's confirmation by the Senate and assumption of office.

"It thus appears that, in addition to the copy of the FBI report concerning White which was sent to the President through General Vaughan, this second copy was sent to him by the Secretary of State with a special request that he read it."

SPECIAL NOTICE

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NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Jacobs Transfer Company of Baltimore will be held at an office of the Company at 61 Pierce Street, Northeast, Washington, D. C., on the fourteenth day of December, 1953, at three o'clock in the afternoon for the following purposes, to wit: 1. The election of directors, and 2. The amendment of the by-laws, and 3. The transaction of any other business that may properly come before said meeting. By HARRY L. GRUBBS, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer and General Manager.

REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER
. . . says Velde didn't call him

Dissension Among Probers May Delay Calling Truman

REACTION—Fr. Pg. 1

to General Vaughan for Mr. Truman.

The FBI report was made in December, 1945. The following month Mr. Truman nominated White, then assistant secretary of the Treasury, to be executive director for the United States in the International Monetary Fund. White died in August, 1948, shortly after denying to the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been a member of an elite Communist underground ring.

Democrats on the Velde committee said they are convinced Mr. Truman intends to testify before the committee. The Democrats were gratified at President Eisenhower's press conference declaration that he personally would not have subpenaed Mr. Truman, and that he felt it was inconceivable that his predecessor would knowingly have appointed a Communist spy to high office.

Representative Walter told newsmen that Mr. Eisenhower's position "indicates he has less regard for partisan politics than some of those around him, including some members of Congress."

Senator Jenner said late yesterday that the hearings opening today with Vaughan as a witness represent a follow-up of a committee report last July 30, to find out "how it was that nine important officials of Government obtained advances and promotions in the face of derogatory security information."

He named the nine as Alger Hiss, Conrad Glaser, Frank Coe, Victor Perlo, Maurice Halperin, Edward J. Fitzgerald, Harry Magdoff, Irving Kaplan, and White.

Meanwhile, Velde late yesterday had his congressional office issue a statement saying he would call his committee into session as soon as two additional members from California arrive in Washington. The members are Donald L. Jackson (R) and Clyde Doyle (D). Velde said he would issue another statement today about hearing Vaughan, who had been subpenaed by the House group for the same hour as the Jenner hearing.

Committee Democrats promply challenged Velde in a letter saying that Representative Doyle earlier in the day had been told by Committee Counsel Kunzig, in a long-distance telephone conversation, that there was no reason for him to return to Washington this week because no hearings at all would be held.

Doyle told the United Press in Long Beach, Calif., he was making no plans to go to Washington Friday because he was informed the hearing for Mr. Truman would not be held then.

Democrats on Velde's committee, in their letter to him last night, said: "We respectfully request that we be informed immediately as to whether or not hearings will be held this week."

Velde said in the statement issued by his office that "I have been in contact with Governor Byrnes and have accepted his suggestion that a subcommittee take his testimony in South Carolina. The date will be arranged."

Democrats on Velde's committee were particularly bitter at his failure to get in touch with any of them yesterday after his noon arrival in Washington. The three who waited for some call from Velde that never came were Reps. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder (D-Mo.) and James B. Frasier, jr. (D-Tenn).

Walter set up a new round of comments when he told reporters that Mr. Truman as President had no greater access to FBI information about White than "the present occupant of the White House" did as Chief of Staff. According to Brownell a copy of the FBI report about White that was sent to the White House was addressed to the Chief of Staff, then General Eisenhower.

Also according to Brownell, Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, then Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, got the copy. The White House said Mr. Eisenhower did not recall seeing the report, and Walter did not make clear what the Chief of Staff could have done about it if he had seen it.

Democrats on the committee still were protesting that Velde's subpenaing of Mr. Truman, Governor Byrnes and others violated a committee rule that major new investigations can be launched only by a majority vote of the nine-member committee.

Velde's view was reported to be that this is not a new investigation, but merely the continuation of one launched several years ago.

Walter said the earlier investigation had been concluded by a unanimous committee report on August 27, 1948, in which it found "no charge of Communist Party affiliation was made against Harry Dexter White."

In Chicago Adlai E. Stevenson warned "impetuous politicians" of the impact of their "disrespect and reckless procedure" in issuing a subpena for former President Truman, the United Press reported.

In Baltimore, Senate Majority Leader William Knowland (R-Calif.) told a $50-a-plate fund raising dinner that the White case "has gone beyond the point where the personal desires of anyone in or out of office should be allowed to curtail or obstruct the securing of all the facts."

Gov. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin of Maryland, also attacked Mr. Truman with a charge that an FBI report on White named "at least 12 other Communists" who were working for Russia in the Democratic Administration, the Associated Press reported.

McKeldin protested that "Mr. Truman did nothing about them until the Administration was forced to act by Congressional committees.

TRUMAN—From Pg. 1

Truman Gets Many Messages Urging Him to 'Give 'Em Hell'

ure to balance the budget, bring down the cost of living, handle the farm problem, and make good on other 1952 campaign promises.

He is amused by the efforts of some—newspaper editors included—to make a cause celebre out of the matter and to treat it as something of historical significance.

He has thought from the beginning that it was a foolish mistake on the part of the GOP high command, and one that they might ultimately regret.

The news from Washington today—that President Eisenhower said he was opposed to the subpena and that it was inconceivable to him that Mr. Truman would knowingly befriend a Russian spy—was regarded by Mr. Truman's associates as a smart move.

It was suggested that President Eisenhower may have been hearing from the country, and that what he heard wasn't good.

Some of those who called on Mr. Truman thought that President Eisenhower's remarks were an indication of his innate decency. Still, they thought it was a reflection on his leadership that he would permit Brownell to make such an attack on a former President.

One of the reasons Mr. Truman has been reluctant to talk much about the Brownell charge since he arrived in New York has been a hunch that the charge would boomerang.

Why, it might be asked, has he not made up his mind about going to Washington and testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

The answer would appear to have something to do with his conception of his role as a former President of the United States. Although his political foes would disagree, he has a deep respect for the office he held for seven and a half years. He seems to be thinking how he can handle the subpena matter without disturbing the dignity that attaches even to a former President.

Mr. Truman has received plenty of advice as to what he should do, and the burden of most of it is that he ought to go after his accusers with everything in his repertoire as a political warrior.

He even gets advice when he goes out for his early-morning walk. This morning cab drivers stopped to yell at him in friendly fashion.

"Give 'em hell, Harry," cried one.

"Don't let 'em scare you down there," yelled another.

"They won't—don't worry about that," Mr. Truman said, smiling.

Mr. Truman talked again today with Samuel Rosenman, who was White House counsel in the Roosevelt Administration and for part of the Truman Administration, and also with Charles Murphy, who later held the same job.

They advised him evidently that while he might be obliged to answer the subpena of the Velde Committee, he had a perfect legal right to refuse to talk about his acts as President.

Some of his friends think that, if he appears in Washington, he ought to remind the committee of this right, but then "go on from there." What they mean is that he should tear into the Republican high command, tie it up with "McCarthyism," and raise hell generally.

Mr. Truman just smiles and keeps his own counsel.

He was surprised and amused today to read a headline in a New York afternoon paper which said: "Truman derides spy case as work of GOP 'snollygosters'." It grew out of his walk this morning. As he came out of the hotel, he found about 30 reporters and photographers waiting for him.

"I thought I'd be able to take my constitutional unnoticed," he said.

He smiled and then added:

"But the snollygosters ruined me this time."

It was not clear whom he had in mind, if anybody in particular.

A reporter asked him what snollygoster meant.

"A snollygoster," he explained, "is the Southern word for a man born out of wedlock."

Funk & Wagnall's defines snollygoster as "slang, local U. S.—a pretentious, swaggering, prattling fellow."

However, H. L. Mencken in his "The American Language" says snollygoster means "a fellow who wants office, regardless of party, platform or principles."

The last time Mr. Truman used the term was in a campaign speech at Parkersburg, W. Va., on September 2, 1952. At that time his aides said it meant a "poltical shyster."

All in Battery D Got a Shot at Foe

(Special to The Post)

NEW YORK, Oct. 11.—Harry S. Truman returned from an early morning walk today to find Eddie Jacobson, of Kansas City, waiting for him, and soon reminiscenses started flying. They served together in the First World War. It developed that on Armistice Day in 1918, Captain Truman of the Artillery wanted all in his Battery D to feel they had done some fighting.

So, before 11 a. m., when there was a little time left, he called up the cooks and others in unexciting jobs to pull the lanyards and send shells into the German lines. Thus, all come home able to say they'd had a crack at the enemy.

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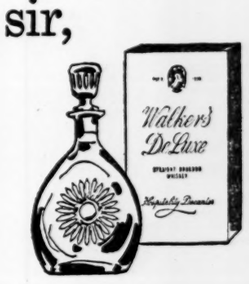

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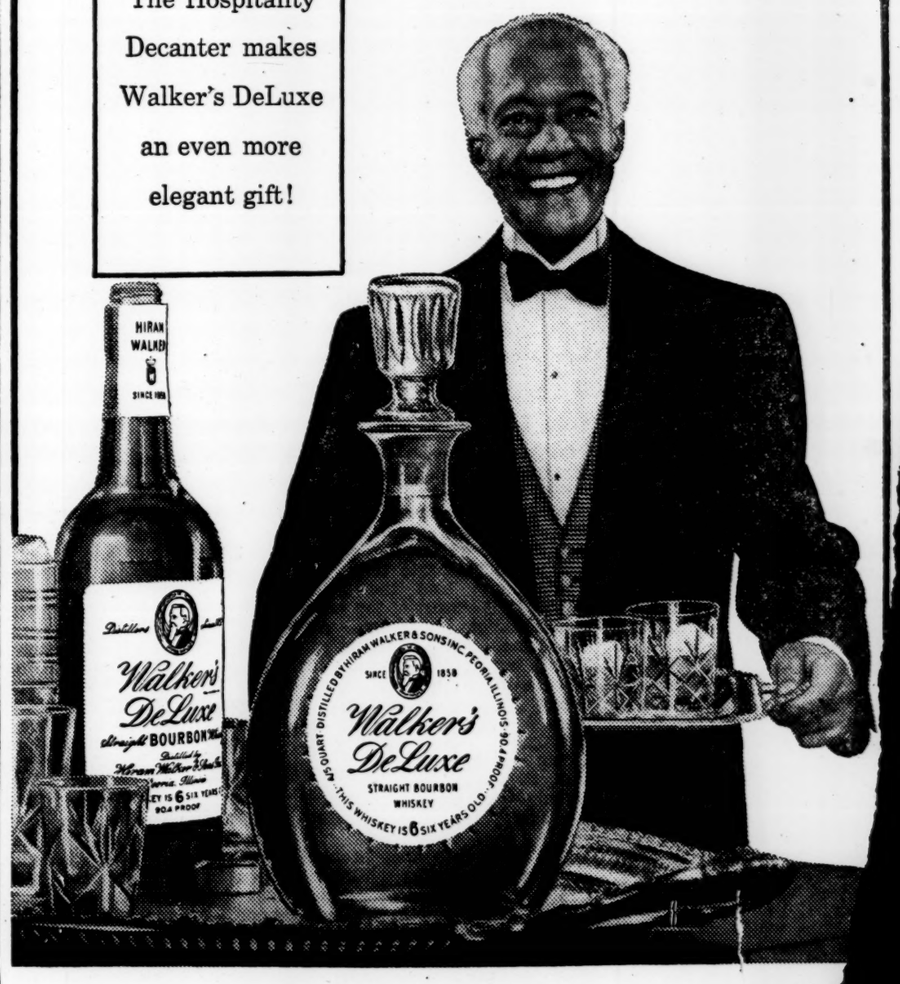

Today And Tomorrow . . . By Walter Lippmann

Provisional Germany

BONN.—Now that the doors have been closed to German unification and withdrawal of the foreign armies, the relations between Bonn and the other Western governments will certainly become very close. But the relation can never be a simple one. For although the federal republic is already a great European power, the partition, the dismemberment, and the continuing occupation put it in an abnormal position. Even though the maintenance of things as they are is for the time being the policy of all concerned, it is impossible to imagine that the partition of Germany can last forever.

Lippmann

For this reason the current relations between West Germany and western Europe, and the various projects and arrangements, are in their very essence provisional and tentative. They cannot be taken for granted as if they were the permanent structure of Europe. They will require constant vigilance, effort, persistent tolerance and understanding, and much ingenuity to make out of what is so provisional something that will be good and durable.

A CASUAL American visitor to Germany can only too easily acquire a false complacency. The German material recovery since the war is brilliant. The results, as seen against the hideous remains of the bombing, are a prodigy of organization and of technological genius and of hard unremitting work. The mood of the people as the foreign visitor encounters it is very cheerful and friendly. The ardor and sincerity of Adenauer's foreign policy is beyond all question, and his government is one of the most coherent and efficient in the Western world.

The new Parliament contains no revolutionary or irreconcilable party. On the main issues of policy abroad and of the maintenance of constitutional order at home, the Social Democrats differ from Adenauer on tactics and specific measures rather than on purposes and principles. They are a constitutional opposition.

There is no evidence now of important popular discontent with the regime. The Communists are negligible and the neo-Nazis, who would be the leaders of German disaffection, are for the time being fairly quiescent and without a large mass following.

Those who have reason to know agree that the internal situation is not likely to change as long as the industrial boom continues. While the boom lasts, the mass of the people are preoccupied with restoring their private lives, which were shattered by Nazism and the war.

IT IS, I believe, fair to say that the postwar Germany that the West admires and trusts is still like a fairly thin crust over a fluid mass. The leaders and policy-makers inside and outside the Government are an elite minority of men who withstood Nazism and yet survived it. They now have the authority and the prestige of government. But they do not have them unconditionally.

They have revived a prostrate country and they have made powerful friends abroad for what was an outlawed country. But it would be superficial to suppose, and no serious German I have spoken to does suppose, that they have acquired the kind of instinctive and habitual following which the army enjoyed for some two centuries.

DOWN UNDER the crust of what one might call the European and democratic elite, there are still the cadres of the old officer corps and of the Nazi Party. Virtually all the men from 35 to 50 years of age who will now become the leaders of Germany, started or made their careers under Hitler, and at least with the consent of his regime. Those from 25 to 35 years of age were educated and indoctrinated under Hitler. They are now supporting the new order and are taking their direction from the new elite who run it. But who is convinced, who is fully converted, who is conforming and who merely acquiesces, no one can say. No serious German believes that what is going well enough in this time of boom and so soon after the shock of war could be counted upon in time of adversity.

It is this condition of things which accounts for the passion, and the overtone of almost desperate insistence, with which Adenauer and his intimate collaborators plead for the European army and for European integration. They believe that this is the only way in which the German nation can be kept surely within a democratic order if hard times return.

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GRIN AND BEAR IT By Lichty

"You'll find this a very human organization . . . we have office intrigues . . . office jealousies . . . office scandals . . ."

Problem of Security . . . . By Marquis Childs

Will Red Issue Be Used to Increase It?

IN THE midst of the bombardment of statements and counter-statements on the burning issue of communism in Government it might be well to ask what has been done in the past year and what can be done in the future about the basic goal to which all this must be pointed if it is to be anything more than an exercise in shrill and bitterly divisive politics. That goal is, of course, the continuing improvement of security within the Government.

Childs

This question was raised by Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) when she was asked to comment on the charges brought by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., against former President Truman. Senator Smith said she was deeply shocked by the accusation that Truman had promoted Harry Dexter White after the FBI had sent a report to the White House showing him to be a Soviet spy.

But Mrs. Smith went on to wonder, with a slight note of acerbity, what had happened to a bill she had introduced early in January calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party. That measure had been introduced by the Senator from Maine after long and careful consideration of the objections frequently raised against outlawing the party.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL question is also raised in that to outlaw a political party would violate a fundamental American freedom. Senator Smith concluded that this objection would not hold inasmuch as the party has been shown to be not a political party in the American sense but a conspiracy directed from Moscow.

What seemed to the sensible lady from Maine so paradoxical was that a Communist or a former Communist cannot serve as a clerk in Government under loyalty-security regulations. But a Communist can run for President of the United States. In any event she hoped that her bill would result in public hearings which would air the whole question of communism above ground and under ground.

Senator Smith's bill, along with more than 30 other measures dealing with communism were referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee and in the normal procedure the committee sent them to the Department of Justice for consideration and recommendation.

But since the Department of Justice did not respond during the session of Congress ending in July, no action was taken on any of the measures dealing with communism. On October 12, Senator Smith's office wrote to ask the department why nothing had been forthcoming. Ten days later the reply came that the staff was working hard on the bills.

Outlawing the party may not be the answer. The objections raised by law enforcement agencies should be duly considered. But there are areas in which further steps must obviously be taken.

ONE SUCH area is shown up in the latest report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. This committee, of which Senator William Jenner (R-Ind.) is chairman, has, under the direction of chief counsel Robert Morris, done the most thorough and careful documentation of many phases of the Communist conspiracy both in and out of Government. The report just released deals with Communist-dominated unions and the threat they offer to security.

Last spring the National Labor Relations Board again certified the American Communications Association as the bargaining agent for Western Union in the New York area. The acting chairman of the board, Ivar H. Peterson, in a letter to Jenner, pointed out that under the law the board had no choice after a majority of the employes had voted for the ACA, and suggested that further legislation was essential.

Several unions dropped from the CIO for being Communist-dominated are still the duly elected bargaining agent in industries where secret defense work is going on. One such union is the United Electrical Workers. Strategic telegraph lines from the Pentagon and the Navy Communications Center pass through Western Union's New York office.

This also raises a delicate and difficult problem. That is to eliminate the hold of Communist-dominated unions in certain key spots without endangering free trade unions. Senator John M. Butler (R-Md.) has a bill in Congress to permit the Subversive Activities Control Board to take jurisdiction over unions found to be subversive. Butler is chairman of a subcommittee holding hearings in Pittsburgh on this proposal. But the Butler bill is so crudely drawn as to jeopardize all unions, in the view of those who have studied it. Destroying the rats without burning down the house is more difficult than it seems.

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Many Scientists Fear Probes Will Affect U.S. Defense

MONMOUTH—*Fr. Pg. 1*

the manner in which the Government's security program is administered.

One charge against a suspended scientist here, as noted earlier in this series, states that he "held the official position of representative of the Association of Monmouth Scientists to the national organization of the Federation of American Scientists" which sponsored the "Shore Conference on Atomic Energy on May 15, 1947.

The man is charged with attending the conference and having "introduced the speaker of the evening, —— ——, reported to be the founder of the American Peace Crusade and the husband of a reported Communist Party member."

The charge goes on to state that, "The American Peace Crusade has been reported by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, as an integral part of the Communist 'peace' offensive. The Association of Monmouth Scientists and the Federation of American Scientists are reported to have been infiltrated by Communists or Communist sympathizers."

It was pointed out in these articles that the Federation of American Scientists, successor to the Federation of Atomic Scientists, has never been cited by either the Attorney General or the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and includes many of the Nation's distinguished scientists in atomic research, and virtually every other field of science.

The man accused in the charge has replied that he had not met the speaker he presented at the 1947 Shore Conference until a few minutes before he introduced him, but know him as a university physicist who "had worked at Los Alamos on the final stages of construction of the A-bomb. . .

"Because he had the highest clearance to perhaps the most important military secret of all time," the suspended man said, "I had not the slightest suspicion that he was, or would be, a Communist or Communist sympathizer."

"I looked up the American Peace Crusade," the scientist continued, "and found it was organized in the early part of 1951, almost four years after the meeting in question. The American Peace Crusade is thus irrelevant. I was opposed to it because I considered our intervention in Korea a necessity . . ."

"The rest of the charge alleges Communist infiltration of the Federation of American Scientists and the Association of Monmouth Scientists." the employe continued. "It is logical," he said, "to assume that the federation might be a target for Communist infiltration and that a small number of such individuals may have possibly become affiliated with it."

"The situation," the scientist said, "is analogous to when Gen. Bedell Smith said essentially the same thing about the Central Intelligence Agency. But it is as silly to exhibit the federation as a kind of quasi-subversive group, as the charge does, as to assume that anyone connected with the Central Intelligence Agency is necessarily a poor security risk."

"Common sense tells us that the CIA is not a subversive group," he said, "and common sense, looking at the goals and program of the federation, its achievements and its sponsors, tells us that any infiltration of the federation was necessarily small or negligible and had no effect on its policies. The same is true of the Association of Monmouth Scientists. . . . Beyond a shadow of a doubt, Communist control of the two groups in question is a myth."

The same Fort Monmouth scientist also is charged with having attempted "to transmit a technical article written by you to a professor in Czechoslovakia."

That charge is true, the man replied, but "the circumstances show it to be evidence that I am a good, rather than a poor security risk."

"A short article by me was published in a scientific journal which circulates all over the world and goes to Iron Curtain countries as well as friendly ones. The article, of course, had been properly cleared for publication."

About a year after its publication, he said, "a request was received from a professor in Czechoslovakia for a reprint. It is a customary scientific courtesy to accede to such a request. I could have simply mailed the reprint and nobody would have been the wiser."

"Instead," he said, "I discussed the matter with my superior, ——, who concurred with me in the belief that security was not involved as the article was available behind the Iron Curtain, and that a reprint and some pro-democratic propaganda in the covering letter should be sent."

"I wrote such a letter, and sent it through proper channels," the scientist said. Transmission of the letter and reprint, he said, was approved by his own superior, by the technical director of Evans Signal Laboratory, and by the top director of research for all the laboratories here.

The documents, however, were not transmitted to Czechoslovakia, said the scientist, for it was eventually decided that "security did not permit them to be sent out. I thought this was the wrong decision and said so, but did not send out any reprint on my own."

"In short," he said, "the 'attempt' was made in response to a request and through proper channels. It seems to me a malicious distortion of the truth to represent the incident as evidence of my being a security risk."

Other examples of charges and answers could be cited at much greater length, but this series of articles has presented a fair cross-section of all the known charges and answers, including some of the "strongest" and some of the "weakest."

It should be stressed again that it is entirely possible that during the post-World War II years, espionage was committed at this important security center, as at others, and evidence ultimately may be produced to bear that out.

It should also be reiterated that it is conceivable that espionage right now is being committed here and in any other important agency of Government.

What can be said definitely, however, is that despite the sensational headlines, and the deluge of innuendo broadcast at the conclusion of each day's hearings which created those headlines and press conclusions—despite all this, so far no one working here now has been charged with espionage. There is no indication in the publicly available information, including all known charges against employes singled out, that espionage is taking place here.

There have been newspaper reports that this base does not have "air-tight security" for its sensitive work. No military official here or at any other installation will dispute that. They point out there is no such thing as "air-tight security"—except in a vacuum.

Even if employes were stripped naked and their clothing and bodies minutely inspected before leaving the grounds, there still would be no air-tight security. Many of the greatest "secrets" of all are carried in the heads of the men who work here; they can and must walk in and out of the barbed-wire enclosures and guarded gates with this information.

The basic safeguard must be trust in the personal integrity of these men—which is the delicate balance that security clearance of the individuals must strike without destroying the usefulness of the workers. The test must be based on reasonableness, and as President Eisenhower has stressed, it must draw a fair line between national interests and individual rights: that is the issue here.

Some of the men here believe that that line has been breached. They believe that the Army and the Defense Department have sat by silently—except for one brief denial of a specific allegation that microfilmed documents were stolen—doing nothing to dispel the tornado of suspicion that has whipped through the public mind in the wake of the McCarthy hearings—closed hearings.

Many scientists here state they are convinced that the McCarthy Committee has virtually dictated some of the suspensions here which, under normal security procedures, the Army would not have made. Some actions appear to support this; One man received a suspension notice dated three days after he received a formal commendation for "faithful service" to the Army and the Nation.

It is reported that at least one employe was advised that if she did not "cooperate" and act as a source of information on activities of her fellow employes, the job of her husband here could be in jeopardy. Another scientist said he personally was approached and asked to serve military intelligence as a continuing source of information on the activities of his fellow workers.

These reports brought a flat denial from Army intelligence officials here that any such policy is in existence. The officials further stated that they never heard of such a practice here.

The nature of the charges made against some of the suspended men has served to arouse several prominent attorneys in this area, including men who hold city and county office, to enter these cases.

Two attorneys, not public officials, who are together representing about a dozen of the suspended employes — none of whom are accused of being Communist members—are Harry Green, a prominent Republican in the State, and Ira J. Katchen, a well-known Democrat here.

Green made this bitter statement:

"Mr. Katchen and I undertook to represent these men after we talked to them and checked and double-checked whether they were Communists or Communist sympathizers because it seemed incredible to us that the Army authorities and the McCarthy committee would create this situation unless they had such evidence against the men.

"We were astounded to learn that no such charges were made against any of the men we represent, and that it was wholly a case of finding these men guilty in advance by alleged association with persons who are reported or rumored to be Communists or Communist sympathizers or that relatives, near and distant, were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

"It was hard for us to believe that such drastic and inhuman action would be taken against these men in the face of their many years of service—service of the highest character and efficiency . . . with no question about the loyalty or integrity of the men themselves.

"The more we looked into the cases the more we became shocked at the harsh and unfeeling dropping of the men, in many instances without even any charges being made at the time of their suspension. In many instances the men still have not even received charges after several weeks of waiting. . .

"We have been aghast at the manner in which these men are being herded to hearings before the McCarthy committee and at the manner in which the hearings have been conducted.

"Men have been kept waiting from early in the morning until late at night; they have been called back day after day, waiting to be called . . .

"These people have little funds. They are people of small means, whose pay has been suddenly suspended and who have found current obligations pressing down upon them . . .

"Some of the finest engineers and scientists have been reduced to taking minor jobs in order to maintain themselves. Not one of those called before the committee has invoked the Fifth Amendment or any other amendment of the Constitution, or intends to do so.

"We understand that these suspensions may run for five or six months or more before the hearings can be completed . . . We understand that the real and essential work of the great Government Signal Corps laboratories has been slowed down and handicapped by the suspensions of these skilled men . . .

"The thing that appalls us is that if an enemy wanted to strike an effective blow against our defense system, he could not do a more telling job."

One official here said that under normal procedure, it may be nine months to a year before all the cases are completely disposed of.

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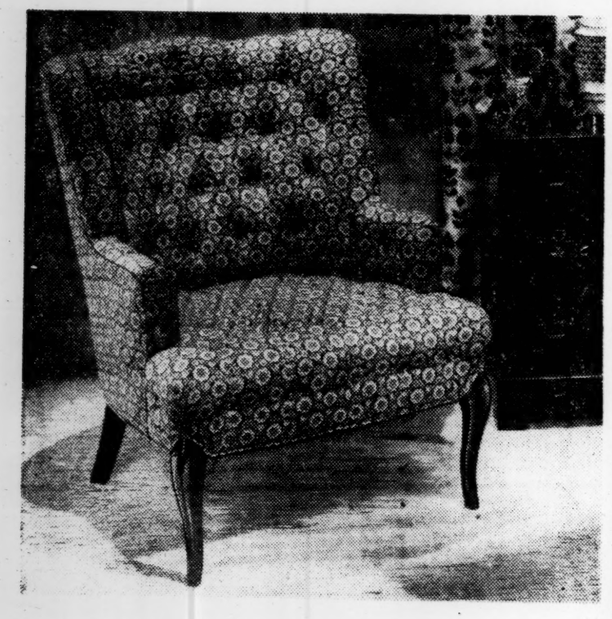

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The Weather
Today—Sunny and rather hazy, with high near 60 degrees. Sunday—Fair and mild. Yesterday—High, 55 at 2:10 p. m.; low, 35 at 7:10 a. m. (Details on on Page 19.)

The Washington Post

FINAL

Seventy-Five Years in the Nation's Capital

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Brownell to Testify Tuesday

Scientists Back Bureau, Say AD-X2 Is Worthless

Long-Awaited Report Also Recommends No Further Tests Of Battery Agent

By Nate Haseltine
Post Reporter

A committee of nationally-recognized scientists yesterday reported that battery testing at the National Bureau of Standards is excellent—and AD-X2 is worthless.

Even more finally, the committee decided that the controversial battery additive had been tested enough to warrant the conclusion that it is without merit. The report recommended that no additional tests of the material be made.

The long-awaited report was that of a study made by a National Academy of Sciences committee appointed by request of Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks to evaluate both the bureau's testing program and the worth of a powder its maker, Jess M. Ritchie, of Oakland, Calif., claimed would more than double the life of auto and other lead-acid storage batteries.

Ritchie Says 'Whitewash'

Ritchie promptly dubbed the committee's report "a whitewash by the National Academy of Sciences of the National Bureau of Standards." He said he would "stick by what my customers think," and said he would "keep making AD-X2 as long as my customers want it."

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Postoffice Department said the committee report was under study and that the department would decide soon, "probably next week," whether to reapply its mail fraud order against the product and its maker. The order, suspended even before it became effective and finally canceled on August 20, forbade use of the United States mails to advertise the battery booster.

In releasing the committee's report yesterday, Secretary Weeks expressed his "appreciation" of the committee's work, and promised he would "do all in my power to aid the bureau in maintaining this high level of scientific service to the Nation."

It was Weeks' questioning of the bureau's testing of AD-X2 which he said prompted his firing of the bureau director, Dr. Allen V. Astin, and thus arousing the wrath of the scientific world. Weeks later reinstated Dr. Astin, and accepted the resignation of Craig Sheaffer, then Assistant Secretary of Commerce, the subordinate who had asked Dr. Astin to resign.

Dr. Astin Pleased

Dr. Astin, who had told a Senate Small Business Committee investigating Ritchie's complaints that he would abide by whatever the committee reported, was happy over the outcome. The committee's findings, he said, "are a source of considerable satisfaction to me and members of the bureau's staff."

He said he was "pleased" by the work the scientists had put into their evaluation studies, and "grateful" to Weeks for requesting the special study suggested by Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences, to resolve the science versus politics furore. Weeks, in ousting Dr. Astin, had

See ADDITIVE, Page 11, Col. 4

By Harry Goodwin—The Washington Post

After 10 drinks (martinis and bourbon highballs), Jordan goes 54 feet before braking. Despite his showing, the reporter goes along with the old rule that driving and drinking don't mix. "They just picked the wrong guy," he said.

Imbibing Reporter Confounds Science With Fast Reflexes

By Sam Zagoria
Post Reporter

If you drink, don't drive—but if you want to test this principle, don't pick a newspaperman as a ginny pig.

Jordan

Reporter Robert P. Jordan, assigned to test the principle that the more you drink the slower you react and the more dangerous you become at the wheel, yesterday crossed up science. Jordan waded through a river of martinis and bourbon highballs to score high on an auto reflex test.

After 10 drinks, "Iron Man" Jordan proved he was no man of principle—at least not this principle—and rolled up scores with the soberest of drivers, "enjoying the assignment very much."

The research was carried out on a reflex tester which is part of the "New Worlds in Motion" show opening at the D. C. Armory at 1 p. m. Sunday. The tester records the number of feet

See TEST, Page 6, Column 2

Reporter's Reactions Were Highly Unusual

In presenting this account of Reporter Jordan's unique reaction to the auto-reflex test, The Washington Post does not mean to suggest that drinking and driving can be mixed with safety. Jordan's reactions were highly unusual, an exception to the rule, demonstrated beyond all doubt, that drinking drivers are dangerous drivers.

RIFs Are Blessing in Disguise, District Businessmen Told

By Edward F. Ryan
Post Reporter

Federal reductions in force here will prove a long-run "blessing in disguise" to the Washington business community by forcing it into a "new cycle of growth," the Board of Trade was told yesterday.

The prediction came from Professor Harold B. Wess of American University, a retired New York City department store executive.

Jabbing an unsympathetic needle at "economic hypchondriacs," Professor Wess counseled businessmen here to stop trying to persuade themselves they are economically sick and put their minds to work on getting set for "the next upswing."

About 350 members of the Washington Board of Trade and their guests heard Professor Wess in a luncheon meeting in the Hotel Mayflower. He teaches business administration and retailing at American University, where he joined the faculty in September.

He is a former vice president of Macy's department store in New York, having served in that position for 13 of his 20 years with the firm. He formerly taught at Columbia University's graduate school of business administration.

While his needling was sharper, Wess's message emphasized a theme which is being frequently broadcast by Administration leaders to the business world. The theme is that business will continue good if businessmen succeed, by energetic marketing, in persuading consumers to maintain spending at high levels.

For Washington Professor Wess had a further prescription.

He said it is a habit of human beings not only to take great pleasure in worrying, but to make progress by contemplating the prospect of catastrophe. And here, he said, "I think this slough-off in the Federal payroll in Washington is going to be a long-run blessing in disguise because you are determined never again to depend upon the Federal payroll for future growth.

"This sudden shock will do much to start an entirely new cycle of growth. I'm certain that there are many other kinds

See BOARD, Page 11, Col. 1

Probers Say Firm Hoaxed Navy Buyers

House Unit Reports Inspectors Were Plied With Gifts, Parties And Then Cheated

By Paul Southwick
United Press Reporter

House investigators said yesterday that a Columbus, Ohio, firm plied Navy inspectors with gifts and drinking parties and then cheated them on lucrative contracts for Navy wiping rags.

Rep. R. Walter Riehlman (R-N. Y.), chairman of a House Government Operations Subcommittee, read into committee record that the Navy inspection service had been "duped" for years on the rags used for wiping machinery.

The Navy has spent $13,500,000 on the rags since 1951, Riehlman said, of which the Columbus firm of Grossman & Sons had contracts totaling $1,350,000.

Virgil H. Redwine, jr., Louisville, Ky., a General Accounting Office investigator, read the subcommittee testimony taken from Herbert Romanoff, a former vice president of the firm, at an open hearing before the committee.

Romanoff testified he was in charge of "entertainment and furnishing gratuities" to inspectors and naval officers. He said the company made a "farce" out of Navy inspections and palmed off inferior rags which could not be used.

Redwine said the "gratuities" included lunches, payment of hotel bills, drinking parties, taxi fares, wrist watches, pen and pencil sets, cash loans, home cleaning, football tickets, and other gifts.

As a result, Romanoff said, the firm enjoyed the "confidence" of Navy inspectors.

Navy officials told the subcommittee large quantities of rags provided by the Ohio firm failed to meet specifications and had to be thrown away.

Romanoff said several "schemes" were used to trick the Navy inspectors. He said several "special" bales of rags were prepared which met Navy needs.

"The employes were instructed to furnish these special bales to the inspector regardless of whether they were designated by him as 'samples,' Romanoff said. "This they did on all occasions."

The special bales "were always passed by the inspectors after which we were able to load the cars with other bales from the stocks which contained inferior materials," Romanoff said.

The special bales were repacked and used over and over again for inspections, he said.

In another instance, he said, the company hid a big baler at one end of the plant so that the inspectors did not know it was there. The inspectors were led to inspect special bales in another part of the plant.

The firm then obtained a Navy inspection stamp and stamped "approved" on the bales being shipped out at the other end of the plant.

"Inspection of material by Navy personnel became farcial and a joke," Romanoff said. "Little of the inspected material was ever shipped."

Navy officials said the case has been referred to the Justice Department.

Allies, Reds End Korean Deadlock

Top Aides Agree On an Agenda for Talks Preliminary To Peace Parley

PANMUNJOM (Saturday), Nov. 14 (AP).—Top Allied and Communist diplomats today broke a three-week deadlock with agreement on an agenda for preliminary talks to arrange for a Korean peace conference.

United States Ambassador Arthur H. Dean said the two sides reached a "meeting of the mind" by agreeing that the time, place and composition of the peace parley may be discussed simultaneously in two subcommittees.

Dean and the top Red representative will meet again Monday to work out details for the committee sessions.

The top diplomats returned to Panmunjom after a week's recess and in one hour gave formal approval to the agenda worked out in six secret sessions by staff advisers from each side.

Dean told newsmen after the meeting:

"This is just the key that opens the door. The real hard work is just commencing." He added, "at least this is progress."

Asked if he thought his mission to arrange for the peace conference would be successful, the envoy replied:

"I have always been optimistic, and am even more optimistic now."

Dean said the approved agenda "is substantially what I proposed" in the October 31 meeting with the Communists.

The diplomats in 11 earlier meetings had failed to find an approach for setting up the conference. The Reds had insisted that the question of admitting Asian neutrals, one of their demands, be taken up first.

The Allies have taken a stand that only the belligerents in the Korean war should be invited to the peace conference. They are willing, however, to permit Russia to sit in on the Red side.

That was the impasse when the problem of working out an agenda for discussing the peace conference was turned over to the lower staff level. Kenneth Young, Dean's aide, would say only that the talks "have been very helpful."

The Reds so far have shown no willingness to get the conference under way soon. Each item on any approved agenda easily could cause fresh delay.

Dean in his opening statement to the Communists nearly three weeks ago urged that the conference start November 23. Later he suggested December 1. The Reds ignored both suggestions.

Dillon Coming Home

PARIS, Nov. 13 (NYHT).—C. Douglas Dillon, United States Ambassador to France, will fly home Monday for "several weeks" of medical examinations and treatment following a painful two-week illness here, it was announced here today.

For Sunday's Best Reading

Here's the low-down about an intelligence thriller. Starting Sunday, The Post prints the first of three daily articles on the fabulous Colonel Ulius L. Amoss, the man, and operator of a world-wide private intelligence service he sells to subscribers.

A controversial figure, Amoss is described as "one of the greatest spies on earth" by those who admire him, and in less flattering terms by his detractors.

This three-part series on Colonel Amoss, the global private eye, was pieced together and written by Post Pulitzer Prize Winner Edward T. Folliard.

Don't Miss Col. Amoss, the Global Private Eye This Sunday in

The Washington Post

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No Espionage Evidence Found At Signal Center, Stevens Says

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens said yesterday that the Army has found no evidence of espionage in the recent investigation which it and Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) conducted at the Fort Monmouth (N. J.) signal center.

Stevens said the Army has been "unable to find anything relating to espionage" among 33 scientists, engineers and technicians suspended there.

"Several" of the suspended employes, he said, "are in the process of being restored" to duty.

He told newsmen it must always be assumed that Communists are trying to infiltrate such a "sensitive" military installation, and "I think there is proof" espionage was committed there "in the days of Rosenberg . . ." He said he assumes the FBI investigated that at the time they broke the Rosenberg case. Julius Rosenberg was dropped as an Army Signal Corps employe on February 10, 1945; he and his wife were executed for atom espionage last June.

Asked whether he "knew" Rosenberg had committed espionage at Fort Monmouth, Stevens said he did not.

Stevens' statements confirmed the findings reported earlier this week in a series of four articles from Fort Monmouth, published in The Washington Post.

The Washington Post articles showed there was not even an allegation of espionage in the actual charges against the men now suspended. The articles pointed out that it was quite

See MONMOUTH, Page 4, Col. 1

Red China Must Participate In Talks, Molotov Tells West

MOSCOW, Nov. 13 (AP).—Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov declared tonight the reduction of international tension is the prime subject for any big power conference and Communist China must take part.

After that subject is discussed, he added, the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and Russia could take up the problem of Germany, "a matter of urgency."

Molotov made his views known at a news conference—the first held in Moscow by him or any other high-ranking Soviet official within the last six years involving foreign correspondents.

Molotov stood under a portrait of Stalin as he met with newsmen from both Western and Eastern countries in the conference room of the Foreign Ministry. Soviet newsmen also were present.

Molotov accused the Western powers of blocking a foreign ministers' conference by failing to agree on putting the subject of international tension on the agenda.

He said meetings such as that being held next month in Bermuda, to be attended by Prime Minister Churchill, President Eisenhower and French Premier Laniel "tend to put certain states in opposition to other states and can lead to directly contrary results and even increase international tension."

He refused to answer directly a question from a Western correspondent as to whether Premier Georgi Malenkov would attend a meeting with Churchill, President Eisenhower and Laniel.

Molotov said this could "not be just a matter of speaking about a conference, but it is also important to establish the aims of such a conference."

The Soviet Union and the Western powers have been exchanging notes on a meeting of Foreign Ministers. Molotov charged that General Eisenhower was wrong in saying the last Soviet note to the West "manifested no intention to get together but an intention to create more difficulties."

The West has been trying to persuade the Soviet Union to attend a meeting at Lugano, Switzerland, to discuss Germany and Austria.

Molotov charged the Western powers were not serious in their proposal. He said a United States State Department spokesman said in advance little could be expected of the proposed Lugano meeting.

He said the United States must recognize that Communist China is an indispensable partner to discussions on reducing international tension. A Western invitation to China to take part "would be a sign that a real step has been taken toward international peace."

Molotov read a 12-page prepared statement, then answered questions.

The statement contained these concluding paragraphs:

"After all that has been so far said, the question naturally arises: Will there be a foreign ministers' conference? The answer to this question depends in the first place on the position of the United States, Britain and France, and consequently whether they agree to discuss the question of international tension as well as the German problem and related questions of insuring the security of Europe.

"The urgency of the foreign ministers' conference is by no means diminished.

"The matter, however, should not be given such bent as to reduce the conference beforehand to a discussion of any one problem and to exclude from the range of the conference the fundamental question—relaxation of international tension."

(There was speculation in the West as to why Molotov held a news conference to outline his views. One reason may be that he wanted to get more attention to his views in the Western press.

(There have also been reports outside the Soviet Union that Molotov was not active in recent weeks in Soviet foreign affairs. It is possible Molotov took the opportunity to demonstrate to Western newsmen he was on the job in person.)

Monsanto Quits NAM In Tariff Disagreement

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 13 (AP).—The Monsanto Chemical Co., sixth largest chemical manufacturer in the Nation, reported today it has resigned from the National Association of Manufacturers in disagreement over the NAM's stand on foreign trade.

Francis J. Curtis, vice president of the firm, said a speech by NAM President Charles R. Sligh, jr., in which he called for tariff reductions, confirmed Monsanto's belief on the NAM's foreign trade stand.

Germ War Defense

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 13 (AP). The United States Army Chemical Corps is spending 45 million dollars a year to prepare for defense and retaliation against a possible enemy gas or germ war attack, Gen. Egbert F. Bullene, the Army's chief chemical offi-

Clark, Jury Head Reject Subpenas in White Case

High Court Justice Offers to 'Consider' Questions; Velde Lacks Witnesses

By Robert C. Albright
Post Reporter

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr., the man who revived the Harry Dexter White spy case, yesterday was booked to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Tuesday to tell what he knows about it.

But a shortage of witnesses developed on the other side of the Capitol, where Chairman Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee was still trying to get his own show on the road.

Two more subpenaed witnesses—Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark and Jerome S. Blumauer, foreman of a New York grand jury which investigated White in 1948 but did not indict him, notified the House group they would be unable to appear.

Rep. Francis E. Walter (Pa.), top Democrat on the House committee, meanwhile, gave reporters what he said was a "reliably informed" version of what really happened in the White case.

Walter said he was informed the Truman Administration kept White in the Government with J. Edgar Hoover's approval so FBI agents could watch his every move. The Pennsylvania Democrat said Hoover was a party to a plan to keep White under surveillance and track down his (White's) alleged Communist associates.

Chairman William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), who began his Senate inquiry into the White case on Thursday, announced Brownell would testify before his group in open session at 2:30 p. m. Tuesday, following a brief hearing in closed session.

Said Jenner: "The subject of the hearing will be general matters of internal security, including the White case and other cases."

A Justice department spokesman said the Attorney General was expected to present a comprehensive statement covering all phases in the case of the man Brownell has accused former President Truman of promoting in the face of two "derogatory" FBI reports.

The spokesman said Brownell obviously could not hold a press conference before appearing at the committee hearing. The informant indicated however that a conference after the hearing might be considered "normal procedure."

The House Un-American Activities Committee was left without any scheduled witnesses when Justice Clark, following the lead of former President Truman and Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, politely declined to comply with a subpena.

Justice Clark wrote a letter to Velde basing his refusal to testify under compulsion on the same Constitutional grounds previously cited by Mr. Truman—"the independence of the three branches of our Government."

Justice Clark, who was Attorney General when the "derogatory" FBI report was prepared on White, offered to give "serious consideration" to any written questions about his "personal recollections" of the case, however.

The committee promptly accepted Justice Clark's "offer." Velde said the committee was

See WHITE, Page 2, Col. 1

Truman May Discuss White Case, He Hints

President Truman indicated to reporters in New York yesterday that he still may discuss the Harry Dexter White case publicly, though he rejected a Congressional subpena to appear at hearings on the case. Page 3.

New Process Removes Skin Blemishes By Freezing Face, Planing With Wire Brush

A New York dermatologist yesterday reported almost perfect results in ridding faces of acne scars, pock marks and other blemishes by freezing and planing the patient's face.

His "plane" is a motor-driven brush of stainless steel wires, rotating up to 12,000 revolutions a minute and regulated by a foot switch.

The technique and its successful use on a series of 273 patients was reported in the Journal of the American Medical Association by Dr. Abner Kurtin. Most of his patients have been followed for at least two years without recurrence of the defects, the report noted.

Many other investigators have reported some successes in sandpapering blemishes away, but permanent scarrings occurred often enough to discourage the practice.

The new practice consists of chilling the area involved by applying a chemical ice pack for 20 minutes. The skin is then cleansed with alcohol. Ethyl chloride, an anesthetic, is sprayed on the area to be planed by the wire brush, and a current of air directed on the site from a blower.

Freezing occurs within a few minutes, making the skin insensitive, bloodless and rigid. As much as three square inches of surface are frozen at one time and treated individually, since larger areas cannot be treated adequately before thawing begins.

After the surface is "planed" smooth, a piece of dry gauze is applied. Dressings are changed daily, and complete healings usually occur within a week. If necessary—and it was necessary only once in the 273 cases—the procedure can be repeated in four weeks, according to Dr. Kurtin's report.

The treatment, the report showed, left the skin soft and pliable, and skin color returned to a healthy normal.

Conditions treated with the cold-planing technique included acne scars, smallpox and chickenpox scars, superficial malignant tumors of the skin, horny growths such as warts or callouses, tattoos, wrinkles, certain benign tumors of the skin, elevated and depressed injury scars, some moles or birthmarks, and skin disease causing thickened areas of the skin.

For the past year, Dr. Kurtin has spent a considerable part of his working day teaching other physicians his procedure.

Ryan, Longshoremen's Head, Indicted in $45,000 Theft

NEW YORK, Nov. 13 (NYHT). Joseph P. Ryan will resign Saturday as president of the Atlantic Coast District Council of the International Longshoremen's Association as a preliminary move to stepping down next week as the union's international president.

Ryan's intention to give up his council post, which carries with it chairmanship of the union's bargaining committee for Atlantic coast dockworkers, became known shortly after he was accused today in a 51-count superseding indictment of stealing more than $45,000 from the ILA, which was ousted in September by the American Federation of Labor for being controlled by racketeers.

As on April 13, when the 69-year-old union president was named in a preliminary 30-count grand larceny true bill involving $11,390 of the union's funds, he pleaded innocent in General Sessions Court and was continued in $3500 bail.

Ill health, rather than the indictment, were reported tonight as the reason that Ryan will give up the active leadership he has maintained in the union for 26 years. He has been ailing since the spring and since September has been under the care of a physician.

Patrick J. (Packy) Connolly, ILA executive vice president who took over leadership of bargaining when Ryan was confined in a hospital, is slated for the council presidency. Capt. William V. Bradley, president of the ILA's tugboat local, is expected to be elected to head the international organization. Both are much younger than Ryan.

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50,000 Greet Ike In Ottawa. Page 6

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MONMOUTH—Fr. P. 1

No Evidence Found Of Signal Espionage

possible that Julius Rosenberg engaged in espionage or attempted espionage at the center in World War II, or the immediate postwar period.

Sen. McCarthy, who conducted sensationally-publicized, closed-door hearings on the Fort Monmouth case last month, had said it "definitely involves espionage" which began years ago and may have continued until an "extremely recent" time. This led to headlined implications that the radar research center contained a nest of spies.

First Official to Act

Stevens participated in many of the closed McCarthy hearings, but Stevens' statement yesterday was the first action taken by any official to set out the general facts since the Monmouth case swept into the headlines early last month.

Under a barrage of questions from newsmen in his Pentagon office, Stevens was asked why the Army had waited this long to make public information on the Fort Monmouth situation.

Stevens replied that a White House order bans disclosure of "details" in security cases, and he said the Army had given out some information. That information actually was in very limited form that did not deal with the over-all course of the investigation.

Asked if he was aware of a public impression that widespread espionage was being committed at Fort Monmouth, Stevens said that was a matter for the press to evaluate. If the public had that impression, Stevens said, "I am sorry about it."

Stevens previously has praised the "teamwork" between the Army and Senator McCarthy during the course of the inquiry, and has said that McCarthy's investigation was having a beneficial effect for the Nation.

No Agreements on Plants

He reiterated that position yesterday. Stevens said he believes "it is my duty to cooperate in every way" with committees of Congress and he said he welcomes that. "I think there are times when congressional investigations can be helpful to any department of Government." Asked if he regards this as such a time, Stevens replied, "I do."

Stevens, in response to questions, said firmly that there had been no "agreement" between McCarthy and the Army that McCarthy would shift his inquiry from Fort Monmouth to communism in defense plants. McCarthy is now investigating such plants.

[In Portland, Maine, last night, where he went to make a speech, McCarthy was asked for comment on Stevens' statement that there is no evidence to show that any of the employes under suspension at Fort Monmouth engaged in any spying activities.

[Said McCarthy: "I'll let the hearings speak for themselves. So far I haven't tried to evaluate the testimony . . . More detailed hearings will be held around December 1, either in Monmouth or New York."]

Stevens was asked if he still believes, as he and McCarthy stated after an inspection trip to Fort Monmouth last month, that morale there is "good."

He said that among "the vast majority of employes the morale is good . . ." and they are eager to have the investigation clear up any suspicions. Some employes' morale of course suffers in such a case, he said.

"Always Lose People"

Stevens was asked if he knew of reports that some scientists were planning to resign from Fort Monmouth. "I think that in a case like this," he replied, "you always lose people." But he said he believed the work of the Fort Monmouth research and development laboratories would be able to continue successfully.

A reporter asked Stevens if he believed that McCarthy's attack on members of the Army's Loyalty-Security Review Board for previously "clearing" some of the employes now suspended would prejudice the board in its future decisions.

He said he believed the suspended employes would get "an entirely fair hearing. I personally intend to see that they do." He said the First Army board which hears the cases would be composed of Air Force and Navy members.

Stevens said at the outset of his meeting with reporters that civilian employment at the Fort Monmouth laboratories had dropped from 14,000 in 1943 to around 8000 by 1946.

Since 1946 there have been 167 cases in which "some derogatory information, so-called, has come into our possession."

3 Degrees of Seriousness

The present 33 suspensions, he said, are in three degrees of seriousness and centainly. It is for the most "doubtful" of the charges that some persons now are being reinstated, Stevens said.

Asked whether as many as "15" of the 33 were being restored to duty without going through hearings, he said the figure was nowhere near that large, but he declined to give it.

A reporter asked whether Stevens regarded these suspensions as a "mistake." He said: "I do not . . . Where we have any question of doubt we are resolving it in favor of the American people . . ."

Stevens was asked whether he thought it was proper to charge a person with being a security risk simply because of membership in a union later declared to be Communist-dominated. "No, I don't think it should be," he said. Several of the suspended employes face such accusations.

He was asked about several specific groups named in the charges, groups which have never been cited as Communist. Stevens said he was not sufficiently familiar with them to discuss specifics. A reporter asked whether he thought an employe should be charged with agreeing with a "leftist" writer, whose works he had read.

Stevens said he thought that could be taken into consideration, among other factors.

The Secretary said, in answer to questions, that one of the suspended men had been accused of having classified documents in his home. A reporter pointed out it had been disclosed that the man was commended for taking the papers home to do work on them, but was reprimanded for failure to keep them in a safe and for failure to "declassify" them. Stevens said he would "disagree violently" with the officer who commended the man.

Didn't Work at Fort

Stevens confirmed that the atom spy, Julius Rosenberg, never actually worked at Fort Monmouth. Reporters in New York said the McCarthy subcommittee told them Rosenberg was employed there for several years. Army records show Rosenberg was assigned to Newark, N. J., in the Signal Corps Inspection District, from January 13, 1942 to February 10, 1945.

Rosenberg did visit Fort Monmouth on official business, as Stevens noted, and "he did presumably have friends" there. In addition, Rosenberg is reported to have attended a training school there for several weeks or more.

Stevens was asked about reports from McCarthy's "closed" hearings that Fort Monmouth documents were found "behind the Iron Curtain," and that information from the Signal center, as recent as 1947, was seen in the Russian zone of Germany.

The Army Secretary repeated what had been previously announced—that the only known Fort Monmouth information in Russian hands was that which went to Russia during World War II under lend-lease or other means.

"So far the Army does not have any proof of espionage," Stevens repeated, and he told reporters he had been in communication with the FBI during the investigation.

Associated Press

A Schoolboy Soon

Britain's chubby Prince Charles, 5 years old today, is shown in a recent portrait. The heir to the throne is about to start his formal education under a tutor.

14 Cars Are Derailed As Train Hits Truck

OKLAHOMA CITY, Nov. 13 (AP).—Fourteen cars of the Texas Chief, a crack Santa Fe passenger train, hurtled off the tracks today when the speedy streamliner hit a trailer-truck, but only four of more than 130 persons aboard were injured.

The truck, carrying a load of oilfield drilling pipe, was split in two but the driver, Myrt Johnson, 28, of Norman, Okla., escaped unhurt.

Rhee Insists On Firmness Against Reds

SEOUL (Saturday), Nov. 14 (AP).—President Syngman Rhee predicted Friday the Communists would "come to terms" on Korea if the Allies stood firm, but he left in doubt whether he expected a settlement peacefully or by force.

Rhee said he has little faith in a political conference to determine Korea's future. He made known his views to correspondents accompanying Vice President Nixon on his goodwill tour of the Far East.

The South Korean leader made it clear that his main goal still is the unification of Korea and he expected to use force if necessary.

Rhee said he thought the Reds would accept a proposal to withdraw Chinese troops from North Korea and all Allied forces from the south "because that would save the Communists' face."

"If this happens," he added, "the North Korean Communists would flee. They would have to. All we have to do is stand firm."

Rhee said that simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea would permit his forces to retake the entire peninsula.

As for the Korean peace meet, Rhee said he still is holding to a deadline for around January 27, when South Korea will determine what action to take if it decides the Reds are insincere.

But "we haven't decided" what South Korea would do in that event, Rhee said.

Earlier, Nixon told South Korean lawmakers that the United States and the Korean people "stand firmly side by side" in efforts to win 'a' free, united and independent Korea."

Red Officer Asks Asylum In Hongkong

HONGKONG, Nov. 13 (AP).—A Chinese Communist security officer, who crashed through the Bamboo Curtain between Red China and the British crown colony of Hongkong to plead for asylum, was questioned by British police today.

The officer, not identified, made his break with communism yesterday. The incident occurred at a rail bridge where passengers to and from China detrain and cross on foot for customs and immigration inspection and then board trains on the other side.

The officer bolted as some 280 overseas Chinese from Malaya, Indonesia and Singapore were crossing the frontier. He darted into the throng, shouting "Follow me" to other Communist guards, but none followed. The Communists made no attempt to shoot him as he fled.

[The anti-Communist Chinese press quoted by the Associated Press, reported the man, a veteran of the Korean war, said food rations to troops and civilians had been drastically cut. He was also quoted as saying anti-Communist POWs who finally chose to return to their homeland are being cruelly treated.]

Palette Patent Won; Protects One's Thumb

GREENDALE, N. Y., Nov. 13 (AP).—George Bergen says he has made the first improvement in the artist's palette since the fifteenth century.

Papers granting a patent to Bergen describe his device as a "resilient cushioning annulus fitted into the iner circumference of the aperture."

Translated, it's a rubber padding around the thumb hole to keep the artist's thumb from getting sore.

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CORRECTION:

Due to inadvertent error, the price of New Green Cabbage was incorrectly stated in our advertisement in this paper yesterday. The correct low price is as follows:

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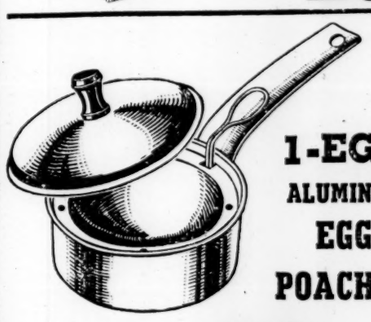

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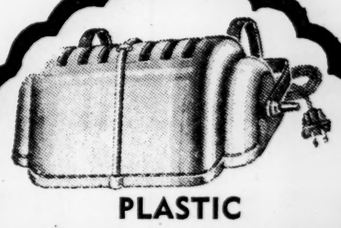

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HARVEY M. MATUSOW

Memorandum of Fact and Guide to Materials

Harvey M. Matusow is an ex-communist turned informer. He was active in Communist Party affairs in New York State from 1947 until early 1951, when he was expelled from the Party.

Matusow's motives for turning informant are mixed. Donald T. Appell, investigator for the House un-American Activities Committee, who observed Matusow closely when Matusow testified before the Committee, stated his belief that Matusow turned informant to immunize himself from prosecution. Matusow contacted the FBI in February of 1950 (according to his statement), just a few months after the communist leaders were convicted in New York. Whatever the reason for Matusow's original conversion, it is clear that his subsequent loose accusations are the work of a mercenary psychopath (self-confessed).

Attached hereto is a chronology reviewing incidents in Matusow's life. It speaks for itself and should be examined preliminarily to a reading of the remainder of this memorandum. There follows an amplification of some of the particularly significant events which reveal Matusow as a neurotic, and untrustworthy, exhibitionist.

1. Preparation of Matusow's Statement--Martha and John Edmiston.

A photostatic copy of Matusow's 71-page personal story is attached. That story, or statement, was prepared by Matusow with the help of Martha and John Edmiston, to serve as a basis for Matusow's testimony before the House un-American Activities Committee.

(The following account of the preparation is derived from interviews with the Edmistons. The Edmistons joined the Communist Party as informants for the FBI. They were members of the Party in Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio, until 1942. They have testified before the House un-American Activities Committee but have not commercialized on their undercover work. Martha Edmiston is with the Public Information Office, Wright-Patterson Field, Dayton, Ohio. John ("Ed") Edmiston is with a Dayton advertising firm.)

Matusow contacted Martha at Wright Field in September, 1951 (see chronology). (Apparently, someone at the Field familiar with Martha's work for the FBI had advised Matusow to contact her). Matusow was in a highly nervous state. He told Martha he had to tell someone "his story" to "purge his soul", adding that he was "thoroughly sick inside". Matusow later informed Martha that he had earlier gone to see Chaplain Hart (now Rector of Old South Church, Boston, Massachusetts). The Chaplain could do nothing for Matusow and referred him to the

base psychiatrist. Matusow admitted to Martha that from August 14 to 28, 1951, he had been in the psychiatric ward in the base hospital and that the doctors had found him to be "emotionally unstable".

When Matusow informed Martha, and later John, Edmiston that he wanted to "tell his story", the Edmistons were persuaded of Matusow's sincerity and agreed to help him prepare his testimony. Martha showed Matusow her testimony before the House un-American Activities Committee so that Matusow would understand what would interest the Committee. Matusow's account was then prepared at the Edmiston home on weekends. Matusow had no written evidence whatever. The Edmistons continued to pump Matusow for details until the Edmistons and Matusow were satisified that Matusow had recorded all relevant material of which he had personal knowledge. Matusow's account was reduced to the typewritten statement a copy of which is attached. The Edmistons executed a joint affidavit setting forth the circumstances surrounding the preparation of that statement; a copy of that affidavit is also attached.

During the preparation of Matusow's statement, Martha learned the following about Matusow: that he was an egomaniac, that he was not interested in girls, that he lived in the Village in New York City with two other fellows, one of whom was a homosexual, that he had also lived in the Village with a negro girl

(who worked for the Amsterdam News), and that both, to show what good Party members they were, had intended to adopt two children, one chinese and one negro. After Matusow's statement was prepared, the Edmistons contacted Donald T. Appell, investigator for the House un-American Activities Committee. Appell, having read Matusow's statement, decided that Matusow's testimony should be presented at a closed hearing of the Committee. Martha said that Appell later regretted recommending that Matusow be heard.

John Edmiston went with Matusow to Washington and was present at the closed hearing. Matusow, now in the spotlight, made exaggerated statements and had to be reminded constantly to stick to the facts as incorporated in his written statement. Edmiston was convinced that Matusow testified not to help his country, but to gain publicity.

Later both Edmistons accompanied Matusow to Washington where he testified at an open hearing. Again Matusow went "hog-wild". He named communists who had already been named in print, intimating that he had known them to be communists. He brought into his testimony the names of Cincinnati and Columbus Communists whose names had already been given to the Committee by the Edmistons. The Edmistons related that it was impossible to compel Matusow to conform to his written account. While in Washington, the Edmistons introduced Matusow to Matt Cvetic (another FBI

informant) who formed a thorough dislike for Matusow. Finally, Appell, and apparently the Committee, washed their hands of Matusow.

Thereafter Matusow persuaded the Edmistons to accompany him to New York so that he could sell his story to the Journal-American. Howard Rushmore, of the Journal-American, bought Matusow's story, but the Edmistons received nothing for their services. Upon the publication of his story Matusow became absolutely unbearable. When King George died, Matusow was very annoyed because his story did not hit the front page; he complained to the Journal-American.

In connection with the preparation of his statement, Matusow also prepared a full identification of those persons mentioned in his statement. Photostatic copies of pages 29, 30 and 31 of that identification are attached to the statement. The photostatic copies both of the statement itself and of the pages of the identification were made from a carbon copy supplied by the Edmistons. Pages 1-28 of the identification are missing. Apparently Matusow attempted at the time he prepared his statement, to completely catalog those personally known by him to be communists.

2. <u>Testimony Before the House un-American Activities Committee--List of Communists.</u>

The Committee specifically called upon Matusow to

prepare a list of all persons with whom he came into contact and whom he knew to be members of the Communist Party. A photostatic copy of page 3309 containing this sweeping request of the Committee (made through Mr. Tavenner, Committee counsel) is attached. A complete list of those named by Matusow was given by the Committee in its annual report for the year 1952, at pages 70 through 73. Photostatic copies of pages 69 through 73 of that report are attached hereto.

After the preparation of his statement and after Matusow purported to name before the House Committee all those known by him to be communists, he has made irresponsible and unsupported allegations.

3. Matusow's Mental Condition.

Matusow admitted to Martha Edmiston that he had been

in the psychiatric ward at the Wright Field Base Hospital (supra). Martha has stated that Howard Rushmore and Donald T. Appell likewise know of Matusow's being in the psychiatric ward.

Charles W. Schramm, the chief civilian director of the I&E section at Wright Field, says that he sent Matusow in an ambulance to the Base Hospital for about two weeks. Matusow had come into Schramm's office and had complained of feeling faint. He was white and extremely nervous. After Matusow was hospitalized, Schramm heard that he had had a nervous breakdown. Schramm also stated that Matusow neglected his work at the I&E section and that Matusow gave false stories to cover his whereabouts when he was away from work.

Reliable sources at the Wright Field Base Hospital suggested to an interviewer that Matusow's medical record with the office of the United States Air Force Surgeon General in Washington would confirm the fact that Matusow had been confined to the psychiatric ward.

Matusow also apparently had a nervous breakdown while overseas. He intimated this to Martha Edmiston but would not elaborate. He expressly told Eleanor C. Long, Financial Editor of the Dayton Journal Herald, and her roommate, Katy Parrish, that he had suffered a nervous breakdown while overseas in France and that he had made pipe cleaner figures as part of his rehabilitation program. Matusow also told Charles Hoppes

of the Security Indoctrination Command at Wright Field of his nervous breakdown while overseas; Matusow showed Hoppes some of his pipe cleaner figures. Samples of those figures have been obtained from Olaf and Henrietta Mohn, 1729 Kensington, Dayton, Ohio.

Martha Edmiston was told by Matusow's commanding officer at Wright Field that Matusow often went into hysterics when his work became too much for him.

Matusow's need for attention perhaps may be traced to his childhood. Matusow thinks that his family favored his older brother (killed in action in 1944). Matusow made this known to "Doc" Fisher, a reporter on the Dayton Daily News, as well as to Eleanor C. Long.

Matusow told Fisher during an interview that he had seen a lot of combat and once had broken a German soldier's back in hand to hand fighting. Because of Matusow's late arrival in the European Theatre these statements are probably false. The Dayton Journal Herald (2/7/52) reported that Matusow told a congressional committee that he served in the infantry in Europe from 1944 to 1946.

Matusow exaggerates his experiences because of his craving for publicity. Matusow, during his interview with Fisher, told Fisher that he envisaged great things happening to him from his appearances before the committee, such as

participating in radio shows, making movies and writing a book.

4. The Ohio un-American Activities Committee.

Matusow worked for this Committee as a Research Assistant in early 1952. He was so employed for only four months. Apparently Matusow was discharged because he had proven himself unreliable and an embarrassment to the Committee. The Edmistons gave the following reasons for Matusow's discharge:

(1) Matusow, during an appearance before the House un-American Activities Committee in Washington, gave the Congressional Hotel a bad check (March, 1952).

(2) Matusow exaggerated communist infiltration at Antioch College in testimony before the House and Ohio Committees. It appears that Matusow palmed off as his own material gleaned from the Edmistons' testimony on this point. It is rumored that Matusow circulated various "communist front" petitions among students at Antioch, misrepresenting the objectives to secure student's signatures. (New York Times, 8/16/52; Dayton Journal Herald, 2/26/52, 2/27/52, 8/14/52; Dayton Daily News, 8/14/52, 8/15/52; Cleveland Plain Dealer, 8/22/52.)

(3) Matusow attacked Sam Levenson, TV comedian, as a communist or communist sympathizer, and later had to retract his accusations. (Dayton Daily News, 9/24/52.) Matusow identified three of the Singing Weavers as communists and was threatened with a slander suit. (Dayton Journal Herald, 2/8/52.)

(4) Matusow attacked the Dayton Women for Peace as a "communist front" organization after he had joined it as a volunteer worker to circulate petitions. Matusow forged names to these petitions. Among the names forged were those of Eleanor C. Long and Katy Parrish. Matusow's explanation to Eleanor Long was that he wanted to gain the confidence of the organization by securing signatures and that he intended to make a full explanation to the Ohio un-American Activities Committee. However, Sidney Isaacs, committee counsel, stated that Matusow made no such explanation.

(5) Matusow, using the Edmiston's car, left a gasoline station without paying. The station owner reported this incident to the police and the Ohio committee later learned of it.

The Edmistons stated that Sidney Isaacs, counsel for the Ohio committee, dislikes Matusow.

5. <u>The American Legion Magazine Article</u>.

In the October, 1952, issue of The American Legion Magazine (pp. 14 and ff.), there appeared a story entitled "Reds in Khaki" by Harvey M. Matusow as told to Howard Rushmore. This is Matusow's story of his introduction to the Communist Party, his active participation in the Party and his metamorphosis as he turned informant. The account has

obviously been padded with background material by Rushmore (or Matusow) covering Communist infiltration in the 1920's and 1930's. However, the following paragraph appears on page 57 of the issue:

> "From my own experience I know that three party members in Ohio played a major role in the I & E program. Before Hitler attacked Stalin, they had drawn up a plan to solicit 'gripe' letters from servicemen and then give them wider publicity to destroy morale.
>
> "But when the Party line changed, all their Reds enlisted. A year after Hitler doublecrossed his Soviet ally, one of the Party members ended up as a Major in G-2, stationed at the largest air base in the State. The other two also ended up as field grade officers." [emphasis added.]

The Edmistons insist that the above-quoted material is a palming off by Matusow as his own of material previously uncovered by the Edmistons and related by them to the House un-American Activities Committee sometime in July or August of 1950. A significant portion of that testimony appears at pages 2697, 2706 and 2724 of Hearings before the Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session. At page 2697, Mr. Edmiston identifies John Ober, a Major at Wright Field serving under the Air Materiel Command, as a member of the Communist Party.

Matusow also says in the Legion article (p. 58) that he "volunteered" for active duty with the Air Force which appears to be contrary to the fact. Sergeant Edward O'Neil states that

Matusow was recalled to duty under the Enlisted Reserve Act and that his records reveal such recall. O'Neil was assigned to the AMC World's Command newspaper in the I & E section at Wright Field. In civilian life O'Neil is a sports reporter with the Dayton Journal Herald.

6. Arvilla Bentley.

Arvilla Bentley was reported a few months ago to have married Matusow. Before her marriage she was a wealthy Washington (D.C.) divorcee. She and her ex-husband apparently contributed large sums of money to Senator McCarthy's campaign fund.

Drew Pearson reported (Washington Merry-Go-Round, Dayton Daily News, 1/8/53) that Matusow accompanied Arvilla Bentley when she flew to Nassau to avoid being examined by the Senate Election Committee.

7. Plagiarist.

Matusow plagiarized an article by Cesar Andreu in the April, 1948, issue of the magazine Political Affairs, giving the Communist Party program for Puerto Rico. Matusow's article was published in the November 30, 1950, issue of the Santa Fe New Mexican under the name Marvin Matt. The articles were identical with the exception of four paragraphs. (Daily Compass, 7/29/52).

8. Miscellaneous.

Under cross-examination at the prosecution of the second-string communist leaders, Matusow (the Government's third witness) denied that he had stolen large numbers of books while he was employed by the Jefferson School and Book Shop and the Workers Book Shop. He also denied that he had been caught pilfering from a taxi company which employed him in New Mexico. He also denied that he had been caught by the Workers Book Shop ringing up a $5.20 sale as $.20. (Daily Compass, 7/24/52).

Matusow was fired from Counterattack because things disappeared from the files and also because he did little work.

Matusow was charged, in connection with his expulsion from the Communist Party, with irregularities in securing subscriptions for the Sunday Worker. (Dayton Daily News, 3/11/52; Matusow's statement, p. 50.) In April, 1952, Matusow sold subscriptions for the Young Republicans in Dayton. There was a shortage in his account of $80. Persons who know the facts of this shortage are Jerry Herzog, President of the Young Republicans (Room 814) Harries Building, Dayton, Ohio and "Chuck" Whalen, Professor at the University of Dayton.

IIC 4

HARVEY M. MATUSOW

Chronology

The following is a chronology of dates based upon Harvey M. Matusow's testimony before various Congressional committees, his own seventy-one page statement and reports of investigations. It will be noted that dates, in some instances, are at variance, usually a result of Matusow's self-contradiction.

The following legend has been used in denoting sources:

Legend

A Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, February 6 and 7, 1952: Communist Activities Among Youth Groups (Based on Testimony of Harvey M. Matusow).

B Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress, First and Second Sessions, on the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Legend

C Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on Communist Domination of Union Officials in Vital Defense Industry--International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, October 6, 7, 8, and 9, 1952.

D Reports of investigations.

E Matusow's typewritten statement.

F Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress, First and Second Sessions, on Communist Tactics in Controlling Youth Organizations, April 12 and June 12, 1951; January 16, February 27, 28, 29, March 5, 24, 27, 1952.

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1926	Oct.	3	Born: Bronx, N.Y. Parents: Herman J. & Sylvia K. Matusow Brother: Daniel B. Matusow (killed in action Sept. 10, 1944) Residences: 1575 Townsend Ave., 1504 Morris Ave., 1566 Macombs Rd., 1568 Macombs Rd., 1491 Macombs Rd., Bronx 24 W. 18th St., 167 E. 2nd St., 167 W. 60th St., N.Y.C. Schools: P.S. 70-82-104-Wm. Howard Taft H.S.-City College of N.Y.	A 3273 E 1, 5
1930	March	27	Herman J. Matusow (probably Harvey's father) filed a bankruptcy petition (USDC, SDNY).	D 8
1936			Presidential Campaign - Matusow was paid $10.00 to go to Madison Square Garden Republican Rally with Roosevelt-Garner posters. Later he worked for a bookie.	D 23 E 8
1940-1943			Delivery boy for local grocer, tailor and laundry; night clerk in cigar store on 161st St. & Morris Ave., Bronx.	E 1
1943	Nov.	6	Matusow enlisted in inactive reserve corps.	D 20
1943-1944			While attending H.S., Matusow worked for Jr. Deb Clothing, 38th St. & 7th Ave. and Deiner & Dorskin Advertising Agency, 42nd St. & Times Square, N.Y.C.	E 1

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1944	Fall		Matusow was graduated from Wm. Howard Taft H.S.	E 1
1944	Oct.	31	Matusow entered active service - Processed at Fort Dix - Sent to Camp Blanding, Fla. - Infantry.	A 3274 D 20 F 199
1945	April	16	Left U.S.A. for European Theatre Overseas: 1 yr. 2 mos. 25 days Assigned To: 106 Inf. Div.-(3rd Inf. Rgt.), 424 & 422 Inf. Div. and 118th Inf. Div. Attended: Biarritz Univ. Stationed at: Dijon, Biarritz, Chalons, Soissons, Bad Nauheim.	D 21 E 2
1945	May	7	In the Infantry on patrol outside of Coblenz.	D 57
1945-1946			Overseas - First contact with party was two sergeants in his outfit (Camp Roosevelt). Met other party members in Paris, Biarritz. Matusow hinted at arms smuggling to Spain.	E 9
1946	June	29	Left European Theatre.	D 21
1946	Aug.	3	Discharged S/Sgt.-Fort Dix Total Service: 2 yrs. 8 mos. 28 days Medals: W.W. II Victory American Campaign Army of Occupation Good Conduct European-African-Middle-Eastern Campaign	 A 3274 D 21 F 199
1946	Sept.-Oct.		Attended American Youth For Democracy affair given by the Joe Hill Club of the Bronx, A.Y.D. Party held at Club Roosevelt, Park Plaza Bldg., Tremont and University Aves., Bronx, N.Y.	E 10, 11

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1946	Oct.		Attended meeting of Club Roosevelt, A.Y.D. - Park Plaza Bldg. Took subscriptions to Daily Worker; was recruited into A.Y.D.	E 12
1946 1948	Oct.- Dec.		With American Youth For Democracy	F 222
1946 1951	Oct.- Jan.		Stated to be in Communist party and A.Y.D.	F 207
1946 1947	Nov.- March		Main activity with Club Roosevelt. Also attended few meetings of Downtown C.C.N.Y. branch of A.Y.D. - Assisted in its petition campaign. Only contact with party was copy of Sunday Worker.	E 13
1946- 1948			From November 1946 until March 1948, Matusow active in Club Roosevelt Branch of American Youth for Democracy (Bronx,N.Y.). Became educational director of club; worked with educational committee.	A 3275
1946- 1947			Matusow member of American Youth For Democracy (A.Y.D.)	B 3824
1946- 1947			Attended City College of New York for 1-1/2 years.	F 199
After 1946			Employment (in sequence) Grey Advertising Agency, NYC Noel Wesley Productions (Radio & TV) NYC People's Songs Inc., NYC Jefferson School Jefferson Book Shop Communist Party of NYC Wholesale Book Corp. Camp Unity, Wingdale, NY Workers Book Shop, NYC Ben Air Conditioning Co., NYC	A 3274

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1947	Feb.		Position of Educational Director attained in Club Roosevelt; was in charge of Club Library and on its Social committee.	E 13
1947	March Sept.	15- ?	Employed by Grey Advertising Agency, W. 32 St., NYC. U.O.P.W.A. attempting to organize this shop while Matusow was there. Left Grey Advertising in September.	E 3, 15, 21
1947	May (Army	16 Day)	Attended meeting at home of Joe Sacco to discuss plans for election of U.O.P.W.A. into Grey Advertising - U.O.P.W.A. was later defeated.	E 16, 17
1947	May (later part)		Groomed for membership in party-Ripe and ready - Bought Daily Worker and Sunday Worker without balking - "My interest in party activities was high and I was a good worker." "I for the first time had the feeling that I belonged to something...it was a new life and I loved it..."	E 18
1947	(Labor Day)		Matusow visited Camp Unity, Wingdale, N.Y. Remained for 10 days.	A 3277
1947	(Week after Labor Day)		With A.Y.D. Club Roosevelt group at Camp Unity for one week. - Efforts to recruit him into party made during that week. Lefty Lefowitz of Party Youth section N.Y. County invited him to Communist party Headquarters.	E 19
1947	Sept.		Matusow joined People's Songs.	A 3286

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1947	Oct.		Attended a Saturday night social at Joe York Club of the Mount Eden section of the party. Recruited into Communist party; joined People's Songs, E. 11th St.; joined American Veterans Comm., F.D.R. chapter, Park Plaza Bldg. (for voting only). Activities in Joe York Club were in A.Y.D. and local P.C.A. chapter. Did odd jobs in office of People's Songs and was a member at time of U.C.P.W.A. (not active).	E 21, 22, 25, 26
1947	Oct.		Matusow joined the Communist party in N.Y.C. and assigned to the Joe York Youth Club of the Mount Eden section of the Communist party, 170 Second Street and Walton Ave., the Bronx, N.Y. Remained a member of this club from October 1947 until April 1948.	A 3274; A 3283
1947	Oct. or Nov.		Joined Communist party. Had been in A.Y.D. for about a year.	E 6
1947 1948	Oct.- May (?)		Free lance work in theatre and worked out of office of Noel Wesley, 234 W. 44th St., N.Y. Met Eugene Konecky head of People's Radio Foundation, at 3 or 8 Horatio St., Greenwich Village. Solicited ads for People's Songs and obtained signed pledge cards for Actors Cues, W. 48th St. Had contact with Stage For Action, People's Drama, Jefferson Theatre, Freedom Theatre, Wallace Caravans.	E 3, 27, 28, 29, 30

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1947	?		Left Grey Advertising; did free lance work in theatrical, radio and TV productions; then employed by Jefferson School Book Shop, 565 6th Ave., N.Y.	F 200
1948	March		Left parents home and moved to one room apartment at 24 W. 18th St. Randy Wood, negro, shared apartment. Three weeks after Matusow moved in he transferred Communist party membership into Community Club #1 of Chelsea Section Headquarters, 25th St. & 8th Ave. Wallace campaign backing setup was under A.L.P. banner. Sold Sunday Worker. Still a member of Club Roosevelt, Bronx but not active. - Weekends at Contemporary Writers Studio-First contact with Jefferson School (Course in Marxism) and School Chorus.	E 23, 24, 25, 26
1948	March		Residing at 26 W. 18th St., N.Y. Described himself as a self-employed artist. Women were coming and going all night in his apartment.	D 16
1948	April		Met Mel Brown, Educational Director of the Greenwich Village section of Communist party. Matusow got out of adult club and transferred to youth club of Chelsea which met at 301 W. 24 St. His tasks were preparation for May Day, building of a Youth for Wallace group.	E 31

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1948	April		Matusow transferred to Chelsea Youth Club, West Side of Manhattan. Remained member for 3 months. Then started organization for the Young for Wallace in preparation of the Progressive Party Convention.	A 3283
1948	April		Matusow first became connected with the Jefferson School officially.	A 3303
1948	May	(first two weeks)	Matusow visited Puerto Rico; gained trip by selling the most subscriptions to the Sunday Worker. [This doubtless should have been 1949.]	A 3290
1948	May		Went to work at Jefferson Book Shop, Jefferson School in N. Y.	E 3
1948	May Day eve, day and night		Volunteered for guard duty at Communist party Headquarters	E 32
1948	May	31 (week end)	Got job at Jefferson School summer camp, Camp Sherwood, Hurleyville, N.Y. (bookshop) and began work on Memorial weekend. Returned to N.Y.C. for a month's training in bookshop; returned to camp for rest of summer.	E 33
1948	July		Young Progressives of America (Y.P.A.) set up Youth Arm of Progressive party. A.Y.D. activities gave way to Y.P.A.	A 3283
1948	July-August		Managed Jefferson Bookshop, Summer Camp, Camp Sherwood, Hurleyville, N.Y.	A 3303 E 3 F 200

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1948	Summer		First contact with Liberty Book Club while at Camp Sherwood. Later worked for Liberty getting subscriptions. Started to lose interest in party while at Camp. (Note: No mention of sex at camp.)	E 36, 37
1948	Sept.		Went to work for People's Songs Inc.,(full time) 126 W. 21 St., N.Y.C. Charge of Music Center. Remained until organization folded in February or March, 1949.	A 3286 E 3
1948	Sept.	(After Labor Day)	Returned to N.Y. No openings in bookshop set up. Activity at Camp won him a year's scholarship in the Marxist Institute (Sept. 1948 to June 1949). Also worked at Communist party Headquarters while in school. Sept. 1948 to Feb. or March 1949 with People's Songs. Held Hootenanny's and Wingdings at Yugoslavia Home, W. 41st St. and Local 65 Hall, Webster Hall. Moved to 167 E. 2nd St. and transferred to Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Tompkins Square Section of the Communist party - remained member of Friedlander until expulsion in Jan. 1951. Held position of Press Literature and Educational Director, Organization Section. Building up Y.P.A.	E 40, 41, 42, 45, 46
1948	Late		Met George, former G.I., who had been at Biarritz with Matusow.	E 10

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1948 ?	Dec.		Daily Worker subscription drive. End of 3 weeks sold 65 subscriptions. Attended County wide press party, Hank Forbes Auditorium. Told to go to Philadelphia on following Tuesday and address a meeting on subscription question. Pledged a goal of 300 subscriptions. Drive lasted 12 weeks. Sold subscriptions at Jefferson School, People's Songs, Progressive party Headquarters, Liberty Book Club, Jefferson Bookshop, Daily Worker dance; even sold one to mother.	E 49, 50, 51
1948	Dec.		Matusow claimed to have been in Philadelphia with Henry Winston, national organisational secretary of the Communist party, who was later convicted under Smith Act.	C 155
1948 ?	Dec.	(Friday before Christmas)	Attended Communist party leadership meeting at Hank Forbes Auditorium, 35 E. 12th St. Ground work for L.Y.L. set up. All members of Lower Harlem Youth Club recruited into L.Y.L. Attended Christmas party at home of Claudia Jones; met Ben Davis; fund raising affair.	E 62, 63, 70
1948	Dec.	(Christmas week)	Attended Xmas Party at Jefferson School. Met Alexander Trachtenberg and Juan Santo of Puerto Rico.	E 53

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1948	Early part		Matusow worked primarily around Jefferson School Bookshop;	C 155
	Summer		Worked at summer camp;	
	Fall		Worked primarily on Progressive party campaign for Wallace.	
1948-1949			Matusow employed in Communist bookshops from 1948 through December 1949.	B 3832
1948-1949-1950			Attended Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Sixth Avenue, N. Y.	A 3304
1949 ?	Jan.		Called to Communist party Headquarters. Chosen to help State Office build a "Nite Club" for N.Y. State Comm. of Y.P.A.	E 47
1949	Feb. or March		Part time job with Communist party, 35 E. 12th St., N.Y.C. (Apparently remained in this job from "1-1-49 to July 1949," with exception of one week he had a job in printing shop under U.O.P.W.A. contract and worked for Jefferson School Bazaar held in Spring of 1949.)	E 3
1949	March		Became full time employee of the Communist party of N.Y.C. and worked at County Headquarters.	B 3057
1949	March		Handled switchboard at Communist party Headquarters for few months. Disseminated messages to party and county leaders. Guard duty at Foley Square during Commie trial. Worked out of Communist Party Defense office.	E 52, 53

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1949	March		Period of Unemployment?? People's Songs folded. Job in a Multi House on E. 30 or 31 Street, N.Y. held for one week. Duty while on job was to build U.C.P.W.A. union into going on strike.	E 17
1949	April ?		Went to Frederick Vanderbilt Field Library on W. 26th St. Read up on Puerto Rico for preparation of his trip.	E 54
1949	week after May Day		Went to Puerto Rico via Pan American Airlines. Stayed at Hotel Euclid. His job was to set up a party press and get a delegate to World Youth Festival in Budapest, Hungary.	E 55, 56, 59
1949	May		Matusow informed at Party Headquarters, 35 E. 12 Street, N.Y. that he was to (1) manage the Camp Unity Book Shop, Wingdale, N.Y.; (2) set up indoctrination program for nonparty and party members at camp; (3) integrate party literature with lecture programs and social activities at camp.	A 3280
1949	May		Visited Puerto Rico under auspices of Communist party and spent three weeks there.	B 3057
1949	May	(Night of election of F.D.R. Jr. - after Puerto Rico trip)	Returned to N.Y. from Puerto Rico. Worked on election returns at Jefferson section, W. 72 St. Commie trial on and assigned to "Fund Drive Director of Tompkins Square Club." Worked in lower Harlem party youth club until July 1949. Job was to get delegates to founding of Labor Youth League Conference in Chicago. Did picket duty at Ryan headquarters on 14th St.	E 61, 62, 64

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1949	May (Memorial weekend)		Worked at Jefferson School camp, Camp Arrowhead, Ellenville, N.Y. (weekend only).	E 64, 66
1949	May	30-31	Labor Youth League organized in Chicago.	A 3285
1949	June	(last week)	At Camp Unity he helped plan Peekskill riots. Pulled guard duty, managed bookshops, gave lectures. Told he was to be State Literature Director of L.Y.L. Freedom Theatre born at Camp Unity.	E 65, 66, 67
1949	July		Left Chelsea Youth Club.	E 32
1949	July & Aug.		Worked for Wholesale Book Corp., 48 E. 13th St. and manager of Unity Bookshop, Camp Unity, Wingdale, N.Y.	A 3277 E 3 F 200
1949	Aug.		Still at Camp Unity. Attended Peekskill Affair (Robeson concert).	E 65
1949	Aug.		Received Discharge (Reserve Corps. Adj. Gen. Dept.)	E 2
1949	Sept. to Nov.		Worked in Workers Bookshop, 48 E. 13th St., N.Y.C.	E 3 F 200
1949	Sept. to Dec.		Worked at Workers Bookshop, N.Y.C. Met Stary and Hallick, Czech. delegates. First contact with People's Artists. Member of State Educational Comm.	E 67, 68, 69
1949	Sept.		Matusow joined the Tompkins Square Youth Club of the Communist Party. Was literature director on the educational committee and one time organizational secretary of the club.	A 3284

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1949	Sept.-Dec.		Full time employee of Workers Book Shop, 48 E. 13 St., N.Y.	B 3058
1949	Fall		Labor League Night set up by Jefferson School. Met with State Comm. of the League.	E 69
1949	Nov.	19	Matusow was State literature director of the Labor Youth League.	F 224
1949 1950	Nov.-May		Special promotion work in the Amsterdam News in N.Y.C.	E 4
1949			Party leaders out of jail. Attended party at Communist party Headquarters. Drove Jack Stachel home.	E 70
1949 ?	Dec.		First met Craig and Jenny Wells Vincent (apparently in New York).	E 71
1949	Dec. (just before Christmas)		Left job at Workers Bookshop	E 70
1949			Became familiar with fraudulent applications for passports. Attended Communist party meetings in N.Y.C. with Mel Williamson. Went to Puerto Rico with Ted Bassett. Attended party meeting at Camp Unity with Jean Frankfield. Met Hope Foye during election campaign of Benjamin Davis, Jr. Sold 350 subscriptions to Daily Worker and won trip to Puerto Rico. Went to Puerto Rico in May 1949.	F 204, 205, 207, 221, 238
1949			Matusow made mention of his trip to Puerto Rico in 1949.	B 3834

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1950	Jan. to July		Not doing much in way of employment.	F 200
1950	Feb.		Relieved of job of State Literature Director and assigned to West side club of L.Y.L. Living at 167 W. 60th St., N.Y.C. Also active in American Newspaper Guild, N.Y. local. Note: Matusow is stated to have contacted F.B.I. during this month.	A 3274 E 70
1950	May		Worked for Bon Air Conditioning Corp., L.I.C. as an air conditioning salesman.	E 4
1950	June	13	Arrested for speeding in Manhattan.	D 21
1950	July		Left New York and went to New Mexico. Spent week at San Cristobal Valley Ranch	E 71
1950	July		Left New York. Intended to go to Los Angeles, Calif. for a job; never reached Los Angeles. Wound up in Taos, New Mexico. Attended Taos Valley Art School (G.I. Bill). Night Clerk in Taos Inn; drove a cab; many other odd jobs. Enlisted in Air Force before leaving Taos.	C 150 E 4 F 200
1950	July		Resident agent of F.B.I. requested Matusow to remain at San Cristobal Valley Ranch, near Taos, New Mexico.	C 151

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1950	Nov.		Left Taos. Returned to New York (brief visit).	E 4
1950	Nov.		Returned to New York from New Mexico. Brought up on charges before Communist party Headquarters.	E 71
1950	Nov.	30	"Lifted" article appeared in New Mexico newspaper.	D 31
1950			Worked for Amsterdam News.	C 150
1950			With Communist party in New York City. Told of American Labor party being controlled by Communist party.	F 221
1951	Jan.	19	Matusow expelled from Communist party.	A 3274
1951	Jan.	20	Returned to New Mexico. Applied for and received active duty in Air Force. Drove a Checker cab in Albuquerque for one week.	E 4
1951	Feb.	21	Recalled to Brooks Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, 2224th Personnel Processing Squadron.	A 3274 C 150 E 4 F 200
1951	May (Early Part)		Transferred to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. Units: 3060th Support Squadron-1125th Field Activities Group - 7300th Materiel Control Group - 2750th Air Base Wing.	E 4
1951	July	27	Issued Chauffeur's license by N.Y. State. Residence: 1491 Macombs Road, Bronx. Employed: U.S. Air Force.	D 7

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1951	Aug.		Believed to have first broken his story to officers at Wright-Patterson.	D 2
1951	Aug.	14-28	Patient at Wright-Patterson Air Force base hospital. Diagnosis??	D 85
1951	Sept.		Contacted Martha Edmiston at Wright-Patterson. "Had to purge his soul."	D 39
1951	Sept.		Interviewed by Don Appell in Dayton.	D 1
1951	Late summer to fall		Preparing 71 page story with help of Edmistons. Still in Air Force.	D 50
1951	Oct.	1-12	Patient at Wright-Patterson Air Force base hospital. Diagnosis: Flue??	D 85
1951	Oct.	19	Wrote his 71 page story on his Communist party connections. At that time S/Sgt. 2750th Air Base Wing - Personal Affairs Office.	E 5
1951	Oct.	27	National Negro Labor Council held its meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio. Matusow ejected.	A 3302 D 9
1951	Oct.	31	Advised by letter to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities.	D 37
1951	Nov.		With buddy Sgt. Parker at Century Bar, Dayton, Ohio; making pipe cleaner characters; met Kay Parker.	D 15

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1951	Nov.	25	Checked in at Congressional Hotel, Washington, D.C., Room 809.	D 23
1951	Nov. 10:30 A.M.	26	Closed hearing before Un-American Activities Committee.	D 37
1951	Dec.	11	Released from active duty in Air Force. Still a member of U.S.A.F. Reserve. Became employed by Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.	F 200
1952	Jan.		Discharged from Air Force. (True discharge date is said to be December 11, 1951.)	C 150
1952	Jan.	14	Employed by Ohio Un-American Activities Committee (until April, 1952).	A 3274 D 91 F 199
1952	Jan.	23	Father held up at 71 W. 23rd St., N.Y.C.	D 17
1952	Feb.	1	Interviewed by Doc Fisher, Dayton Journal Herald. Admitted to working for bookie, forming his own racket of delivery boys, invading a Republican rally (all while a youth).	D 10, 35
1952	Feb.	1	Checked in at Congressional Hotel, Washington, D.C., Room 402.	D 23
1952	Feb.	5	Credit Report written on Matusow in Dayton. He was not interviewed at time. Report disclosed him to be employed by Ohio Un-American Activities Committee; also said to be writing; residence then was 1308 Grand Ave., Dayton, Ohio.	D 90

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1952	Feb.	6-7	Matusow testified before House Un-American Activities Committee.	A 3273 D 13
1952	Feb.	7	Washington, D.C. - Testified before House Un-American Activities Committee. Blasted Weavers; told of distorted nursery rhymes; Defense Output Target of Red Plan; Fake information for passports.	D 12, 15, 16
1952	Feb.	12	Checked in at Congressional Hotel, Washington, D.C., Room 204.	D 23
1952	Feb.	13	Matusow testified in executive session before the McCarran Committee.	B 3056
1952	Feb.	25	Testified before Ohio Un-American Activities Committee as to Dayton Women For Peace and Cleveland man as being Commies.	D 18, 19
1952	March	2	Checked in at Congressional Hotel, Washington, D.C., Room 809: Difficulty with bad check.	D 23
1952	March	5	Washington, D.C. - Testified as to Communist Tactics In Controlling Youth Organizations. U.S. Senate Subcommittee to investigate the administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary.	F 199 to 260
1952	March	10	Washington, D.C. - Testified before Subversive Activities Control Board.	D 21

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1952	March	11	Washington, D.C. - Testified before Subversive Activities Control Board. Cross examined by Marcantonio. Admitted to working for a bookie when 9 to 11 years old.	D 23
1952	March	13	Matusow testified before McCarran Committee investigating Institute of Pacific Relations.	B 3823 D 24, 93
1952	March	13	Matusow testified that he was employed by Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.	B 3823
1952	April		Matusow completed his job with Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.	C 150
1952	April		Volunteer work at Young Republican Headquarters, Dayton, Ohio. Subscription shortage indicated.	D 16
1952	April-July		Associate editor of Counter Attack.	C 150
1952	May		Left Dayton to return to New York.	D 47
1952	July	22	Then in employ of Counter Attack. Appeared as government's 3rd witness in Second string Commie trial.	D 6
1952	July	24	At Commie trial, Matusow charged with stealing books while in employ of Jefferson School; accused on ringing up a $5.20 sale as $20; pilfering from a taxi company in New Mexico.	D 7

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1952	July	29	Commie Trial - charged with lifting an article and palming it off as his own.	D 11
1952	July		Free-lance writing.	C 150
1952	August	13	Washington, D.C. - Matusow's charge against Antioch College made public. Allegations were made on March 5, 1952 by Matusow before committee on Internal Security.	D 27
1952	August	13	Washington, D.C. - Matusow testified as to Communist party infiltration into Boy Scouts before Senate Internal Security subcommittee.	D 12
1952	August	15	Washington, D.C. - Testified as to Communist party in Antioch College, Ohio before Senate Internal Security subcommittee.	D 13
1952	Sept.	16	Residing at 141 W. 10th St., N.Y. Inquired as to information on suspected subversives. Contacted Police Headquarters.	D 23
1952	Sept.	24	Washington, D. C. Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Matusow withdrew charges against Sam Levenson; wrote letter to Senate Internal Security subcommittee. (Matusow said to be in New York on above date.)	D 30
1952	Oct.	8	Testified on Communist Domination of Union Officials in Vital Defense Industry (McCarran Committee), Salt Lake City, Utah.	C 150 D 32

YEAR	MONTH	DAY	DATA	SOURCES
1952	Oct.	8	Matusow testified that he was a member in good standing of the American Newspaper Guild and had been a good C.I.O. union man for 12 years. If true, he became a C.I.O. member when he was 14 years of age.	C 157
1952	Dec.	2	Editor accused Matusow of "lifting" Red article. Communist Conspiracy trial in New York	D 31
1953	Jan. (prior to this date)	8	Escorted Arville Bentley to the Bahamas. Later picked her up.	D 33
1953	Jan. (early part of month)		Washington, D.C. - Matusow told Appell of Robert Montgomery show entitled "Comrade Satan." Told Kay Parker of Old Gold show, "Congressional Investigator."	D 5, 17
1953	Jan.	17	Now living at 141 W. 10th St., N.Y.C. (Apt. 5). Shares apartment with Watts and Francis. Seen at this address.	D 1

New York Journal-American
★★★ Fri., March 26, 1954

As Pegler Sees It

Drew Pearson and His Column on McCarthy

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

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PALM BEACH, March 26.

SOME TIME LAST SPRING one Jack Henshaw, who had been employed off and on by Drew Pearson as a "leg-man" and investigator, disappeared from Washington and could not be found by attorneys for the defense in Pearson's queer suit against a group of defendants whom he seemed to charge with conspiring to put him out of business.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

The obvious purpose of the suit was to throttle exposes of Pearson's methods and mendacity. Some defendants had never met some of the others, but I will let that phase of it go and try to enlighten you on a situation which seems to me to constitute at least a combination by Pearson and others.

Combinations are not evil per se and I do not know at the moment whether the combination which I believe to exist between Pearson, Eugene Meyer of the Washington Post, Jack Henshaw, the vanishing "leg-man," and Hank Greenspun, the ex-convict "editor" of the Las Vegas Sun, was benign or malign.

A few weeks ago, after the heat was off in the Washington situation, this "leg-man" bobbed up again in the Capital and told a reputable journalist to whom he made unsuccessful application for a job that he had been working for Greenspun on the Las Vegas Sun.

By the way, the crime for which Greenspun was mugged, printed and, to a slight degree, punished, was, in plain language, that of gun-running for mercenary motives. He is an associate of underworld dignitaries, having been press-agent for enterprises of the late Buggsy Siegal, who was knocked off by a rifle bullet in Beverly Hills.

Greenspun also owns or did own a piece of Siegal's gambling house and hotel, the Flamingo in Las Vegas, and a small slice of the Desert Inn, also in Las Vegas.

GREENSPUN HAS BEEN ATTACKING JOE McCARTHY in the Las Vegas Sun in a most horrible way with outright charges and insinuations. These would offset McCarthy's campaign against traitors and the patrons and abettors of traitors.

The worst of these charges were written and published during the time that Henshaw was on the lam, as the saying goes, in Las Vegas. During that time a Washington woman of the highest reputation, who is a friend of Mrs. Henshaw, told me that Mrs. Henshaw was continuing to hold a small Government job in order to support herself and their child and appeared not to know where Jack Henshaw was.

As we know, Eugene Meyer, one of the richest men in

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As we know, Eugene Meyer, one of the richest men in the United States and a violent "internationalist," has been raging against most of the anti-Communist campaigners and especially against Joe McCarthy.

He took Pearson on as a "columnist" some time after Pearson's former mother-in-law, the late Cissie Patterson, broke with him on the question of our involvement in the war, which she heartily opposed.

At that time, Roy Howard lifted my column out of the Washington Post and stuck it into his own Washington Daily News. This he could do because he owned the syndicate which handled me then and his decisions were final. Up to that time, Meyer seemed to me to be a genuine Republican capitalist. I have since revised my opinion.

MEYER TOLD ME I COULD WRITE MY OWN TICKET as to price if I would arrange to stay in the Post. Casey Jones, then the managing editor of the Post, also entreated me to stay. We had a number of conversations in which Pearson was discussed.

Jones said he would quit if he ever should be ordered to run Pearson. That order soon came, but Jones did not quit. He told me the decision actually was made by Meyer's wife, Agnes, a renowned nuisance of the most obstreperous type, remarkably similar to Eleanor Roosevelt.

Incidentally, the Meyers are still supposed to be Republicans, but your opinion as to that may be affected by the fact that they are close friends of Felix Frankfurter, who planted Alger Hiss in the Government, and of Dean Acheson, who was Frankfurter's mouthpiece at the confirmation hearings.

Their Post found excuses for Hiss after he was convicted of a crime which plainly implied treason to the United States.

ON MARCH 17 LAST, DREW PEARSON'S COLUMN in the Washington Post referred to "extraordinary allegations" in the Las Vegas Sun concerning McCarthy's "personal life." I have a file of these "extraordinary allegations" and I call your attention to this fact:

The Washington Post thus smears McCarthy with a reference to "extraordinary allegations" published by an underworld ex-convict of no journalistic background and of bad reputation.

Eugene Meyer is one of those who have said that it is all very well for McCarthy to expose traitors but very wrong of him to "smear" innocent persons with "lies" and "innuendoes." But he not only permits Pearson to use his paper to direct attention to these filthy publications but refrains from warning the public of Greenspun's background.

Some of the details of the articles which Pearson thus slyly refers to in a column which Meyer's Washington Post published are such that Greenspun must have had the services of an informant or ghost familiar with the activities of a number of prominent genuine anti-Communist Republicans living in and near Washington.

Jack Henshaw is generally familiar with these matters and he was working with Greenspun at this time.

THERE IS GROUND FOR BELIEF that a mysterious New York political agent with headquarters in the Waldorf Tower has been contributing money to the Greenspun propaganda enterprise in Nevada.

The geographical isolation of this paper is insignificant. Greenspun has spoken over blackguard radio stations in the same vein that he resorts to in his publication, and his cohorts, as in the instant case, widely disseminate the vile charges either by direct repetition or by directing attention to them and cheating a market for reprints.

Meyer's position of "smears" and "unsubstantiated charges" from disreputable sources is inconsistent when his profession of deep concern for the rights of innocent victims is compared with the specific incident which I have outlined here.

Is Senator Joe McCarthy

The following is an editorial from the Trenton, N. J., Evening Times, and was written by James Kearney, editor and publisher, who is a prominent Catholic layman in New Jersey.

SENATOR McCARTHY has been asking a lot of people if they were or are Communists. He declares that if they are serving the purposes of the Communist party, he believes they are Communists. Let's take a look at Senator McCarthy's record of accomplishment.

Repeated charges that there are 206 or 57 or 81 Communists in the State Department, and repeated allegations of Communist influence in American foreign policy have undermined the people who work in our embassies abroad. They are afraid to submit any report unless it shows the Communists are under attack, regardless of what the true facts abroad may be, although it has not been proven yet that there is a single Communist in the State Department. Isn't it one of the purposes of the Communist party to undermine the American foreign service?

Senator McCarthy's series of charges against all departments ernment have convinced Western Europe that the freedom left in the Unit one of the goals of the C dermine America's stan allies in Europe?

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SOME of the most dev sistent attacks on the have come from indivi Communists back in the who have broken with the Wechsler, editor of the Senator McCarthy has att sler and spread doubts of one of the hopes of the the ruination of the rep who are the severest critic

Senator McCarthy has "h as he phrases it, a genera testify for Senator McC orders from his superiors. abused by Senator McCa his orders. Isn't one of t

"CARE TO HEAR SOMETHING?"

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the great goals of

the Communist party the undermining of the American army?

Senator McCarthy has spread doubts through American public life, and isn't this one of the purposes of the Communist party?

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SENATOR McCARTHY, for all his charges, has yet to uncover a Communist in a high or important place. Isn't it a desire of the Communists to spread confusion without endangering the really important members of the Communist party?

By sidetracking the FBI and using FBI undercover agents for much of his testimony, Senator McCarthy has undermined the effectiveness of the FBI in keeping a close watch on the Communist party. Isn't it one of the real hopes of the Communist party to undo the former high standing and effectiveness of the FBI?

In the face of these accomplishments, Senator McCarthy has been doing the work of the Communist party.

Isn't it proper now to ask: Is Senator McCarthy really a Communist?

DREW PEARSON

White House Discord

WASHINGTON. — Not since Dwight Eisenhower entered the White house has there been such pull

vote and swing such key states as Illinois to the Republican column next November.

CC: Mr. Shute, SIN

For your information and future reference
dmcd

April 7, 1954

Mr. Murrow:

There were a few calls this morning in connection with your statement that the Commonweal is a leading Catholic weekly. One of the calls was from a Mr. Sherry of the Catholic Review who said that the Commonweal is not an official Catholic magazine but a magazine run by Catholic laymen.

There is an official Catholic magazine called "America" which is run by Jesuits which McCarthy says is Communistic. The following issues have letters from McCarthy:

November 22, 1952	page	208
December 13, 1952	"	301
December 20, 1952	"	326
January 3, 1953	"	374

Rebe Holder

Daily Worker

Reentered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, atthe post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

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CIO Engineers and ILA Tugmen Honor Dock Picket Lines

By HARRY RAYMOND

The striking dock union announced yesterday it had ordered its affiliated Tugboat local to respect picket lines of embattled longshoremen now entering their fourth week of strike for a union contract. Patrick Connelly, executive vice-president of the independent International Longshoremen's Association, said the union would order gulf port locals to refuse to handle ships diverted from the struck New York harbor.

Connelly said members of the CIO Marine Engineers association had also pledged to respect the ILA picket lines.

These announcements followed a New York Shipowners attempt to spur a back-to-work movement with a promise of an 8-cent-an-hour wage increase, with retroactive pay to last Oct. 1, to longshoremen who return to work by next Wednesday. The shippers also promised 2-cents per hour welfare benefits to dockers who return without benefit of contract.

The striking dockers have been demanding opening of negotiations for a contract for wage increases, retroactive pay, an improved welfare plan and other benefits.

The Shipping Association said it was also exploring legal steps to break the strike, including asking for a second 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction.

ILA official backing of the strike brought a fresh spirit of optimism to the men on the waterfront.

Dock workers stood along the West Manhattan pier front watching the French liner Liberte, its cargo unloaded, cast off and head down stream for the sea.

MORALE HELPED

"Our strike is 100 percent here where the big tubs dock," declared an ILA picket captain. "Action by the ILA District Council and messages of sympathy we are getting from other ports along the coast have been a real shot in the arm, and just what was needed to meet the stepped-up strikebreaking movement to take bread and butter from our tables."

A $250,000 shipment of Roquefort cheese was making its fourth trip across the Atlantic on the Liberte. A spokesman for the French Line said efforts to get 54 tons of the chees unloaded on two previous visits had failed because of the strike.

The question of some form of sympathy action was being discussed in ports from Maine to

(Continued on Page 6)

Tries to Shift Blame for Blast To Soviets

Daily Worker Foreign Department

Japanese demanding government action against U. S hydrogen-bomb experiments endangering Japan were told yesterday in Tokoy that the Soviet Union is to blame for radioactive particles falling on the country. The cynical charge was made by a Japanese Socialist member of Parliament, Dr. Shigeyoshi Matsumae, who said he obtained the information from U. S. military sources.

Pressed to identify the U. S. military sources, Matsumae refused to do so.

The charges rankled in the minds of other Japanese MP's who have been pressed by the angry population to safeguard them against U. S. mass murder weapons.

The hypocritical Matsumae made his statement in the guise of an appeal for government measures "to protect Japan."

Japan's lower house Foreign Affairs Committee decided to study the "legality" of U. S. action in extending the danger zone "in the open sea" around the Eniwetok-Bikini area where a hydrogen device was set off March 1.

U.S. to Sell Mill Owned by Czechs

WASHINGTON, March 25.—Secretary ofthe Treasury Humphrey today put on the block $16,000,000 worth of Czechoslovakian steel mill equipment now in storage in this country.

The machinery was ordered from the United Engineering & Foundry Co., Pittsburgh, before 1948. The purchasers paid $16,000,000 for it.

Shipment was barred by the government.

Sealed bids will be opened April 28. The cash received will be deposited in a U.S. bank in the name of the Czechs who own the machinery. But it will be frozen there while the government considers American claims against Czechoslovakia.

THE GANGUP AGAINST THE DOCKERS

An Editorial

NOT SINCE the union-busting Harding-Coolidge-Hoover 1920s, have we seen the gang-up against strikers we witness today against the longshoremen of New York.

There is not even a pretense that anything but smashing the International Longshoremen's Association is the object. Governor Dewey has sworn to smash the strike and the union. He has even taken the unprecedented step of threatening the removal of both Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Francis W. H. Adams if they don't act vigorously enough to break the strike

The Governor calls the strikers "gangsters." He takes refuge in the publicised exposures of gangdom on the waterfront. But he conveniently overlooks that the leaders came around to sanctioning the strike only after it was in effect three weeks; that the first strikebreaking move in support of the Governor's call came from Anthony Anastasia and his mobsters.

And look who is worried over gangsterism on the New York waterfront! Dewey's party is loaded with top-hat gangsters who have become millionaires overnight through political race-track operations and a relationship with some of the most notorious racketeers, among them Joey Fay. Is Dewey trying to divert attention from his own sewers by shouting "gangster" at the men who are trying to eke out a living on the waterfront?

From Mayor Wagner, whose party was also strongly represented at the racetracks, something better was expected by labor. His move to get the NLRB to speed certifica-

(Continued on Page 5)

3,500 Teachers Rally at City Hall for Wage Raise

By MICHAEL SINGER

Rain failed to deter more than 3,500 angry teachers yesterday who turned out at City Hall in an after-school demonstration for salary increases. The demonstration ringed three-quarters of City Hall Park. Organized by the Grass Roost Committee, the teachers impressed Mayor Robert F. Wagner and the Board of Estimate, meeting inside at a regular board session, with the unity and determination of the city's teachers for fulfillment of pre-election pay promises.

While the teachers were being augmented every 15 minutes by new train and bus loads, Grass Roots Committee leaders were submitting their program to Nelson Seitel, the Mayor's executive assistant, and Budget Director Abraham Beame.

The scheduled protest apparently had an effect on Mayor Wagner, who released a statement barely 15 minutes before the demonstrators arrived, revising Wednesday's announced salary proposals. Instead of the $300 across-the-board pay hike that budget director Beame had offered, Wagner said that after consultation with his chief aides and the Board, the city was prepared to hike salaries by $450 for all teachers annually.

The mayor's readjusted pay schedule, however, was joined with an overt suggestion to extend the 3 percent sales tax to commercial services.

This additional burden on consumers—first in the Daily Worker more than six months ago—would affect payments for repairs and alterations on personal property, building service maintenance, laundry, dry cleaning, brokerage, agency, sales and advertising rates, and certain types of domestic and professional services.

The commercial sales tax is expected to add between $15 and $30 million annually. The current sales tax yields over $120 million a year.

Wagner said city officials had "agreed unanimously" that the commercial tax was the "only course of action open to us in light of the state's attitude and the needs of the city which exist regardless of what attitude the state takes."

OPPOSES PAYROLL TAX

At the same time, the mayor evidenced a tentative rejection of the payroll tax. He declared that this was an impost on business gross revenues "rather than profit"—the "kind of levy we sought to repeal at the recent session"—and that as far as labor is concerned, "it

(Continued on Page 6)

Seek to Force W. Z. Foster To Stand Trial

—See Page 3

N. Y. Tops 40% in 'Worker' Circulation Drive

Some 400 subscriptions for The Worker and another 60 for the Daily Worker yesterday pulled New Yorkers above the 40 percent mark in our current circulation campaign.

Altogether, New Yorkers turned in 4,142 Worker subs out of a goal of 10,000; and 555 for the daily paper, out of a goal of 1,300.

Worker bundle circulation continued above the 3,100 mark last weekend, with every county except the Queens-Nassau group showing some advance. Brooklyn continued to account for more than three-quarters of this bundle sale, with regular distribution taking place at some 15 plants in the county and another 400-odd papers going to new readers in the working class communities of Williamsburg, Bedford and Brownsville.

The New York subs, plus some received from Paterson and Newark, in New Jersey, made the three-way competition between Illinois, New Jersey and New York very close. The midwest metropolitan state leads with 43 percent; the New Yorkers have 41 percent and the Jerseyites are right at their heels

(Continued on Page 6)

EAST GERMANY DECLARED SOVEREIGN STATE

—See Page 3

SOVIET UNION PROCLAIMS EAST GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY

BERLIN, March 25.—The Soviet Union today proclaimed full sovereignty for the East German People's Republic, the ADN News Agency said. The agency said that after nine years of Soviet occupation, the USSR thus proclaimed full freedom in foreign and domestic affairs for the East German republic.

The announcement said the "Soviet Union now assumes the same relations with the German Democratic Republic as with all othe sovereign states."

Last May, the Soviets dissolved their control commission in East Germany, shifting control from a Soviet military to a civilian commissioner.

The announcement said Soviet troops would remain in East Germany temporarily. They would retain security functions with the right to insure compliance with four-power agreements on Germany, it said.

FURRIERS TESTIFY FOR BEN GOLD

WASHINGTON, March 25.—A witness called by defense counsel for Ben Gold, Fur and Leather Union president, testified that she had typed and sent Gold's resignation from the Communist Party prior to his signing the Taft-Hartley affidavit. Other witnesses related the union's achievements.

Vera Taft, Gold's secretary, produced her stenographic notes and a carbon copy of the letter of resignation from the Communist Party she had typed for Gold Aug. 24, 1950. The letter and the registered mail receipt were shown.

Max Ackerman of Local 105, a union member since 1912, related the long struggle of the union for democratic unionism and better wages and conditions. "We elect our officers with a free secret ballot—no gangsters," said Ackerman.

Ackerman said that he had marched in every May Day parade since 1907; that the members of each local made the decision to march and decided on the banners and slogans they would carry.

Asked if he was a Communist, Ackerman exclaimed: "I am an enrolled Democrat. I never had it in mind to become a member of the Communist Party."

Samuel Dobrin, of Local 101, testified that he has been a furrier since 1900 and a member of the union from 1908 to 1918 and from 1935 to the present. From 1918 to 1935 he was a manufacturer and then a buyer.

Dobrin stated that he is president of a Democratic Club and

(Continued on Page 6)

Meany Urges Fight To Cut Income Tax

By BERNARD BURTON

WASHINGTON, March 25. — AFL president George Meany today urged all AFL bodies to contact Senators and "let them know definitely where labor stands" on increasing personal income tax exemptions. Noting that the proposals had been defeated by only six votes in the House, Meany said the issue will soon come up in the Senate.

Meany's letter to state federations and city central labor bodies was seen as providing additional impetus to a grass roots campaign sparked by labor, which was woefully lacking when the House took up the tax bill.

The CIO executive board, at its New York City meeting earlier this weeek, placed increased personal income tax exemptions at the top of its 10-point anti-depression program. The CIO will hold a nationwide conference here in April, just around the time the tax bill should be ready for submission to the Senate.

Meany in his letter charged that the bill as passed by the House "grants tax relief in huge amounts to corporations and to those who receive income from dividends." He said that if taxes can be reduced, "first consideration should be given to those in the low income brackets."

"We are convinced," he stated, "that mass purchasing power can be stimulated and more prosperous conditions restored if Congress were to vote higher personal income tax exemptions."

CIO STAND

The CIO executive board took a similar position, declaring increased exemptions "would channel vast new funds into America's economic bloodstream—a transfusion vitally needed if we are to halt skidding farm income, mounting unemployment in the cities, and the sickening of America's entire economic structure."

Increase of exemptions from $600 to $800 and to $1,000 next year, as proposed in the bill by Sen. Walter George (D-Ga), was urged by the CIO. Meany did not specify the size of the exemption.

An $800 exemption would give the average wage earner who heads a family of four an increase of about $3 a week in his take-home pay.

Administration and Republican leaders suffered their first defeat today on taxes in the Senate. This was on continuation of excise taxes

(Continued on Page 6)

MRS. FDR EXPRESSES ALARM AT NEW ORLEANS WITCHHUNT

Eleanor Roosevelt yesterday wrote in the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun that if every one who fought for the rights of labor is a Communist "then there are more Communists than we can count in this country."

Her column was devoted to the charges of Communism made recently against Mrs. Clifford Durr and Aubrey Williams, by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss).

Mrs. Roosevelt asserted she knew Mrs. Durr in Washington and that Mrs. Durr "believed that discrimination against anyone was harmful to our nation."

While defending Mrs. Durr and Williams as though being a Communist was a social or legal crime, Mrs. Roosevelt concluded:

"I am beginning to think, however, that if you have been a liberal, if you believe that those who are strong must sometimes consider the weak, and that with strength and power goes the responsibility, automatically some people consider you a Communist.

"Today this responsibility, because of strength and power, belongs to labor as much as to capital, but that has not always been the case, and there was a time when the rights of labor had to be fought for. If every one who fought for these rights was a Communist, then there are more Communists than we can count in this country."

Jeff School Sets 2,500 Goal For Spring Term

The Jefferson School of Social Science has set a goal of 2,500 students for the spring term which begins on April 19, it was announced yesterday.

The school's spring term catalogue lists more than 70 classes which meet one night a week for 10 weeks. Enrollment begins April 5.

A special feature is a program of study-cultural-social activities for young people on Tuesday evenings—"Youth Night."

Seek to Force W. Z. Foster To Stand Trial

Harrasment of William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was renewed yesterday with efforts by U. S. Atorney Edward J. Lumbard to force Foster to trial under the Smith Act.

Foster's attorney, David M. Freedman, 11 Park Place, announced that he had received papers from the U. S. Attorney demanding that Foster show cause by 10:30 a.m. Tuesday, March 30, why he could not stand trial.

Foster, who recently marked his 73rd birthday, has been ill for years with a serious heart ailment. Originally indicted under the Smith Act with 11 other Communist leaders in June, 1948, Foster's case was severed by motion of the government in January, 1949.

Repeatedly, court appointed and private physicians have agreed that Foster is too ill to stand trial.

A supporting affdiavit by Assistant U. S. Attorney James Kilsheimer alleges that Foster's activity since his last medical examination by court doctors in Nov. 3, 1952, proves he is able to stand trial. As "proof," Kilsheimer indicates a series of Daily Worker and Political Affairs articles and books writen by Foster.

PEARSON ASKS JURY PROBE OF McCARTHY

WASHINGTON, March 25.—Columnist Drew Pearson today reopened his feud with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy by demanding a grand jury investigate charges exchanged by them.

In a letter to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Pearson said the Wisconsin Republican's charges that he violated the Espionage Act should be submitted to a grand jury. Pearson said the same jury should investigate five charges against McCarthy involving possible violations of the Espionage and Corrupt Practices Acts.

McCarthy charged yesterday that two "Mr. Murrays"—one a former employe of the Munitions Board and the other a former Justice Department worker—gave Pearson "secret" information.

Pearson denied any wrongdoing

McCARTHY

but told Brownell he "would be delighted to have you submit all of McCarthy's allegations to a grand jury."

He said the same jury should investigate any charges that McCarthy violated the Espionage Act last September when he published a 75 page "restricted" Army intelligence report on Siberia. Pearson also accused McCarthy of another Espionage Act violation during a 1951 speech in which he made public a dated military report from Korea which, Pearson said, "Makes it possible for a foreign power to break the code."

Pearson also asked for an investigation of charges that McCarthy accepted $10,000 from Rep. Alvin Bentley (R-Mich) and his wife for "fighting communism." A Senate sub-committee reported the money was used to speculate on the soybean market.

The newsman further asked Brownell to check McCarthy's finances, because, he said, the Senator deposited $172,623 in a bank account in four years—"A lot of money for a Senator with a salary

(Continued on Page 6)

Soviets Report Finding U. S. Spies' Documents

MOSCOW, March 25.—A Moscow newspaper published charges today that American military attaches left documents in a railroad train which indicated they were spying along the trans-Siberian railroad.

The trade union newspaper Trud published photostatic copies of the documents. The paper suggested the attaches could pick up the spy documents by calling at the porter's office in Moscow.

The documents, it was stated, contained photos and notes of airfields, bridges, radio stations and other strategic facilities made from a train enroute from Moscow to Khabarovsk, Siberia, last September.

Trud said a check with the Intourist Bureau showed that four members of the military staff of the U. S. Embassy were in the train in question.

Named as aboard the train were Lt. Col. Howard L. Felchin, military attache; Maj. Martin J. Manhoff, assistant army attache; Maj. Walter A. McKinney, assistant air attache, and air force Sgt. Eugene Williams.

Trud's allegations were broadcast by Radio Moscow as follows:

"The trade union paper, Trud prints a letter from the chief conductor of the Moscow-Vladivostok express, G. Kharin. He notes that after one of the runs he found a pack of documents that had been forgotten by passengers in compartments Nos. 3 and 4 sleepers on the trans-Siberian express.

"These documents, he writes, constitute an intelligence report on main towns and stations between Moscow and Kharbarovsk. Special attention was paid in these reports to airfields, radio stations, industrial plants and the like.

"The paper adds to the letter that it has learned from the Intourist booking office that tickets to compartments Nos. 3 and 4 of the sleepers on the Moscow-Vladivostok express were sold to personnel of the U. S. military and air attaches in Moscow.

"Trud prints a photostatic copy of the report, which says that it above mentioned persons would like to get the documents back which evidently were forgotten in the rush they can do so by calling the porter's office."

POINT OF ORDER

By ALAN MAX

CLEAN-UP

Dewey's excuse for trying to break the dock strike, is that he wants to "clean up" the waterfront. Dewey's party is an old-hand at cleaning up—at the trotting races.

• • •

It's rumored that some of the Republican-owned tracks next spring will feature trotting elephants.

• • •

Whatever can be said of Tammany connections with the racketeers, the good-will existing between the GOP and the racketeers is entirely mutual. Not to mention pari-mutuel.

Clip this Number 24 and keep it safe. This weekend Worker will carry a Number 25.

When you have accumulated 18 successive coupons — 3 weeks' worth of Workers and Daily Workers—you can get your pick of three major works of art and literature—just published—at half price. They are:

Paul Robeson's New Album "Let Freedom Sing," 10-inch L.P., 10 new recordings. Reg. Price $4.00. Our Special $2.00, plus 35c mailing and handling.

Soul of Black Folk, by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Reg. Price $3.00. Our Special $1.50, plus 20c mailing and handling.

Burning Valley, by Phillip Bonosky. Reg. Price $2.75. Our Special $1.50, plus 20c mailing and handling.

Mail 18 coupons, plus your order, cash, check, or money order to: Daily Worker, 35 E. 12th St., N.Y. 3.

Please note:

The new Robeson record will be ready April 10.

We will be unable to mail your gifts, unless you include postage to cover handling.

CUT THIS OUT

24

AND SAVE

BEN GOLD

(Continued from Page 3)

district captain of the Democratic organization in a silk stocking district.

Dobrin, who has dealt with Gold both as an employer and as a union member, told of Gold's reputation for honesty and truthfulness among workers and employers. He said it was universally acknowledged that "there is no more honest man than Ben Gold."

Dobrin said that he had taken part in May Day parades since before 1908; that all kinds of people, "even Socialists and anti-Communists take part."

Leo Maitland, of Local 110, a Negro, testified that when Gold was union manager in 1925, he was admitted to the union. In 1925 he got $18 per week. He now earns $106, he said.

Julius Teitelman, of Local 105, testified he had been a member of AFL group opposed to Gold prior to 1935 and that he disagrees with the Communist Party. Tremendous gains have been made by the fur workers' union under Gold, said Teitelman.

CIRCULATION

(Continued from Page 1)

with 40 percent.

Within New York, there is eve nless distance separating the various county groups. Thus, Manhattan with 4 percent, is leading Brooklyn by a single percentage point. And Queens, on top with 42 percent, leads the Bronx, with which it is in competition, by two percentage points.

The upstate areas are trailing badly, with only some 20 percent of their goal completed. Most have not yet gotten started.

"There is a spirit in the political atmosphere which is making this the most stimulating campaign in recent years" one of the leading campaigners on Manhattan's East Side told us yesterday. The East Siders, with some 70 percent of their goal of 500 already in, are up front among Manhattan groups.

The campaigner gave several instances of stimulating experiences. One couple went out to renew a sub on the fifth floor of a walk-up, she related. They decided, since they had to climb the stairs, to knock on all doors on the way up.

The result? Ten papers sold, three new subscriptions in addition to the renewal, and promise of a fourth sub—all in a single house with about 25 apartments.

On top of this, they got a deeper appreciation of the rough housing and other economic problems of the people in the neighborhood, and were able to discuss more effectively what can can be done about these problems.

Another person went out to visit 10 people whose subs were about to run out. Two had already renewed directly, seven others renewed with her, the 10th was not at home.

In one house where there are four subscribers, they're planning to get together Sunday mornings to read and discuss the paper. The group there, plus some neighbors, have started the practice of holding monthly reader parties, which has some discussion on the paper, but mostly relaxation and entertainment.

"We're confident that we'll not only reach our goal before the campaign is over, but will go above it," the east side campaigner said. "The readership is there. The trouble is that not enough readers of the paper both in my area and elsewhere are conscious of the new political climate, and so still hesitate to talk to people aobut the paper."

She has something. But the consciousness is growing too.

THE NEW IN BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE

Situation in Biological Science, Heredity and Its Variability

By T. D. Lysenko

Fundamentals of Michurin Biology

By V. N. Stoletov

Also

Lenin and Philosophical Problems of Modern Physics

By S. I. Vavilov

The four booklets for $1.00

Periodicals in English from the Soviet Union—you may now get these direct from New York or direct from abroad. Send for our new listings and catalogs from the Soviet Union for books and periodicals in English.

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ILA

(Continued from Page 1)

Virginia.

Boston ILA men, who have refused to man ships diverted from New York, were scheduled to meet last night to vote on whether to declare a stoppage or take other steps to aid their fellow workers in New York.

Philadelphia dockers are also refusing to handle "hot cargo." ILA leaders there, who called a one-day "holiday" on St. Patrick's Day to back the New Yorkers, said they had not yet worked out any new plans.

Capt. William V. Bradley, ILA president, announced no direct plans for a coastwide sympathy strike, but he said ILA members along the Atlantic Coast "want to go out" in support of the New York strikers.

Bradley said the New York District Council had decided to sanction the strike because the longshoremen had been working without a contract for six months and it was time to invoke a "no contract-no work" policy.

Gov. Dewey, who helped spark the strike movement by his intervention to void an ILA victory over the AFL in an NLRB election, claimed New York police were not giving strikebreakers sufficient protection.

"If there's a breakdown in law enforcement in the city," Dewey threatened, "I have the power to remove the Mayor or Police Commissioner or both."

Mayor Wagner, who previously ordered Polic Commissioner Adams to open the piers with strikebreakers under heavy police guard, crawled before this threat. He urged President Eisenhower to act against the strikers if the shutdown spread beyond New York.

Never have striking workers in New York been intimidated by such a large mobilization of police as is now mounted along the piers. Commissioner Adams said he had "substantially increased" police patrols on the waterfront.

ILA leaders were threatened in addition with heavy fines and jail terms for alleged violation of a court order restraining an earlier jurisdictional walkout. The current strike, however, is an economic stoppage and not remotely connected with the earlier "boycott" movement.

John Dwyer, AFL dock organizer, and Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Seafarers International Union, continued to work with police aiming to crash picket lines with scab workers. Many of the strikebreakers are unemployed laborers recruited in the Seamen's Church Institute, in South St.

Although Dwyer and Hall made claims they put more than 3,000 scabs on the docks, a more reliable estimate was that slightly more than 1,000 strikebreakers, most of them unfamiliar with the dangerous longshore work, were herded to the docks yesterday. This group was said to have been trying to work some 40 of 77 struck ships.

The White House said the President had received no formal request for intervention in the dock strike from Mayor Wagner or Gov. Dewey. Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said Eisenhower will take no action in the strike while a contempt case is pending in Federal Court against three ILA officers and eight locals.

Hagerty said a federal judge was assigned to start the contempt proceedings Monday involving an old injunction.

Announcing Publication of

"THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE FIGHT FOR NEGRO RIGHTS"

By Sanford Goldner, Ph.D.

A 56-page pamphlet, first of its kind, dealing in popular, but scholarly fashion, with the stake of the Jewish people in the fight for Negro rights.

Price: 25¢ per copy
20¢ in bundle orders of 25 or more

Committee for Negro-Jewish Relations, Box 3012 Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California

PEARSON

(Continued from Page 3)

of $12,500." He said McCarthy had also "borrowed" the bank account of his assistant, Ray Kiermas.

———

WASHINGTON, March 25.—The Army said today it is considering sending Pvt. G. David Schine to its criminal investigators school at Camp Gordon, Ga., when he completes his Military Police basic training March 27.

Requirement for the CID school is two years serviec and a corporal's rating. Schine was drafted last fall.

At Camp Gordon it was said Schine's application had been denied.

The Senate Investigating Subcommittee moved ahead today with preparations for its Army-McCarthy inquiry without acting on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's new demand for interim hearings on "Communism."

TAX

(Continued from Page 3)

which are passed on to the consumer and are a hidden form of sales taxes. Originally these taxes were due to expire April 1, but the administration demanded their extension. The House went along but only after limiting all excise taxes to 10 percent.

Yesterday Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill) introduced three amendments to eliminate excise taxes on household appliances, and reduce them to 7 percent on autos and to 5 percent on radios, phonographs and television sets.

The amendment on autos was defeated, 63 to 25.

The Senate late yesterday by 64 to 23, adopted Douglas' amendment on household appliances over the opposition of Republican leaders, after it was changed to an excise of 5 percent. Thirty-five Democrats, 28 Republicans and Wayne Morse (Ind-Ore) voted for it. Fifteen Republicans and eight Democrats voted against, all these Democrats being from the South with the exception of Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado.

The impact of this vote was weakened by the announcement by Sen. Eugene D. Millikin (R-Colo), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, that he had agreed to "take it to conference," which means he would bring it before the joint House-Senate conference on a final tax bill but would not fight for its retention.

Nevertheless, the vote was considered significant as a sort of preliminary to the main bout, on income tax exemptions on which hearings are expected to take up quite some time.

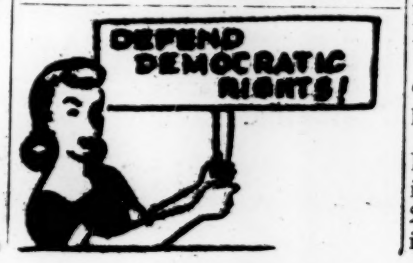
It was indicated most of the Republicans know they are on the unpopular side of tax issue, but it is expected the GOP machine, including the White House, will put on the same kind of pressure that they applied in the House to enable the rich men's bill to squeak through.

Unless the Democratic leadership puts up a more vigorous fight than in the House there may be similar results in the Senate. That is why appeals for grass roots action, such as was issued by Meany, are of prime importance.

In the debate yesterday on the excise taxes, Douglas produced some startling figures on the decline in the industries which would be affected by his amendments. Most of his proposed excise reductions would be on items working people buy. The bulk of those made in the House would help purchasers of mink coats, people who go to nights clubs, etc.

Douglas noted that in the household appliance industry, output fell 30 percent from February, 1953, to February, 1954. Television output dropped 42 percent in the same period. Radio fell 36 percent while radio and TV inventories are up 40 to 60 percent.

Auto inventories in dealers' hands on Dec. 31, 1953, were 83 percent above a year earlier, while production for the week ended March 6 was 14 percent below the same week in 1953.



State of Emergency Proclaimed in Egypt

CAIRO, March 25.—Egypt's Revolutionary Tribunal today proclaimed a state of emergency.

TEACHERS

(Continued from Page 1)

would be an intolerable burden if placed on top of the rent and fare increases voted by the Legislature this year."

Wagner said the consumer sales tax machinery "is already in existence," a strong clue that the levy may be instituted immediately after the next fiscal year. Rumors in City Hall said the mayor and the Board of Estimate intended to impose the tax immediately.

Grass Roots Committee leaders who met with Seitel and Beame were Joseph Farnan, chairman; Thomas Seligman, representative of the Junior High School division; Lillian Linder, Committee secretary, and Mildren Johnson, of the Vocational High School section.

The teachers, who came from every borough carried placards denouncing the proposed $300 salary as "not enough," and emphasising the lessons of Bayonne, N.J., where a four-day strike won salary raises.

Mrs. Rose Russell, legislative representative of the Teachers Union, urged the Board of Estimate to defer approval for transferral of funds to provide up to $10,000 a year in salary increases for heads of city departments.

While teachers rallied for salary hikes several hundred city-employed laborers jammed the Board of Estimate to urge immediate granting of their 1953-54 wage pact providing for a 40-hour, five-day week. They were members of Local 924, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, AFL.

Jerry Wurf, local president, accused Louis Cohen, first Deputy Comptroller, of "sabotaging an agreement reached by the union with the then-Comptroller Joseph and later affirmed by officials in Comptroller Gerosa's office."

Tenant Delegates Bring Cases f OEviction to Assemblyman

A delegation from the Upper Williamsburgh Tenant, Consumer and Welfare Council this week visited Assemblyman John J. Ryan of the 6th A. D. The delegation was headed by Theodore Burton, chairman of the council and Mrs. Blanche Malinsky, secretary. With the delegation were tenants who suffered because of the relocation policy in housing.

Mr. Chavez spoke of his own plight, how he has to be relocated because of the expansion of the Pfizer Chemical Co. Ryan stated this was the first instance he has heard of when tenants are forced to move because of industrial expansion and he promised to see Rep. Leo Heller about it.

Joshua Simpson of 1003 Myrtle Avenue, who lives with six children in a cellar store front which is rat-infested, told of how he has to live. The New York City Housing Authority has refused to place Simpson and his children in public housing. Simpson now pays rent to the city. Ryan agreed to look into this situation.

The next situation in housing brought to Ryan's attention was that of Mr. Hicks who has been offered housing by the Housing Authority at $90 per month with the stipulation that this rental would be increased, should the family income be increased. This of course would create hardship on the whole family and they would be working just to pay the rent. Mr. Ryan suggested Mr. Hicks get a supplementary record of three months earnings in order that he may fight for housing at lower rental.

The delegation also discussed the bill now pending in the House Banking and Currency Committee.

This bill HR 7839, does not include any allocation for low-cost public housing.

The delegation urged that Mr. Ryan speak to Rep. Heller regarding the Council's demand for 200,000 housing units. Ryan promised to do so.

The delegation urged Ryan to bring the real issues of housing to the people in the community, so that real slum clearance with housing at low rentals can become a reality.

Classified Ads

FOR SALE

AIR CONDITIONER — Just a few left, ¾-ton with thermostat. Rated one of the best. Reg. $399.95. Spec. $239.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 - 4th Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.) GR 3-7819. 1-hour free parking.

SERVICES

PAINTING

A job well done—painting, paperhanging. Jack Rosen, GI. 8-7601. Free estimating. Reliable work.

(Upholsterers)

CALL HYacinth 8-7887 for sofa, rewebbed, relined, springs retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture repaired, slipcovered, reupholstered. Comradely attention. Call mornings 9 to 1.

MOVING AND STORAGE

SPIKE'S MOVING and pick-up service—UN 4-7707. (If no answer call after 6 p.m.)

MOVING, Storage, Long Distance, experienced furniture, piano movers. Many satisfied readers. Call Ed Wendell, JE 6-2000. Day-Night.

Shopper's Guide

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EFFICIENT • RELIABLE

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JADE MOUNTAIN
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Bet. 12th and 13th Sts. • GR 7-9444
• Quality Chinese Food •
Special Attention to Parties & Banquets

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Peveley

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

- x

CLARK H. GETTS, INC., :

Plaintiff, :

-against- : BILL OF PARTICULARS

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC., :

Defendant :

- x

Plaintiff, for its bill of particulars, respectfully shows:

Answering question No. 1:

(a) The agreement alleged in paragraph 3 of the Complaint was oral.

(b) The principal terms of the agreement alleged in paragraph 3 of the Complaint are set forth in said paragraph. The duration of the agreement was the duration of "The Longines Chronoscope", on the defendant's television network, and plaintiff's satisfactory performance of the covenants by it to be performed under said agreement. The officers and representatives through whom the parties to the agreement acted in making the same were, as regards the plaintiff, Clark H. Getts, and as regards Longines-Wittnauer Watch Co., Inc. (hereinafter called "Longines"), Messrs. Fred Cartown, and Harrison Cowan, President and Chairman of the Board of Directors, and Director of Advertising, respectively, of Longines.

Answering question No.2:

The names of the officers or agents of the defendant through whom it is claimed that defendant had knowledge of plaintiff's national reputation in the field of television casting and production, and of the value of plaintiff's services to Longines, are: J. L. Von Volkenburg, Vice President of the defendant and President of its Television Division; Lawrence A. Lowman, former Vice President of the defendant; Roy Wilson, former Artist Service Manager; and S. Mickelson, head of the News and Public Affairs Division of the defendant. The times at, and the manner in which, the above named officers and agents of the defendant learned of the plaintiff's national reputation are not precisely known to the plaintiff. Upon information and belief, the above named officers had acquired knowledge of the plaintiff's national reputation prior to the execution of the oral agreement set forth in paragraph 3 of the complaint.

Answering question No. 3:

The names of the officers or agents of the defendant through whom it is claimed that defendant had knowledge of the aforesaid agreement between plaintiff and Longines, are: J. L. Von Volkenburg, Vice President of the defendant and President of its Television Division, and S. Mickelson, head of the News and Public Affairs Division of the defendant. The time at which the above named officers or agents of the defendant acquired such knowledge was on or about June 14, 1951. The manner in which such knowledge was acquired was the oral representation of the existence of the agreement by the plaintiff to said officers and representatives.

Answering question No. 4:

(a) The acts and statements by which it is claimed that defendant induced Longines to terminate, repudiate and breach its agreement with plaintiff are as follows:

(1) After August 13, 1951, on which date United States Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, had appeared as a guest upon "The Longines Chronoscope", defendant told both Longines and plaintiff that it was dissatisfied with the selection of guests appearing on the program, and stated that if the type of guests appearing did not change it would wish to control both personnel appearing on and the subject matter of the program.

(2) After October 16, 1951, on which date Congressman Harold H. Velde, of Illinois, had appeared as a guest upon "The Longines Chronoscope", the defendant again complained to both Longines and plaintiff concerning the type of guests who were appearing on the program. Again defendant stated that unless a change in the type of guests occurred, it would have to take over control of the program. From the time of said program and thenceforth, defendant ceased exhibiting the display card previously shown at the close of each "The Longines Chronoscope" program, which bore the legend "This program has been produced under the supervision and control of CBS".

(3) After September 29, 1952, on which date United States Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, appeared as a guest upon the program, the defendant stated to both Longines and plaintiff that this was the last straw and that defendant would have to take over the

casting and the production of the program.

(4) Thereafter and until April 16, 1953, the defendant from time to time made further statements to plaintiff indicating that it was dissatisfied with the type of guests appearing on the program, and upon information and belief made further statements to Longines, the effect of which was to induce Longines to terminate, repudiate and breach its agreement with plaintiff.

(b) The names of the officers of the defendant who committed the acts or made the statements described in answer 4(a) above, were J. L. Von Volkenburg, Vice President of defendant and President of its Television Division, and S. Mickelson, head of the defendant's News and Public Affairs Division. The officers or representatives of Longines to whom the aforesaid statements were made were Messrs. Fred Cartoun, President and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Longines, and Harrison Cowan, Director of Advertising of Longines. The times at which such statements were made are shown in answers to 4(a) above, and the places at which such statements were made were the offices, studios, and other premises of the defendant.

Answering question No. 5:

(a) The names of the guests who appeared on "The Longines Chronoscope" with whose political or ideological coloration defendant is claimed to have been dissatisfied are as follows: United States Senator Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, Congressman Harold H. Velde, of Illinois, United States Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, United States Senator Prescott Bush, of Connecticut, Major-General C. A. Willoughby, United States Senator Homer E.

Capehart, of Indiana, United States Senator Price Daniel, of Texas, United States Senator Herman Welker, of Idaho, Congressman Donald L. Jackson, of California, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, United States Senator George A. Smathers, of Florida, and United States Senator George W. Malone, of Nevada.

(b) See answer to question 4, above.

(c) The other methods alleged to have been used by defendant to impose on Longines and plaintiff its views concerning personnel, subject and content of "The Longines Chronoscope" are as follows:

(1) On or about August 15, 1951 defendant offered employment to plaintiff as a program producer of "The Longines Chronoscope" for defendant; this offer was refused by plaintiff.

(2) In the summer and late fall of 1952, after the nominations for the Presidency of the United States had been made with regard to the presedential elections to be held in November of that year, defendant notified plaintiff that it must have as guests upon "The Longines Chronoscope" Vincent Hallinan, nominee of the Progressive Party for President of the United States, Farrell Dobbs, nominee of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States, Corliss Lamont, and other leading figures of similar persuasion.

An example of defendant's emphasis is the fact that before Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President of the United States and candidate of the Progressive Party for President of the United States in 1948, appeared on "The Longines Chronoscope" program, on October 17, 1952, the defendant requested publicity releases and other data

concerning the program, which release and data defendant distributed to publicity media. This was the only time during defendant's broadcasting of "The Longines Chronoscope" that the defendant made any substantial effort to promote "The Longines Chronoscope", although such efforts were usual with respect to comparable programs produced by defendant.

(3) As stated in the answer to question 4(a) (1) above, after the appearance of Senator Everett Dirksen upon "The Longines Chronoscope" on August 13, 1951, defendant removed from the program its display card bearing the legend "This program has been produced under the supervision and control of CBS".

(4) On information and belief, defendant performed other acts designed to bring pressure on Longines to invite certain guests or types of guests to participate in "The Longines Chronoscope", and otherwise to effect and control the personnel, subject matter and content of the program, the details concerning such actions, and the times such actions occurred are not presently known to the plaintiff.

The officers or agents of defendant who used such "other methods" were J. L. Von Volkenburg, Vice President of defendant and President of its Television Division, S. Mickelson, head of the News and Public Affairs Division of defendant, and Hubbell Robinson, Television Program Director of the defendant.

Answering question No. 6:

Plaintiff computes the value of benefits to be received by it under its agreement with Longines as follows: Plaintiff has sustained as damages the loss of $1200 a week net profit to itself by reason of the defendant's inducing the breach of its agreement with Longines. Such loss began on or about June 19, 1953 and continues to date. As of this date plaintiff has sustained such damages in excess of 40 weeks for a total of $48,000. Plaintiff anticipates further loss of the same nature between the time of the service of this bill of particulars and the date of trial. In addition, plaintiff has sustained further loss in the amount of $2,590 by reason of defendant's inducing a breach of contract, in that it was forced to dismiss a staff of highly skilled employees which it had carefully acquired solely for the production of "The Longines Chronoscope". The total damages thus sustained by plaintiff to the date of this bill of particulars, as alleged in paragraph 10 of the complaint, is $50,590.

Dated: New York, N.Y.
March 31, 1954

DWIGHT, ROYALL, HARRIS, KOEGEL & CASKEY
Attorneys for Plaintiff
Office and P. O. Address
100 Broadway
New York 5, N.Y.

To: ROSENMAN, GOLDMARK, COLIN & KAYE
Attorneys for Defendant
Office and P. O. Address
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Frank: For Gossakes!
Clean up our T.V. I don't
like to look at programs
& have to wonder if the
guys are traitors. Wrecks
the whole thing. Also is
a shockhocker I believe
that it is damn bad business
Yours Meg

Communism

Contributors to August issue of the new Communist labor publication: the previously mentioned MAURICE FORGE and LOUIS GOLDBLATT; RUSS NIXON, legislative representative of the CP-line United Electrical Workers; SAM PARKS, sec'y of District 1 (Chicago), United Packinghouse Workers; and JAMES DURKIN, party-line Pres of United Office and Professional Workers of America who signed a Communist Party nominating petition in 1946.

X JAY GORNEY JOINS STAFF OF CBS. A TV news release from the Columbia Broadcasting System last month announced that JAY GORNEY and WM N ROBSON* had been assigned to its TV program staff.

GORNEY was a sponsor of the Waldorf "peace" conference which was staged by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP) and denounced by State Dept. He was also listed as a signer of the Council statement calling for abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities... and signed its "We Are For Wallace" ad which appeared in NY Times during the 1948 campaign. A few months ago, he was listed in CP press and NCASP literature as one of the sketch writers for an NCASP carnival and dance.

He contributed songs and sketches to "Show Time for Wallace", a production of the Communist front Progressive Citizens of America, according to CP press, and also did the music and sketches for the Communist-controlled American Labor Party's production of "Broadway in a Democratic Key" (with MARC BLITZSTEIN*, EARL ROBINSON*, and HAROLD ROME*). Last year, he sang his own "Bill of Rights" song at an ALP meeting at which VITO MARCANTONIO was the principal speaker.

GORNEY has been listed as an exec board member of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a supporter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (on Att'y Gen's list), and the Artists Front to Win the War.

In April, he was announced as one of scheduled artists to appear in a benefit performance for Peoples Drama, Communist theatrical front.

GORNEY is chairman of musical play dept of the Dramatic Workshop. HANNS EISLER, before being deported from the U S, was an instructor at this school...which has produced plays glorifying the Soviet slave-labor system.

Dramatic Workshop recently celebrated its 10th anniversary with a Mardi Gras ball at the Penthouse, 13 Astor Place, NYCity. The "Penthouse" is a favorite Communist entertainment center. 13 Astor Place is familiarly referred to as a "little Kremlin" of the U S.

When GORNEY and his wife SANDRA (who has written for the Daily Worker) produced "Bloomer Girl" for the Dramatic Workshop in January, the lyrics were written by E Y HARBURG* and the production was staged by COBY RUSKIN*. The CP press publicizes Dramatic Workshop productions.

EXECUTIVE FILES

COUNTERATTACK AND THE "WEAVERS". Three months ago COUNTERATTACK suggested that its subscribers protest the appearance of The Weavers on a program in which they made their TV debut (COUNTERATTACK, June 9, p 4).

Facts were given about the pro-Communist activities of The Weavers.

A short while later, The Weavers' Manager called on the Editor of COUNTERATTACK. His problem: the folk-singing quartet had been scheduled for another program sponsored by a nationally known product. The COUNTERATTACK story had led to its cancellation...and promised to hurt him and The Weavers financially.

He explained that he didn't know anything about Communism, or much about The Weavers' past. Since some facts had been brought to his attention, he had spoken to the "boys" about the problem and felt that they were just

Time he found out a guy that dinner was not me to fool with

* Named in Counterattack's "Red Channels".

gullible and well-meaning. He said that he would try to persuade them to cease their pro-Communist activity as individuals and, as their manager, would refuse engagements for any Communist front groups.

COUNTERATTACK's editor told him what he knew about The Weavers as a group and individually. He also promised that COUNTERATTACK would do everything possible to help him...that he should feel free to call on us at any time...that COUNTERATTACK was eager to help people break with the Communist Party and its fronts.

The Weavers were on the Art Ford show Sept 8. This is a program which has a large and changing list of sponsors. It is broadcast over TV station WPIX (owned by the anti-Communist NY Daily News) twice weekly.

? Was the appln call ?

On Sept 15, PETE SEEGER*, one of The Weavers, took part in a meeting of the Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. He sang the song "Old Man Atom" (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, pp 1 & 2) at the meeting. Prof EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, chairman of the meeting and an editor of the Marxist intellectual publication, Science and Society, spoke of SEEGER as a member of People's Artists...a Communist entertainment front.

Meeting was held to honor HOWARD FAST and ADRIAN SCOTT. FAST has just finished serving a prison term for contempt of Congress. SCOTT, one of Hollywood's "Tongue-Tied Ten", is now in prison for the same offense.

Protests forced cancellation of the meeting at the Hotel Capitol in NYCity, after WOR radio commentator DAVID SNELL exposed its Communist nature. It was moved to the Riverside Plaza Hotel.

Literature of the CP's Jefferson School was distributed at close of the meeting. This literature announced: "A new world is coming to birth - the people are on the march, and in that new world Marxism leads the way!"

ADRIAN SCOTT and actor JOHN RANDOLPH ("Come Back Little Sheba") attacked RED CHANNELS at the meeting.

An anti-RED CHANNELS resolution was one of five passed. It called on all present (about 500) to send telegrams to advertising agencies to express their alarm at the alleged "blacklist".

Theme of the meeting: Courage. We will win. The repressive (anti-Communist) activities taking place in the U S are signs of fear. "Prison is nothing to be afraid of...we're on the winning side", ex-prisoner FAST told the audience. "I'll be back. We'll all be back", SCOTT said.

Over $1,000 was raised at the meeting.

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

1. F M FLYNN, Pres, station WPIX, 220 East 42nd St, NYCity.

Remind him that PETE SEEGER has entertained for Communist Party functions and is still supporting pro-Communist organizations. Ask him if he believes SEEGER should be featured on WPIX.

2. FRANK STANTON, Pres of CBS, 485 Madison Ave, NYCity.

Ask him if he knows of any facts about JAY GORNEY, not known to the public, which indicate that GORNEY is non-Communist and offset the pro-Communist ACTIONS he has taken in the past. Tell him that you consider such information a matter of public interest.

Yours faithfully,

September 22, 1950.

Counterattack

FRANK STANTON
SEP 25 1950
10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5

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Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LOngacre 3-4608

June 6, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 23

Dear Subscriber:

ARE BROADCASTING NETWORKS REQUIRED BY LAW TO HIRE SUBVERSIVES? The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in Washington did an amazing thing last week, according to a FULTON LEWIS JR broadcast. It indicated that it actually believes that radio and TV networks and stations may be legally forced to help Stalin and his Fifth Column in their attempts to subvert U S.

Here's the story: On April 8, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a petition with the FCC charging four major radio and TV chains and two independent stations with blacklisting performers and other persons on political grounds. The charge was leveled against the American Broadcasting Co, Columbia Broadcasting System, National Broadcasting Co, Du Mont Television Network, station KWOL (Santa Monica, Calif) and TV station WPIX (in NY City...owned by NY Daily News).

ACLU submitted as part of its petition the book, "The Judges and the Judged", which was published the following day by Doubleday & Co (the book, written by MERLE MILLER, is about "blacklisting" in radio and TV and contains many lies, some of which have already been publicly exposed).

The ACLU made its position clear. The petition stated:

"Radio-TV actors, writers, et al, should be tested for employment by the single standard of competent performance, as long as their own acts and associations are lawful ones."

The petition charged that the networks and stations named had demonstrated "lack of qualification" to hold licenses because they had blacklisted persons on political grounds. It asked FCC to refuse renewal of their licenses "except upon the exaction of sworn promises" that they would stop this so-called blacklisting.

In other words: NOTHING CAN BE DONE by any broadcasting station or network to halt or impede infiltration of a key and most sensitive communications medium by Fifth Columnist actors, writers, technicians, etc, operating on the orders of Moscow.

Communists and fellow travelers must have free rein to carry on their efforts to use the broadcasting industry to finance the Communist Party (CP), glamorize the party's members and fellow travelers (and its fronts), and lay the groundwork for the use of the industry against U S if war comes.

A group of Cornell Univ students demonstrated how the last named could be done. Last week they seized control of the university radio station and broadcast fake bulletins of Russian bombing raids on Britain and France... and of Russian planes being seen over Newfoundland on way to U S.

"Every switchboard in Ithaca was jammed right away with calls from frightened people", the student manager of the station said.

There was "near panic" on the Cornell campus, police reported.

If a few irresponsible college students could do this, think of

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J. G. Keenan, President; H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Managing Editor

what the CP (which has stolen America's top secrets) could do in war time with the industry packed with its trained agents! It could get over almost any kind of message to create hysteria and panic, disrupt resistance, etc.

And aside from that: Stalin doesn't want war if he can attain his objectives without it. Today he is waging psychological warfare against U S in every part of the globe...from Panmunjon, Peking, and Prague to Peoria... in hope of getting what he wants without a military showdown.

And the U S phase of that morale-busting psychological warfare is financed to a considerable extent by highly paid radio, TV and other entertainment personalities who, as CP members and fellow travelers, make large contributions to the party and its fronts through dues and donations.

This money is a major weapon in the party's subversion of U S. It is used to finance espionage, to train industrial sabotage squads, to run schools where subversion of U S is taught.

But that evidently doesn't bother the American Civil Liberties Union. It says the broadcasting industry MUST subsidize this Fifth Column by hiring open Communist Party members and fellow travelers.

You would think the FCC would throw ACLU's petition for legalized subversion out the window because it has no foundation in law or in reason.

But that's not what the FCC did. According to FULTON LEWIS JR, licenses for networks and stations charged with "blacklisting" by ACLU expired on May 31. The FCC had taken up the renewals and approved them on May 28.

But FCC Commissioner FRIEDA B HENNOCK moved to reconsider the renewals the next day, May 29, because of the ACLU's petition. Her motion was adopted by FCC by vote of three to two (two members were absent).

So regular licenses were withdrawn and the stations and networks concerned given only temporary licenses. The FCC will now demand an explanation of their "blacklisting" from the networks and stations...with the implication that even their temporary licenses may be withdrawn if they persist in their efforts to protect the U S.

And FCC has threatened all other networks and stations by its action that they, too, may be refused regular licenses if they do anything to screen Communists and fellow travelers from their programs and personnel.

This is YOUR Federal Communications Commission...operating to help the Communists who are at war with U S!

COUNTERATTACK called FCC to get official verification...or denial... of FULTON LEWIS JR's charges. The only answer was "no comment".

Footnote: PRES TRUMAN has declared a national emergency.

PRES TRUMAN nominated FRIEDA B HENNOCK for judgeship in U S District Court last June. Her appointment was opposed by various bar associations and blocked by the Senate Judiciary Committee (its hearings were held in executive session...so reasons were not made public).

MISS HENNOCK then rejected her recess appointment so she could remain in FCC and work for "the sound development of television".

What to do: GET BUSY NOW. DON'T WASTE TIME. ACT TODAY.

Write to your Congressman and Senators and to Sen EDWIN C JOHNSON (D-Colo) and Rep ROBERT CRASSER (D-Ohio), chairmen respectively of Senate and House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees.

Urge your local civic and patriotic groups to do same...and demand that FCC reveal whether it has...and if so, WHY it has...made this amazing move to foist Communist agents on U S broadcasting industry.

HOW (DIS)HONEST IS THE MERLE MILLER-ACLU BOOK? On June 3, FULTON LEWIS JR, in his exposure of the FCC action in regard to the networks and stations charged with "blacklisting" by ACLU, made the following statement about "The Judges and the Judged":

"I am quoted in that book and I am very badly misquoted, my remarks completely twisted and taken out of context."

NOTE: A subscriber to COUNTERATTACK dropped into the Book Fair, a Communist Party bookshop in NYCity this week. He asked for a copy of "The Judges And the Judged". He was informed that all copies were sold out.

But Mrs SONIA SCHAPPES, who runs the Book Fair for the CP, said she would gladly order a copy for him. She is wife of MORRIS U SCHAPPES, former NY City College teacher and CP member who served term in Sing Sing for perjury before investigating committee. His wife was identified as a CP member in sworn testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities on Feb 7.

The following prediction appeared in COUNTERATTACK on April 11 (p4).

"Watch how the Communists plug the MERLE MILLER-ACLU book. They will go to town on it. It will be sold in all CP bookstores."

WHAT ABOUT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER? Democratic Party opponents of the senator from Tennessee have charged in the current campaign for Democratic Party Presidential nomination that Sen KEFAUVER has a background of "left-wing sympathies" and that he has opposed legislative measures to curb Communism in the U S.

In answer to requests from some subscribers COUNTERATTACK presents the following facts:

The CP launched its postwar "peace" offensive by staging a "Win The Peace Conference" in Washington in April, 1946. The Nat'l Committee to Win The Peace, since cited as subversive and Communist by the Dept of Justice, was launched at this conference. Sen KEFAUVER, then a Congressman, was listed as a sponsor of the Win The Peace Conference.

The New Council for American Business was a Communist front. It was exposed as a Communist agency set up to ensnare gullible business men in the very first issue of COUNTERATTACK (May 16, 1947).

Sen KEFAUVER was one of two main speakers at dinner held by this front in 1947. He shared top billing at the affair with Sen GLEN H TAYLOR, who later became HENRY WALLACE's running mate as Progressive Party candidate for Vice-President of U S.

"In Fact", a Communist-line newsletter, went out of business in Oct, 1950. LOUIS BUDENZ has revealed that it was launched by GEO SELDES in 1940 with approval of top Communist Party officials...after they had decided that SELDES would be more useful as editor of a supposedly non-Communist newsletter than as editor of the Daily Worker...a job earlier offered to him.

Sen KEFAUVER plugged "In Fact" as late as May, 1950...long after the newsletter had been thoroughly exposed as a Communist-line publication not only by COUNTERATTACK, but by newspapers such as the NY World Telegram and magazines like the Readers Digest, Plain Talk and the New Leader.

KEFAUVER praised "In Fact" for its "honest journalism representing the welfare of the many"; he said the newsletter rendered "a unique and valuable service" in U S...and that he was "happy" to send his greeting to it on the occasion of its Tenth Anniversary.

Sen KEFAUVER opposed passage of Internal Security Act of 1950, the first comprehensive legislative effort to effectively undercut operations of

[redacted]

CP in this country. This bill passed in the Senate by a vote of 70 to 7. He has also opposed other anti-Communist legislation:

He voted to abolish House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. Two years later he voted against making it a permanent committee. He voted against appropriations for the committee in 1946.

He voted against the 1947 bill which set up loyalty boards for the purpose of eliminating Communists from govt jobs.

And Sen KEFAUVER's stand on The Nation magazine should be clarified. COUNTERATTACK revealed in April that Sen KEFAUVER was billed as a top speaker at The Nation Associates "Arab-Israel Peace" dinner-forum on May 25. The Nation has adopted CP line on many issues...and has sued New Leader magazine for telling truth about the pro-Soviet line consistently followed by The Nation's foreign editor, J ALVAREZ DEL VAYO.

Sen KEFAUVER's office informed COUNTERATTACK and its subscribers that the Senator had twice been invited to address the dinner and had twice declined. Mrs KATHRYN STONE, vice-chairman of Kefauver National Committee, expressed indignation at The Nation's "unethical" use of the Senator's name. COUNTERATTACK made these facts known to its readers.

A definite impression was given that Sen KEFAUVER would have nothing to do with the dinner...that he opposed it.

But the day after the dinner the Compass, a newspaper that follows CP line, quoted from speech of Sen KEFAUVER that had been read at dinner.

And current issue of The Nation reports on its dinner as follows:

"Sen ESTES KEFAUVER...at the last moment wired that he was detained in California by the Presidential primary campaign there. His speech was delivered by the chairman of his New York campaign, Boris Kastelanetz."

A sponsor of the dinner was Prof DIRK STRUIK, who has been identified as a secret CP member and lecturer on revolution for secret party cells, and who will soon be tried in Massachusetts for advocating violent overthrow of U S Govt and Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Current issue of The Nation, which reports the Senator's speech, also publicizes a Communist front rally on the hot Tunisian question. Rally is being staged by Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, top CP cultural front, as part of Moscow's propaganda war AGAINST the U S.

And it also features a full page ad headlined "We Blush For America". Why? Because Gen MARK CLARK refused to bow to terms Communist prisoners of war in Korea tried to impose on U S under threat of murdering a U S General.

Standard Brand Distributors, a utility store in NYCity that often runs propaganda ads in Communist press, placed this ad in The Nation. This ad, too, is part of the Communist anti-U S propaganda war.

Did Presidential candidate KEFAUVER pull a deceptive switch on U S voters in the case of The Nation Associates dinner? Or, by some strange deception, did his NY campaign manager read, at a dinner the Senator didn't approve of, a speech the Senator didn't write?

Reminder: Don't forget the FCC matter. See bottom of page two.

Yours faithfully,

June 6, 1952

Counterattack

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THE NEW
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PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

January 29, 1954
Vol. 8, No. 5

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY STILL HAVE SUPPORT OF ACLU.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) issued its January '51 - June '53 "Report On Civil Liberties" last month. The key points in the report relative to the entertainment industry are these:

1. The ACLU still opposes the refusal to hire or the firing of identified Communist Party (CP) members or active supporters of Communist fronts by the radio-TV and film industries. It says, in effect, that such people should be retained even though they are financing and otherwise aiding Moscow's subversion of the U S with the income paid to them by these industries and even though they are injuring, instead of promoting, the sale of the product of the manufacturer (producer) concerned.

2. The ACLU is still supporting MERLE MILLER's book, "The Judges and the Judged", published under its auspices, in spite of the fact that this so-called "objective" report on "blacklisting" has been proved to contain lies and distortions...and even though a special committee of the ACLU itself has admitted it contains numerous inaccuracies.

3. The ACLU has asked the Federal Communications Commission for a rehearing of its 1952 petition that the CBS, NBC, ABC and Dumont networks, as well as some independent TV stations, should be denied renewal of their licenses because they are firing or refusing to hire Communists and fronters.

(Note: In reference to its FCC complaint, originally filed at the time of the publication of "The Judges and the Judged" which was submitted as a "document" supporting its petition, the ACLU reports:

("The Union's action received widespread publicity and early in June the FCC voted to grant the networks only a temporary renewal of their licenses pending disposition of the ACLU's complaint. Immediately the FCC came under heavy attack by COUNTERATTACK and news commentator FULTON LEWIS, Jr, and on June 11, 1953, the Commission reversed itself, though the general questions raised by the Union were left on its docket for possible future action.")

4. The ACLU is opposed to the barring of CP members from unions. Specifically, it protested the action of the American Federation of Radio Artists (now the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists) in barring from membership Communists and persons who ACTED in behalf of the Communist conspiracy. The ACLU claims that this was "exclusion or expulsion...for political opinion alone".

The ACLU recently issued a strong statement condemning the Communist Party as an anti-democratic conspiracy controlled by the Kremlin which, in turn, "unprecedentedly" threatens the civil liberties of people everywhere. Fine words. But will it explain why in so many cases it has defended involving Communism, the ACLU winds up on the side of the comrades?

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A. E. Cullen, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor; L. F. Budenz, Contributing Editor.

HOW SUCCESSFUL ARE THE COMMUNISTS IN PUSHING THEIR LINE TODAY?

Here's an analysis of the present situation, written especially for COUNTERATTACK by contributing editor LOUIS F BUDENZ, Prof at Fordham Univ.

The United States is again being "persuaded", through Communist influence on public opinion, to adopt the course laid down by the Kremlin. During the past four months Communist objectives have made considerable headway. In its January 1 issue, the New Times, published weekly in Moscow to instruct and inspire the Communist leaders here, pointed to victories in Soviet psychological warfare against the U S.

The year 1953, that directive organ stated, "was a year of successive reverses and setbacks for Washington's policies". For 1954, an auspicious beginning had been made by the Kremlin in "forcing" the U S to engage in negotiations, such as had been called for by MALENKOV in his address to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 8. The New Times expressed conviction that these "negotiations" would enable Moscow to strengthen its control over its satellite regimes and to speed up "East-West trade".

The Communist Party of the U S sees the development of "the new situation" which its secret "national conference" confidently predicted in the fall of 1953. This "new situation" will promote the weakening of "the present anti-Soviet war alliance", enhance "the possibility of broadening the struggle against McCarthyism", and favor Communist infiltration into American political life.

These Red estimates are not based on fantasies. Compare current events, nationally and internationally, with the analysis of the Communist line in COUNTERATTACK for Sept 4 and Nov 6, 1953, and it will be seen how far Communist aims have advanced. A partial summary will reveal the following:

1. The U S is negotiating with the Kremlin, even in regard to atomic power, as Moscow desired. The whole idea of negotiations was first brought out at the Budapest session of the World Peace Council in June, 1953. This Moscow puppet organization also launched a "World Campaign for Negotiations". By August, MALENKOV had made this idea the center of his report, declaring it to be the chief condition for "easing international tension". The next month, the U S Communist Party demanded "a mass struggle for negotiations" as a key task set down by its secret national conference.

As of today, MALENKOV and the Communists have gained their goal — even though, as DAVID LAWRENCE points out in the December 18 issue of the United States News and World Report: "We must stop deluding ourselves with the idea of 'negotiating' with criminals...the time has come to ostracize the unmoral governments that threaten world peace".

2. Recognition of Red China and promotion of "East-West trade" which is designed to build up the Soviet war machine, are being pushed by powerful interests. In mid-January, WARREN LEE PIERSON, chairman of the U S Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, came out for a re-examination of trade with Red China and other Soviet-ruled countries. Representatives of large corporations and business and shipping organizations have publicly urged the breaking down of trade barriers with Soviet-dominated lands. The program set down by Moscow in April, 1952, at the World Economic Conference in the Soviet capital is now on the march forward.

The many statements appearing recently in the newspapers, and specifically in ROSCOE DRUMMOND's January 4 column in the New York Herald Tribune, that recognition of Red China is favored by important men in the

State Department adds to the possibility of Soviet success on that score. Secretary DULLES' declaration that there will be "no deal on the Far East" seems strong enough, but President EISENHOWER's omission of the question of Red China from his message to Congress aroused new speculation and comment... particularly because of Great Britain's continuance of recognition and its pressure to win a seat for Red China in the United Nations.

3. The Communists' campaign against "McCarthyism" has won new allies, as the Communist Party "national conference" predicted. Despite strong popular support for Congressional inquiries—the Daily Worker regularly reports new expressions against "McCarthyism" (meaning all private and government activity against Communism, rather than the activities of Sen McCarthy only) by persons holding influential positions in the ministry, education, labor, the press and other powerful opinion-molding groups.

Many of the people raising this Communist-coined cry do not realize that they are aiding MALENKOV's charge in his report to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the United States is the leader of the world fascist movement, aping Hitlerite Germany.

The "McCarthyism" moaners won't face the fact that the individuals being investigated by Congress are Communists or persons who have aided the Communist cause or belong to Communist-infiltrated groups.

4. Plans for strengthening Red "concentration work" in American key industries received new stimulus from the January 16 election victory of the Red-ruled United Electrical Workers Union (UE) at the big Westinghouse Electric Company plant in Lester, Pennsylvania. The vote was 4-1 in favor of the UE, an indication of how the atmosphere created by non-Communist labor leaders bewailing "McCarthyism" has helped the UE regain a foothold in a vital industrial center. Though the UE had lost the Newark plant of Westinghouse to the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, a month earlier, its victory at Lester was important because this is the second largest group of workers in one concern which is under UE control.

If it were not for the average American, the so-called "man in the street", the line laid down by Moscow would advance even more rapidly. There is an instinctive resistance among the people as a whole to recognition of Red China and to any restriction of Congressional inquiries. The strength of the Communists continues to lie in their ability to influence, directly or indirectly, those non-Communists who have a voice in opinion-making agencies. These are the "reserves", to whom Stalin pointed as necessary to aid "the vanguard" to victory.

Patriotic community leaders have a deep obligation to take the offensive against the Communists and their line. At least these things can be done:

1. Urge upon the press and congress the folly of "negotiations" with the Communist regime in Russia and emphasize the necessity for the expulsion of the Soviet government from the United Nations, as a step toward a policy of liberation.

2. Communicate with Representatives, Senators, and the State Department, opposing all moves toward the promotion of East-West trade that builds up the Soviet war machine.

3. Support the wire-tapping legislation recommended by Attorney General HERBERT BROWNELL and also express strong backing for further Congressional investigations.

IS HOLLYWOOD SLIPPING BACK INTO ITS OLD WAYS?

There can be no doubt about the fact that a major cleanup has been made by the film industry as a whole on the matter of Communist infiltration. There are now indications, however, that some studios are slipping back to the old Hollywood attitude that was so beneficial to Moscow.

Twentieth Century Fox recently bought the independently produced picture "Man Crazy", which features actor JOHN BROWN. The CP press has recently heaped praise on BROWN because, after being identified as a party member, he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (under subpoena) and took refuge in the Fifth Amendment to avoid answering questions. That is just what the party wants its loyal supporters to do.

Does Twentieth Century Fox think that movie goers have already forgotten Korea and will go to pictures featuring actors like BROWN?

Allied Artists is considering a deal with WILLIAM WYLER, who produced the recent Paramount Pictures film "Roman Holiday".

WYLER was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific (Waldorf) Conference for World Peace. He was one of those who took part in the meeting in IRA GERSHWIN's home in Oct, 1947, at which the Committee for the First Amendment was set up. This was the front that sparkplugged the fight against the 1947 investigation of Communism in Hollywood and which sent a planeload of movie stars, producers and press agents to Washington to try to kill the probe. The CP press reported that WYLER was one of the planners of this propaganda stunt that worked so effectively for the benefit of the Communists.

WYLER signed a Supreme Court brief (1949) in behalf of the ten Hollywood writers, producers and directors who eventually served jail terms for contempt of Congress in the 1947 hearings. He was scheduled to appear on a 1950 radio program in behalf of the so-called "Hollywood Ten". The program, sponsored by a long list of Communists and fronters, was offered free to the major broadcasting networks...and turned down by every one of them.

He sponsored the Committee of One Thousand which was set up to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was on the Executive Council of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and supported the Wallace for President movement and the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

While making a picture in Rome in late 1952, WYLER held an open house party there. Among his guests were LEONARDO BERCOVICI and BERNARD VORHAUS, both of whom had been identified as Communist Party members in the 1951 Hollywood hearings.

WYLER claimed in 1947 that because of the fear engendered in "decent people" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, "I wouldn't be allowed to make 'The Best Years of Our Lives' in Hollywood today".

(Note: HOWARD HUGHES is planning to re-release WYLER's "The Best Years of Our Lives", which the CP praised highly).

WYLER has consistently fought efforts to expose Communism in Hollywood. He has supported fronts and defended Hollywood comrades, and welcomed identified CP members into his home. Now Allied Artists is thinking of taking this poor fear-ridden man into its household.

Yours faithfully,

January 29, 1954

COUNTERATTACK

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PLEASE RETURN TO
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December 25, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 52

Dear Subscriber:

BIG BUSINESS FIRMS IGNORE IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT TEMPO PRODUCTIONS.

The Communist-serving records of two top officials of Tempo Productions, which produces TV commercials, were given by COUNTERATTACK over a year and a half ago (on April 4, 1952). This newsletter also reported at the time that Tempo Productions had done work for some of the biggest TV advertising agencies and sponsors in the nation...and it asked this question:

How many TV viewers would knowingly buy products of firms that are subsidizing Tempo Productions?

That's still a good question...in view of facts cited in the 1952-53 survey of TV film commercials recently released by Ross Reports. This survey reveals that Tempo Productions has profited in the last year from work done for the following business corporations:

AMERICAN CHICLE CO (Chiclets).	BROWN & WILLIAMSON TOBACCO CO (Kools).
CAMPBELL SOUP CO.	CBS-COLUMBIA, INC (TV receivers).
CHRYSLER CORP (Plymouth Division).	CONTINENTAL OIL CO (Conoco).
ELECTRIC AUTO-LITE CO.	ESSO STANDARD OIL.
GENERAL FOODS CORP.	GENERAL MOTORS CORP.
HOUSEHOLD FINANCE CORP.	HUBINGER CO (Quick elastic starch).
IMPERIAL OIL OF CANADA.	S C JOHNSON & SONS (Car Plate wax).
PROCTER & GAMBLE (Tide).	PHILIP MORRIS ("Players" cigarettes).
SEABROOK FARMS (frozen foods).	SHULTON, INC (Old Spice products).
STEPHEN F WHITMAN & SON (candy).	STANDARD BRANDS INC.

AMERICAN HOME FOODS, INC (Geo Washington Instant Coffee).
COLGATE-PALMOLIVE CO (shaving cream, Cashmere soap).

The following U S advertising agencies were the media through which Tempo Productions got the business of these corporations:

BENTON & BOWLES INC.	TED BATES & CO.
DANCER-FITZGERALD-SAMPLE INC.	WARD WHEELOCK CO, INC.
SHERMAN & MARQUETTE.	CECIL & PRESBREY INC.
McCANN-ERICKSON INC.	KUDNER AGENCY INC.
NEEDHAM, LOUIS & BRORBY INC.	N W AYER & SON INC.

COMPTON ADVERTISING INC.

Here are the facts about Tempo Productions that these firms have been ignorant of, or have deemed of little consequence:

WILLIAM POMERANCE and DAVID HILBERMAN are the owners of the firm. Their records are as follows:

POMERANCE, a former NLRB examiner, was active in Hollywood from 1941 to 1946. He was a business agent for the Screen Cartoonists Guild and then exec-sec'y of the Screen Writers Guild (when it was Communist-dominated). Before going to Hollywood, he assisted the Communist-controlled American Communications Association in organizing Postal Telegraph employes in the South. The following are some of the Communist fronts he has supported:

People's Educational Center (CP School on West Coast), American

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A. E. Cullen, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor; L. F. Budenz, Contributing Editor.

Youth for Democracy (actually the Young Communist League), Hollywood Democratic Committee, Hollywood Writers Mobilization, and Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

ROY BREWER, for years a key leader in the fight to oust Communists from the film industry, testified in the 1947 Hollywood hearings that POMERANCE was active in forming the Communist-controlled Conference of Studio Unions in 1944, and that he was a leader in creating "chaos and anarchy" in the 1946 studio strike. This strike was staged by the Conference of Studio Unions in its bid to take over the studio unions in the film industry and put them under Moscow's control. It was defeated by the AFL's Int'l Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes under the leadership of BREWER.

POMERANCE was identified as a Communist Party (CP) member by three witnesses in the 1951 Hollywood hearings. CHARLES KRAMER, who has been identified as a member of one of the espionage cells in Washington, testified that he stayed at POMERANCE's home when he visited Hollywood in 1946.

POMERANCE took refuge in the Fifth Amendment when he testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Feb, 1952...to avoid answering the following questions:

Whether or not he was a CP member the day before he testified; whether or not he solicited funds or support for Communist fronts from ACA officials while employed by that union in the Thirties; whether he led the fight against banning Communists from the Los Angeles Central Labor Council in 1944; whether he was a CP member when a member of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, the Screen Writers Guild and the Screen Cartoonists Guild, and an NLRB employe; whether he got his job in the Screen Writers Guild through the Communist faction on the Guild's board; whether he was associated with various Communist fronts, and whether or not he taught at and helped set up the People's Educational Center.

DAVID HILBERMAN, like POMERANCE, formerly worked in Hollywood. He was a film animator and an executive of United Productions of America, an animated cartoon producing company (COUNTERATTACK, Sept 15, 1950, pp 1 & 2).

WALT DISNEY testified in the 1947 Hollywood Investigation that he believed HILBERMAN was a Communist and the real brains behind the CP-led strike against the Disney Studios in 1938. He also said he checked HILBERMAN's record and found he had studied at the Moscow Art Theatre.

HILBERMAN was identified as a CP member in the 1951 film probe by Mrs BERNICE FLEURY, one of the witnesses who identified POMERANCE as a party member. She testified that she attended party meetings at HILBERMAN's home and that, while her husband was in the Army, either POMERANCE or HILBERMAN often drove her to party meetings at other places.

Tempo Productions grosses an estimated $250,000 or more per year. The firm is doing much better now than it was when COUNTERATTACK first exposed the records of HILBERMAN and POMERANCE in April, 1952.

Big business corporations that have ignored COUNTERATTACK's facts for the past 1½ years are the major source of income for Tempo Productions. These firms are giving substance to LENIN's remark that the capitalist class would supply its own gravediggers.

COUNTERATTACK repeats the question it asked when it first gave the facts on the Communist backgrounds of POMERANCE and HILBERMAN:

How many TV viewers would knowingly buy products of firms that are subsidizing Tempo Productions?

U S DELEGATION TO U N RECEIVES COMMUNIST FRONT DELEGATIONS.

"IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T SUCCEED" is the title of a gloating article in the current issue of "Vet's Voice", publication of the Communist front American Veterans for Peace (AVP). The article gloats because it tells of the success an AVP delegation had in meeting with and presenting its views on Korea to the U S delegation to the U N.

The AVP was denied its first request for an appointment. It was told to put its views in writing. It did. In return it received speeches of Sec of State DULLES and Chief U N delegate HENRY CABOT LODGE Jr.

The AVP was not satisfied. It made a second, successful request for an interview. It was received by the U S delegation to the U N.

Here's what the AVP delegation told the U S delegates to the U N:

It wanted "neutral" nations such as India admitted to the Korean peace talks. It wanted the U S to "squelch" SYNGMAN RHEE's "march north threat". It wanted this country to take the lead in calling a Big Power peace conference (including, of course, Communist China).

These demands are the Communist Party's demands. The AVP representatives were told they would be summarized and given to HENRY CABOT LODGE Jr, Chief of the U S delegation to the U N.

COUNTERATTACK exposed the American Veterans for Peace as the party's new front for veterans in Dec, 1950...just one week after it was set up. The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as a Communist front in 1951.

COUNTERATTACK has recently revealed that the AVP was making plans to hoodwink veterans of the Korean war into joining its Moscow-guided ranks, and that "progressive" POW's held by the Communists in Korea were overheard talking about joining the AVP when they returned to the U S.

The Post Office Dept banned the April, 1953, issue of the AVP's publication "Vet's Voice" from the mails on the grounds that the tenor of its contents was such as to cause insubordination in the Armed Forces and to discourage enlistment and recruiting for them.

Yet the U S delegation to the U N opens its doors to members of the American Veterans for Peace. And this is not the first time it has done so. In May of this year the AVP was also gloating over another of its visits with the U S delegation. It boasted that it was told on this occasion that its demands were more "reasonable" than those of many others who were writing letters to the U N delegates.

Is this the way U S Government agencies fight Communism?

REP CONDON CHANGES HIS MIND ABOUT TESTIFYING.

COUNTERATTACK devoted much of its issue of Sept 18 to facts bearing on Rep ROBERT L CONDON (D-Calif) as a security risk. COUNTERATTACK enumerated many Communist fronts and causes that CONDON had supported over a period of years. It quoted some of the misleading whitewash statements CONDON had made about his pro-Communist activities after the Atomic Energy Commission had barred him from an A-Bomb test in May.

It also pointed out that CONDON had refused an offer from the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy to testify under oath about the charges brought against him by the A E C.

Now CONDON wants to testify...because a witness who appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities recently in its San Francisco investigation has tied him up with a Communist Party meeting. CHARLES D BLODGETT, a former Communist Party member and staff member of

the Daily People's World, West Coast Communist Party newspaper, said CONDON took part in a closed Communist Party meeting in 1948 at the time he was running for a seat in the California legislature.

CONDON has requested a hearing before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy "at the earliest possible date after Jan 1". He says he will deny under oath that he is or has ever been a CP member.

This should be interesting testimony inasmuch as, according to a Naval Intelligence communication allegedly sent to all bases earlier this year, the FBI has received information that Rep CONDON was a Communist Party member from 1930 to 1935, that he was identified as the author of an article that appeared in the Daily People's World on May 16, 1947, that he attended a party meeting in late 1948, and that as late as 1949 and 1951 two prominent California Communists described him as a party member.

"HARLEM DETECTIVE" DIDN'T DETECT WILLIAM MARSHALL'S RECORD.

The latest addition to the cast of "Harlem Detective", a Wednesday night feature on station WOR-TV (NYCity), is WILLIAM MARSHALL, who played "De Lawd" in the Broadway production of "Green Pastures" and has also had roles in Hollywood films.

MARSHALL has also played a very convincing role in the Communist front movement. In 1951 he presided at a Communist-inspired meeting in NY that was held to whip up agitation over the case of "The Martinsville Seven", as the party referred to it. His name also appears on a petition circulated in Communist circles in behalf of WILLIE McGEE. The CP used both the Martinsville Seven and WILLIE McGEE cases in its efforts to cause disaffection among Negroes in the U S and to enlist Negroes in Communist fronts.

He has been an active supporter of the two most important fronts set up to entrap Negroes in the Communist movement...the Committee for the Negro in the Arts and the National Negro Labor Council. Both were cited as subversive by Attorney General BROWNELL earlier this year. The Nat'l Negro Labor Council, at its 1952 convention, appointed MARSHALL to the committee it set up to establish a National Negro Theatre.

PAUL ROBESON's Communist magazine "Freedom" has billed MARSHALL as a speaker. MARSHALL performed both this and last year for the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, the party's top cultural front.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

1. THOMAS F O'NEIL, Pres, WOR-TV, 1440 Broadway, NYCity.

Ask him if he believes that WOR, which has had a good record in preventing infiltration by Communists and fronters, has helped build up its prestige with its TV viewers by taking on WILLIAM MARSHALL.

2. HENRY CABOT LODGE Jr, Chief, U S Delegation, United Nations, NY.

Ask him if he knows that the U S delegation is receiving Communist fronts...and if he intends to permit them to continue doing so.

3. Keep fighting the Communists at every opportunity. Many people in the U S and millions enslaved behind the Iron Curtain can't look forward to a Happy New Year...because of Communism. Think of them as you look forward to yours...and do all you can to help them in the coming year.

Faithfully yours,

December 25, 1953 COUNTERATTACK

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COUNTERATTACK

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

June 12, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 24

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT WILL THE U S DO IF RED CHINA IS ADMITTED TO THE U N? After a conference with Pres EISENHOWER on June 2, Senate Republican leaders scrapped the rider to an appropriations bill that would have cut off all U S funds for the United Nations if Red China becomes a member of the world body.

The Senate then voted 76 to 0 for a resolution that Congress is opposed to the entry of Communist China to the U N. It did not state what the U S would do if Red China gets enough votes for admission, but HENRY CABOT LODGE JR, chief U S delegate to the U N, has implied that this country would use its veto power. Here are some of the reasons for this strong U S stand:

The U S agreed at the Cairo Conference that Formosa belongs to, and would be given to, China. The Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed in the MacArthur hearing that Formosa is of great strategic value to the U S.

Communist China will be the recognized govt of China if admitted to the U N. She will sit on the Security Council. She will demand Formosa.

The U S, bound by the Cairo Conference, will NOT be able to reject this demand without breaking one of its major pledges. It will have to surrender to Moscow what its top military leaders agree is a keystone of the U S defense system in the Pacific.

This will mean the end of any chance that the govt of free China on Formosa will be able to return to the mainland. It will guarantee the preservation of Communist rule in China.

It will also mean death, torture and enslavement to thousands of anti-Communist Chinese and Formosans who have made tremendous sacrifices in the fight against Moscow.

U S will probably never recover from the propaganda and psychological defeat that would follow from this event. Anti-Communist Asians would regard it as a betrayal. It would stimulate the growth of anti-Americanism, neutralism and pro-Communism throughout Asia.

All non-Communist Asians would be put on notice that the U S and the U N cannot be counted on to protect them from the vengeance of Moscow if they dare to resist Communist conquest. They would be taught that it is better to surrender without a fight...and thus avoid the great material destruction and loss of life brought on by war.

This will hasten Moscow's conquest of all Asia...and the eventual denial of strategic Asian materials and markets to the U S and Europe by the Kremlin in order to soften them up for Communist conquest.

So the admission of Red China to the U N will hasten the arrival of World War III...which will surely be fought when the Kremlin's armies march into Europe. It will hasten the coming of the day when Soviet bombers will drop atomic-bombs on American cities.

For both practical and moral reasons the U S will do everything it

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can to block Red China's admission to the U N. Senator JOHN L McCLELLAN (D-Ark) has said if Red China is admitted it will be an "infamous" day and "the day America walks out". Sen WM F KNOWLAND (R-Calif) has introduced resolutions calling for U S withdrawal from the U N if Red China is admitted.

The Communist Party (CP) and its fronts will launch an intense drive to swing U S opinion in favor of Communist China, which will have the support of Russia and its satellites, India and many European countries in the U N.

WARREN AUSTIN, when chief U S delegate to U N, said the seating of Red China was a procedural matter not subject to the veto. If this view prevails now, U S will have to accept Red China's entry...or quit the U N.

COLUMBIA UNIV TEACHER, AN IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST, APPEALS TO SENATE CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE TO ACT IN HIS BEHALF. In its issue of Feb 6, COUNTERATTACK told of the Communist-line rally staged by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee...and exposed the record of Sen WM LANGER (R-ND) who was the principal speaker at the affair.

LANGER, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had a pleasant revelation for the Communists, fellow travelers and dupes at the rally. He broke the news that he had appointed a new subcommittee on civil liberties to the Senate Judiciary committee...and he invited all those at the rally to bring their grievances to the attention of this subcommittee.

COUNTERATTACK predicted that this civil liberties subcommittee would be used as a "sounding board" for party-line propaganda.

Now CORLISS LAMONT, identified Communist and lecturer at Columbia Univ (COUNTERATTACK, May 15), has made COUNTERATTACK's prediction come true.

Copies of LAMONT's latest pro-Moscow book, "Soviet Civilization", were burned in the streets of Chicago on April 12 by persons who broke into a rally of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship and found the book, along with other pro-Communist literature, on sale at the rally.

LAMONT has asked the Senate subcommittee on Civil Liberties to investigate this incident to see if it constitutes a violation of the Federal Civil Rights Act and if the persons involved can be prosecuted.

LAMONT says he is making this request as an American citizen "vitally interested in civil liberties" and as an author and scholar "whose right to freedom of opinion has been trampled upon and cancelled out".

This is more LAMONT hogwash. Burning his book did not cancel out his freedom of opinion. He can still think...and write and speak...as he pleases. And his claim of vital interest in civil liberties is open to some question in view of his long adulation of the Soviet Union which has trampled upon the liberties of its own citizens and of millions in its satellites.

But even though LAMONT's statement about the burning of his book contains some of his tricky double talk, the anti-Communist cause was damaged rather than helped by those who did the book burning...for these reasons:

1. They gave the Communists an actual event on which to peg more of their deceptive propaganda about "thought control", "repression of freedom", etc. Communists will use the incident to whip up the giddy liberals into more advanced stages of hysteria. This will make the fight against Communism increasingly difficult.

2. They did not discredit LAMONT's Moscow-serving book. They gave it more publicity. Informed anti-Communists already knew the book wasn't worth reading. But misguided liberals may have their interest in the book stimulated by the incident and, in retaliation for this book-burning, may be

moved...out of their confused concept of "fairness" and freedom...to promote the placement of the book on library shelves.

The book burners could have helped the anti-CP cause if they had expended the same energy in documenting and publicizing the pro-Communism of LAMONT and the pro-Soviet slant of his book.

That would have hurt the book's sale and alerted objective librarians not to buy it on the sound theory that their limited funds would be better used for the welfare of the community if it were spent on an unbiased book that told the whole truth about the Soviet Union.

It will be interesting to see what the Senate Civil Liberties subcommittee does about LAMONT's complaint. It will undoubtedly feel bound to look into the matter because the seizure of LAMONT's books and their destruction was clearly an illegal act.

But the subcommittee should not fall for LAMONT's line about his loss of "freedom of opinion" in considering and reporting on the incident.

OH, TO BE IN MOSCOW, NOW THAT CHAMPAGNE IS "SOFT"! JOSEPH CLARK, correspondent who has been serving the Daily Worker in the Communist fatherland since 1950, returned to the U S on June 2.

CLARK had the usual party-line "revelations" about Kremlinland: the Russian press talks only of peace; the Soviet peace overtures are sincere; the USSR does not want to split the U S from its allies; there's a tremendous accent on production of consumer goods and housing in Russia; there is no dissension or instability as a result of Stalin's death.

CLARK says he is worried about finding an apartment to live in in NY ...and then having to pay 25 to 35 percent of his wages for it...after his sojourn in the workers paradise of abundant housing (where whole families live in a single room...a fact CLARK doesn't mention).

But the crowning glory of CLARK's tall tales is this one, as quoted from his interview with the Daily Worker:

"Clark told how, when they first arrived in Moscow, all you could get at a soft-drink counter was soft drinks.

"'Now you can go into a store on Gorky St, put down three rubles on the counter and get a large glass of champagne.'

"It's an ordinary sight, he said, to see a farmer and his wife coming into the city to do their shopping and stopping off for champagne before visiting the stores."

Some Americans will actually believe this tale if CLARK tells it on the nation-wide speaking tour he is now planning. But there will be no large-scale exodus of Communists to the land where, he claims, ordinary farmers drink champagne as Americans do beer. The U S comrades will know better than to believe that one. But how about some other people in your community?

COMMUNIST UNION VICTORY MAY SPEED UP LEGISLATION TO WEAKEN MOSCOW'S INFLUENCE IN U S LABOR. Congressional action on the much debated amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act was recently put off for a year...until a neutral commission had time to study all aspects of the law.

This appeared to be a break for the Communists. It apparently meant that for at least another year CP-run unions would have NLRB certification.

But because the Communist-led American Communications Assn has again won control of about 5000 employes of the Western Union Co in the NY Metropolitan area, the Senate Labor Committee may pass special legislation to bar CP-run unions as bargaining agents for American workers.

Sen WM JENNER (R-Ind), chairman of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee which investigated the ACA in 1951 and found it to be dominated by Communists, has urged the Labor Committee to act because the ACA victory has given identified Communists access to secret defense and diplomatic messages and the NLRB says that it does not have the power to decertify the union.

If the Senate Labor Committee acts on Sen JENNER's urgent recommendations...as it surely should...a Communist victory will have backfired by speeding up long needed anti-Communist legislation.

OFFICIAL OF CP-DOMINATED UNION WRITES SCRIPTS FOR SINGER TV PROGRAM. On May 21 the Four Star Playhouse (CBS-TV), sponsored by the Singer Sewing Machine Company, featured a play written by MILTON MERLIN.

MERLIN was President of the Radio Writers Guild (RWG) in 1951-52. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee investigated this union during his presidency and found it to be Communist-dominated. MERLIN has been a member of the clique that has controlled the RWG for many years. He is now a member of the union's Western Regional Council.

MERLIN was on the executive board of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, a cited Communist front, in 1939. In the same year he was associate editor of "Black and White", a party-line literary monthly. He served on the general committee and on panels of the Writers Congress held at the Univ of California in 1943 under the auspices of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, which has been cited as subversive by the Dept of Justice.

He was on the executive council of this front in 1945. He also took part in the Conference on American-Russian Cultural Exchange which was held at the Univ of California in Los Angeles in 1945. This conference was sponsored by the Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi Chapters of the University. It was dominated by then well-known fellow-travelers...a good number of whom have since been named as CP members.

In 1947 he was chairman of the advisory committee on radio of the Hollywood Quarterly, a party-line publication sponsored jointly by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and the Univ of Calif at Los Angeles.

The League of American Writers has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Dept of Justice. According to the call to its first Congress in 1935, it was formed for writers "who have clearly indicated their sympathy with the revolutionary cause; who do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, of the inevitability of revolution."

MILTON MERLIN ran this group's advanced radio workshop in 1943. Among the instructors and lecturers at his workshop were Hollywood personalities such as identified Communists JOHN HOWARD LAWSON and LESTER COLE...and also Prof FRANKLIN FEARING of the CP-run People's Educational Center.

Singer Four Star Playhouse also featured a script by MILTON MERLIN on its program of March 26.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

MILTON C LIGHTNER, Pres, Singer Sewing Machine Company, 149 Broadway, NYCity.

Ask him why his company features a script writer who has a front record and has been the top man in, and is still serving as an official of, a union found to be dominated by Communists.

Yours faithfully,

June 12, 1953

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

May 29, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 22

Dear Subscriber:

INDIANA JUDGE SPEAKS AT DINNER FOR A TOP COMMUNIST AGENT. STEVE NELSON (aliases STEVE MESAROSH, JOSEPH FLEISCHINGER, LOUIS EVANS) is one of Moscow's top U S agents. Formerly a member of the party's Politburo, he also served as a political commissar and Lt Colonel in the Communist Int'l Brigade in the Spanish Civil War and was recently chairman of the party in the key mining area of Western Pennsylvania. Under NELSON's direction a Communist cell was formed in the Radiation Laboratory at the Univ of Calif (Berkeley) in the early Forties. As Communist Party (CP) organizer of Alameda County at the time, he had direct jurisdiction over Communist infiltration of the A-bomb project at the Radiation Laboratory.

NELSON has been charged with receiving secret information on the A-bomb from Dr JOSEPH W WEINBERG ("Scientist X") and turning it over to Soviet officials. He has refused on the grounds of self-incrimination to answer questions about these charges.

NELSON is now on trial in Pittsburgh, charged with conspiracy against the U S Govt under the Smith Act. He has already been convicted of sedition under a Pennsylvania law, sentenced to 20 years in prison and fined $10,000 and court costs.

A dinner in honor of Communist agent STEVE NELSON was held in NYCity last Friday evening, May 22.

Circuit Court Judge NORVAL K HARRIS, a Democrat of Sullivan County, Indiana, was one of the speakers at the dinner.

This was not the first time Judge HARRIS has come out in defense of agents of the Communist Party. He wrote a letter of praise to the Communist magazine "Soviet Russia Today" in 1944, entering a subscription to the magazine for 1945. In 1949 he also wrote a laudatory letter to the Daily Worker in renewing his subscription to that paper.

HARRIS served as co-chairman with PAUL ROBESON of the Nat'l Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders. This front was set up at the CP's Bill of Rights Conference (which HARRIS supported) in 1949 and circulated a nationwide appeal to have the indictments of the party's Politburo members dismissed. In 1950 he spoke at a dinner staged by the Civil Rights Congress, the party's legal defense and bail fund agency.

HARRIS also jumped to the defense of the attorneys for the CP leaders who were cited (and subsequently convicted) for contempt by Federal Judge HAROLD MEDINA because of their conduct in court during the trial.

Last March Judge HARRIS announced that he had offered his support to the Nat'l Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, the Communist front leading the fight for the convicted atom spies.

Judge HARRIS has lavished praise on EUGENE DENNIS, Gen'l Sec'y of CP whose real name is FRANK WALDRON. DENNIS is one of the Politburo members now serving prison terms after being convicted of conspiracy.

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J. G. Keenan, President; D. M. Stayne, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor

DENNIS reaffirmed his allegiance to Moscow just before he went to prison, saying that in the event of war between this country and the Soviet Union he would oppose the U S.

Yet HARRIS visited DENNIS in prison in 1950...and after his visit he said: "I like a man like Dennis...I am going to work every waking moment for the release of that fine man....He is a great American citizen....It is good to shake the hand of a man like that."

Judge HARRIS once served part of a federal prison term for forging veterans' bonus checks...and then was pardoned by Pres F D ROOSEVELT.

In 1950 the Supreme Court of Indiana found that Judge HARRIS was "clearly contemptuous" of its order that he refrain from promoting an investigation of a prosecutor who had brought embezzlement, forgery and fraudulent check charges against him in his own court. The Supreme Court sentenced Judge HARRIS to 60 days on the state penal farm and fined him $300.

While HARRIS was serving his time on the farm, the Superintendent of the farm commented, "It's not a good morale factor for the men to know that a judge is committed here."

And it's obviously not a good morale factor for the people of Sullivan County, Indiana, to know that the man who is supposed to administer justice for them is a man who praises Communist conspirators.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM?

Under present laws Judge HARRIS cannot be removed from the bench unless he is convicted of a felony.

Write to: Sen WILLIAM LANGER, chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D C.

Urge him to have his committee investigate the case of Judge HARRIS for the purpose of devising legislation that would provide for the removal of any judge who aids a conspiracy that would destroy the U S judicial system.

HERE'S A NEW PUBLISHING COMPANY AND BOOK CLUB YOU SHOULD WATCH CAREFULLY. On Sept 14, 1951, ANGUS CAMERON, editor-in-chief and a vice-president of Little, Brown & Co, "resigned" from that publishing firm. He did this just two weeks after COUNTERATTACK published a special six-page issue listing the many pro-Communist books the firm had published under CAMERON's editorship...and also exposing his long record of supporting Communist fronts and causes and bringing out the fact that Prof LOUIS BUDENZ had identified him as a CP member.

Little, Brown tried to refute COUNTERATTACK's charges about its publishing record. The facts made this impossible...and CAMERON's continued support of obvious Communist activity after leaving the firm was no help to Little, Brown's whitewash attempt.

CAMERON was recently subpoenaed to appear before Senate Internal Security subcommittee. On May 7 he refused on the grounds of self-incrimination to tell the subcommittee if he is now a Communist Party member or if he was one when editor-in-chief of Little, Brown.

ALBERT E KAHN, a former editor of the Communist magazine, "New Masses", and co-author of "The Great Conspiracy Against Russia" and other pro-Communist books, was one of the Little, Brown authors exposed by COUNTERATTACK in its special August, 1951, issue.

Now CAMERON and KAHN have teamed up to form the publishing firm of Cameron and Kahn, Inc, which will publish cheap editions of books that, it

claims, "most publishers today shy away from because of the intellectual intimidation prevailing in our country". The records of both men make quite obvious the kind of books they mean by these words.

They have also formed the Union Book Club which will publish 50¢ editions of books telling "the uncensored truth" about the times we live in and "the forces which produce them".

There's a little log-rolling in their set-up. One of the first selections of their club is a book by KAHN. It is called "The Game of Death" and tells of the allegedly horrible effects of the "cold war" on American children. The book will be another plea for appeasement.

The Union Book Club is directed primarily at workers. Its other initial selection is "The Untold Story", which is supposed to relate the "battles, betrayals and victories of American working men and women". It is written jointly by HERBERT MORAIS, who was dismissed from Brooklyn College as a CP member over ten years ago; RICHARD O BOYER, the professed Communist who, until recently, was on the staff of the New Yorker magazine, and LEN DE CAUX, identified CP member and former editor of the CIO News, who now edits the Communist monthly magazine, "March of Labor".

Librarians, non-Communist union officials and all Americans should watch for attempts by Communists, fellow travelers and their dupes to place Cameron and Kahn books on the shelves of U S libraries and to promote their sale among union members.

Added note on Little, Brown: COUNTERATTACK also exposed the Communist record of EDWIN SEAVER, advertising and promotion manager of Little, Brown, in its special six-page issue. SEAVER had written for the Daily Worker and other Communist publications. He had backed professed Communists for Pres and Vice-Pres of U S and had supported openly revolutionary Communist groups as well as many of the party's more recent fronts which conceal their aim of violent overthrow of the United States of America.

SEAVER testified before the Senate Permanent Investigating subcommittee on Mar 26. He admitted his previous Communist activities but said that he no longer was sympathetic to Communism.

And since ANGUS CAMERON left Little, Brown...after COUNTERATTACK's exposure...the firm has published some worthwhile anti-Communist books.

The usual cries of "smear", "witchhunting", etc, were raised when this newsletter published its facts about Little, Brown. But the "witches" exposed were real. No innocent person was hurt. And there has been some improvement in Little, Brown's publishing record.

Publishing the truth about Communist infiltration...as COUNTERATTACK did in the case of Little, Brown & Co...has clearly helped the fight against Moscow's Fifth Column in the U S.

OUSTER OF TEACHER MAY CHANGE CHARACTER OF UNIVERSITY'S PRESS AWARDS. In 1948 Long Island University (LIU) set up the George Polk Memorial Awards for distinguished contributions to journalism. The award winners are chosen each year by the members of LIU's Journalism Dept.

The awards are named after GEORGE POLK, CBS correspondent who was murdered by the Communists in Greece. Naming the awards for him was odd because POLK had written for a pro-CP newsletter in this country, opposed the anti-Communist govt of Greece and also the U S policy of helping the Greek Govt fight the Communists who were trying to overthrow it by civil war.

COUNTERATTACK pointed out the peculiar slant of some of LIU's Polk awards in its issue of Feb 22, 1952.

CHS

One of its 1951 awards was given to RICHARD CARTER, a reporter for the "Daily Compass", a Communoid newspaper.

Another went to the trade magazine "Sponsor" for a series of articles it had published on the so-called "blacklist" in radio-TV. When LIU gave the award it had been proved that the series contained falsehoods.

The series was written by FRANK RASKY, a senior editor of "Sponsor" who was formerly on the staff of the party-line newspaper PM. It was largely a rehash of material that had appeared in pro-Communist publications. The series did a job of character assassination. In addition to suggesting a useless plan for preventing Communist infiltration of the industry, it used falsehoods and misquoted people in order to smear those who exposed Communists and fellow travelers in radio and TV. RASKY "resigned" from Sponsor after COUNTERATTACK's exposure of his articles.

X JAMES ARONSON, executive editor of the blatantly pro-Communist weekly newspaper, The Nat'l Guardian, is an instructor in journalism at LIU and so has helped select the winners of the Polk awards. LIU has retained ARONSON as an instructor even though the Nat'l Guardian has cooperated with the enemy govt of Communist China in wartime. Since COUNTERATTACK exposed the nature of some of the awards made by LIU with ARONSON's help, the university, when asked, has failed to affirm or deny that he is a top official of a pro-CP newspaper.

On May 14 ARONSON refused to tell Senate Investigations subcommittee if he was a CP member. CP press says LIU fired him for this...but LIU will not confirm or deny this report and says he is still teaching there.

ARONSON worked for the OWI during World War II, served as civilian press control officer for Supreme Allied Hq in Germany after the war (in this job he had a voice in determining which German newspapers would be licensed and financed by the U S), and then returned to this country to work for the NY Post and the NY Times before tying up with LIU and the Nat'l Guardian.

ARONSON's boss at the Nat'l Guardian is now being held on Ellis Island for deportation. He is CEDRIC BELFRAGE (COUNTERATTACK, July 20, 1951), a British subject, who also refused to tell Senate subcommittee if he was a CP member...or if he had engaged in espionage against the U S. ELIZABETH BENTLEY has testified that BELFRAGE gave her information for transmittal to Soviet agents when he was employed by the British Intelligence Service.

The Geo Polk Awards made by LIU this year, after COUNTERATTACK's 1952 exposure, showed a change for the better. This change may be a permanent one if LIU has really given ARONSON his walking papers.

TRUTH ABOUT OWEN LATTIMORE NOW AVAILABLE IN HANDY FORM. The investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations and OWEN LATTIMORE by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee took well over a year. The testimony taken and the findings of the Committee filled fifteen volumes.

In his recently published book, "The Lattimore Story", writer JOHN T FLYNN has set down simply, clearly and briefly the most important facts about LATTIMORE brought out in the investigation. The book, published by Devin-Adair, NYCity, is well worth reading and costs only $1.00. Buy a copy or two and donate one to your local library.

And don't forget to write to Sen LANGER about Judge HARRIS (p 2).

Yours faithfully,

May 29, 1953

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

33

April 3, 1953
Vol. 7, No. 14

Dear Subscriber:

CAMEL CIGARETTE PROGRAM FEATURES IDENTIFIED COMMUNIST AGITATOR. On Mar 25 ALBERT OTTENHEIMER had a role in the weekly "Man Against Crime" program (CBS-TV), which is sponsored by the R J Reynolds Tobacco Co.

OTTENHEIMER was identified as a Communist Party (CP) member by two former party members in the 1948 investigation of the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities (Canwell Committee) of the State of Washington. One of the witnesses who placed OTTENHEIMER in the CP was WARD F WARREN, the former advertising manager of the "New World," a Communist newspaper in Seattle.

Former U S Congressman HUGH DE LACY, WILLIAM PENNOCK and other top Communist Party leaders in the state of Washington had all told him that OTTENHEIMER was a Communist, WARREN testified.

NAT HONIG, who had been a leading Communist for years, was the other witness who identified OTTENHEIMER as a party member. HONIG had served on the staff of the Daily Worker, had been editor of "Labor Unity," the official publication of the party's old Trade Union Unity League, and a delegate to the Red International of Trade Unions in Moscow in the Thirties.

Two other ex-Communist witnesses said they had always considered OTTENHEIMER a Communist and heard him referred to as such in the party, although they had not attended meetings with him. They pointed out that he was a leader of the Repertory Playhouse in Seattle which was the CP's "baby", was staffed by party members, and used as a recruiting ground for the conspiracy. You just weren't considered a "very good Communist" in Seattle, one of these witnesses testified, unless you showed up at the Repertory Playhouse to see its films on Russia and other propaganda productions.

The CP's Repertory Playhouse put on shows for U S Army at Ft Lewis, Wash, during World War II. JOSEPH D ROBERTS, who was public information officer at the fort at the time and had seen the shows, testified in the Canwell Committee hearings. He said that he and other officers at the post had been concerned about the propaganda the Repertory Playhouse performers fed the soldiers before and after the shows and between the acts.

"They tried to indoctrinate them with Communism," ROBERTS testified. Officers' wives and enlisted men complained to ROBERTS.

They named ALBERT OTTENHEIMER as one of the leaders of the indoctrination activity. ROBERTS reported the condition to the commanding officer at Ft Lewis, who told him to "kick them off the post".

"It was a pleasure," ROBERTS added.

OTTENHEIMER was subpoenaed to testify in the investigation. He was sworn in under protest. He was snide, sarcastic, contemptuous. When asked to state his name, he replied:

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J. G. Keenan, President; D. M. Stayne, Vice-President; F. J. McNamara, Editor

"Well, I'm the Albert Ottenheimer who sat here four days hearing himself and his associates vilified by the greatest collection of liars and perjurers I ever heard."

He refused to say if he was or had ever been a CP member. He was later sentenced to 30 days in jail and fined $250 for contempt.

OTTENHEIMER has taught at the Seattle Labor School, which has been cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party by the Dept of Justice. He has also supported the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Nat'l Committee to Win the Peace, Progressive Citizens of America, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and other fronts which have been cited by official investigating bodies.

He was one of many Democratic Party precinct committeemen in Seattle who resigned in 1948 to join the CP-run "Progressive" Party. At that time the Democratic Party in Seattle was deeply infiltrated by Communists.

R J Reynolds Tobacco Co officials should ask themselves if ALBERT OTTENHEIMER is a good advertising medium for their products.

WILL COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY DO SOMETHING ABOUT BERNHARD J STERN?

Last September BERNHARD J STERN, lecturer in sociology at Columbia University, testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in its investigation of Communist infiltration in education.

He refused to say if he had been a CP member in the past, although he denied that he is one now or has been one during the last five years. He admitted being a member of the obviously CP-led Teachers Union in NY and he tried to whitewash Stalin Russia, the Communist Party and its fronts.

STERN also testified before Senate Investigating subcommittee on Mar 27 in its investigation of the Int'l Information Administration (Voice of America, etc). Some of STERN's books are in U S overseas libraries.

STERN again took the same position he had previously, denying he is a party member now but refusing to answer about the past. Columbia announced that it would look into his case to decide if he should be kept on.

Prof STERN's pro-Communist record dates back 20 years to the time when he was a backer of the American Committee for Struggle Against War, which has been cited as Communist by three investigating bodies. Some of the many other officially cited fronts he has supported since then, according to public records, are (dates are given for activity SINCE 1947):

African Aid Committee, 1949-50.
* American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.
* American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1948-51.
American Labor Party (now NY section of Progressive Party).
* American League for Peace and Democracy.
* American Russian Institute.
* American Slav Congress.
Bill of Rights Conference (in defense of CP's Politburo), 1949.
Book Union, Inc.
* Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side.
* Civil Rights Congress, 1949.
* Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 1946-48.
Cultural and Scientific (Waldorf) Conference for World Peace, 1949.
* Jefferson School of Social Science.
* League of American Writers.
Nat'l Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.
* Nat'l Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.
Nat'l Committee for Peoples Rights.

* Cited as Communist or subversive by Dept of Justice.

* Nat'l Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, 1948.
Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, 1951.
* Nat'l Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
Nat'l Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the 12 Communist Leaders, 1949.
* Nat'l Committee to Win the Peace.
Progressive Citizens of America.
* Schappes Defense Committee.
School for Democracy.
* School of Jewish Studies, 1948.
* Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Voice of Freedom Committee, 1949.

In addition to teaching at a CP school, STERN, under the name of BENNETT STEVENS, has written books that have been published by International Publishers, Moscow's official U S publishing firm...and has contributed to the Communist magazine "New Masses". He has also written for "Soviet Russia Today", another Communist magazine, under his real name (as late as 1948).

He is now chief editor of "Science & Society", pro-Stalinist quarterly organ of Marxian dialectics. His co-editors include Prof DIRK STRUIK of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is facing trial on charges of advocating overthrow of Massachusetts and U S by force and violence, and EDWIN BERRY BURGUM, professor at NY Univ who was suspended last Fall after he refused to tell the Senate subcommittee if he was a CP member.

As early as 1941, STERN was described as "the Communist Party whip" on the editorial board of "Science & Society" in a Saturday Evening Post article written by the late BENJAMIN STOLBERG. In 1944 the House Committee on Un-American Activities described STERN as a "leading" CP member.

His wife, CHARLOTTE TODES STERN, also named as a "leading" party member in Congressional reports, was an official of a Communist-directed local of the AFL's Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union a few years ago. As a board member of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC), she went to jail for contempt in 1950 because she and other JAFRC officials refused to give Congress this front's records.

STERN himself was prominent in the old Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, which has been charged by Congress with aiding Moscow's atomic espionage activities against the U S.

Since 1947, when he says he has not been a party member, STERN has supported a good number of the party's most important fronts and has defended the conspiracy's Politburo and other leading Communists.

Columbia Univ has imperiled academic freedom within its walls for years by blinding itself to the facts about BERNHARD J STERN which were readily available from a number of sources.

It is obvious that there will be no real housecleaning as long as colleges and universities look for actual party membership cards (which haven't been issued since 1948) or witnesses who can place people in the party as of today (in most cases, such witnesses are not available).

Actions speak more convincingly than words. BERNHARD J STERN's current actions are not anti-Communist. They are pro-Communist...and were a week ago when he refused to answer questions about his activities.

Will Columbia Univ...and the New School for Social Research in NY, where STERN also lectures on sociology...wake up to reality? Or will they continue to blind themselves to the facts because STERN says he is not now a Communist Party member?

* Cited as Communist or subversive by Dept of Justice.

RADIO-TV UNION SETS EXAMPLE FOR ALL LABOR. The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) was formed last September by a merger of Television Authority and the American Federation of Radio Artists. It represents about 20,000 performers in the radio-TV field and is the spokesman for the overwhelming majority of artists in the broadcasting industry.

Anti-Communists won the great majority of positions on the union's nat'l board of directors at the time of the merger last year and also control the key locals in the union...those in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York.

There is a militant Communist clique in AFTRA. It is continually trying to get the union to help Communist plans for infiltration of the industry by introducing resolutions which assert that innocent actors have been blacklisted because of false charges, etc. So far, the anti-Communist majority has succeeded in blocking the CP faction on every important issue.

Los Angeles local of AFTRA recently hit the CP hard. Its members voted by a big majority to amend the local's constitution. Now any member who refuses to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination when asked by an official investigating committee about his CP membership or affiliations can be expelled or disciplined by the union.

Communists in the Los Angeles local of AFTRA who are called before House Committee on Un-American Activities in its current investigation of entertainment industry now have these choices:

(a) Admit they are CP members and face expulsion from AFTRA (the union's constitution bars Communist Party members and also those who knowingly give financial or other assistance to the party's fronts).

(b) Falsely deny their party membership and face the possibility of prosecution for perjury by the U S Govt.

(c) Refuse to answer questions about their Communist affiliations under the self-incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment and thus subject themselves to expulsion or other disciplinary action by the union.

AFTRA's Los Angeles local has set an example for all unions to follow. Its action, with its implied approval of Congressional investigations of CP infiltration, should be an effective antidote to the anti-anti-Communist line of some CIO leaders like WALTER REUTHER and JAMES B CAREY.

It should also set an example for some business men in the industry who, because of indifference, muddled thinking or lack of courage, have aided CP-led unions and individual Communists in the broadcasting field instead of fighting them at every turn.

And doesn't it seem strange that AFTRA and some other unions have higher standards than the American Assn of Univ Professors, which last week upheld the right of CP members to teach and opposed dismissing teachers because they refuse to answer questions on grounds of self-incrimination?

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

JOHN C. WHITAKER, Pres, R J Reynolds Tobacco Co, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Ask him why his corporation features persons with a CP record like ALBERT OTTENHEIMER's on its "Man Against Crime" program (see pp 1 & 2).

Yours faithfully,

April 3, 1953

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

October 10, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 41

Dear Subscriber:

WHAT SHOULD BE ATTITUDE OF BUSINESS MEN TOWARD COMMUNISTS? Recent events indicate that this is a very live question...although most people have presumed that there is only one very obvious answer to it. Here are two incidents which show a wide divergence of opinion on the subject:

1. WM M RAMSEY, director of radio advertising for Procter & Gamble (one of biggest radio sponsors in U S), WM E SCHNEIDER, business manager of radio and television dept of Benton & Bowles advertising agency, and LEONARD T BUSH, sec'y and vice-pres of Compton Advertising Inc, have joined with Radio Writers Guild in signing a statement which says it is their "unanimous belief...that blacklisting IN ANY FIELD is a practice destructive to good labor-management relations" (emphasis added by COUNTERATTACK).

This is an amazing statement for non-Communist business men to sign. The word "blacklisting", of course, is a misnomer that Communists and fellow-travelers have "sold" to many people in entertainment industry. When they speak of blacklisting, they really mean something else...the screening of personnel for records of Communist Party (CP) and Communist front activity. That is entirely different from blacklisting, which is the barring of certain people from employment for secret and untenable reasons (blacklisting in its true sense is forbidden by law in U S).

These business men oppose screening of Communists in ANY business. They say, in effect, that U S Coast Guard is helping destroy "good labor-management relations" when it orders seamen with Communist records off U S merchant ships as a security measure; that a firm which has defense contracts (for jet engines, airplanes, armament, etc) is threatening good relations between management and labor when it screens its employes to protect itself (and U S Armed Forces) against Communist-inspired slow-downs, strikes and sabotage. And they say that in radio and TV field, no effort should be made to prevent Communists and Communist fronters from collecting big money and prestige to utilize in Stalin's conspiracy to destroy the U S.

The attitude of these business men is a reactionary throwback to the "united front" days of the 1930's...which Stalin is now trying to revive in all parts of the world. Their attitude is opposed, for example, by most anti-Communist unions in maritime and other fields which are cooperating with Govt in screening Communists out of sensitive industries.

And here's why there is no valid excuse for the Communist-serving action of these business men in signing this statement.

(a) Radio Writers Guild (RWG) is Communist-controlled, according to report of Senate Internal Security subcommittee issued in August. And even if business men's statement was signed prior to release of Senate subcommittee testimony (as is claimed), there is still no excuse. RWG has been controlled by Communists for years and this fact has been widely known.

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J. G. Keenan, President; H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor

(b) The resolution is 100% Communist-line. It is also widely known throughout the industry that Communists and fellow-travelers have been waging an anti-screening campaign (under guise of opposition to "blacklisting") for several years. This resolution, promoted by a CP-controlled union, is so obviously an integral part of that campaign, that a child can see it.

So here is one attitude business men take toward Fifth Column: They collaborate with it in issuing a statement furthering Stalin's aims.

2. And here's an example of another business man's attitude toward Communists: The Communoid "Daily Compass", a nationally distributed newspaper, recently featured a series of two articles on "The Blacklist" which were written by its front-supporting TV columnist, SAUL CARSON.

The villains of this series were a group of individuals and organizations (including COUNTERATTACK) who have been fighting and exposing the Communists. These people, CARSON reported, were the powers behind the "blacklist" in the U S.

And CARSON singled out LAURENCE JOHNSON, a business man, for special treatment in this series. He reported that JOHNSON "has brought to the booming blacklist business an element it lacked. He has given blacklisting the 'merchandising angle'" by holding "threats of boycott" over the heads of the manufacturers of products handled by super-markets.

It is important that the truth about JOHNSON be known now that he has become a target for the pro-Communist smear bund. JOHNSON's daughter, Mrs ELEANOR BUCHANAN, became "sickened and disgusted" about two years ago by fact that while her husband (a Marine 1st Lt) was fighting Communists in Korea, she was actually helping Communists and fellow-travelers in U S who supported the Communists in Korea who were trying to kill her husband.

She was doing this by buying products of sponsors who featured Communists and fronters on their radio and TV programs. And she realized that she was also receiving her husband's enemies into his own home when she tuned in programs featuring these people.

She decided to fight this condition. She collected facts on Communists and their followers in radio and TV from COUNTERATTACK and its book, "Red Channels". She secured additional information from reports of House Committee on Un-American Activities and other sources. She made speeches before civic, patriotic and fraternal groups, enlisting their help in her crusade to induce sponsors to feature patriotic performers.

She got results. She was given American Legion's highest honor, its Good Citizenship Medal, at NY State American Legion Convention this year for her fight against Communist infiltration in entertainment field.

She interested her father, LAURENCE JOHNSON in the fight. He owns a string of super-markets in Syracuse, NY, and realized that in a sense he was more "guilty" than his daughter. Certain manufacturers whose products he sold were actually using him to help finance the careers of Communists and fellow-travelers whom they glamourized on their radio and TV programs.

JOHNSON decided to help business concerns that were not financing the Communist Party in this way. At the same time, he realized that most firms whose products he handled and who helped CP, did so unwittingly. So he wrote letters to them when they sponsored a Communist or fronter on a radio or TV program. He called their attention to this person's record and urged them to hire performers with patriotic records instead.

Most firms were only too glad to cooperate when given the facts.

They realized the importance of their actions when JOHNSON brought to their attention testimony from Hollywood hearings which showed that party members and front supporters in entertainment field had long been a most important source of income for Stalin's Fifth Column.

JOHNSON found allies in sales forces of most concerns. They were shocked and embarrassed to learn that their company was helping CP.

Veterans of World War II on his own sales force asked to help JOHNSON in his campaign when they learned what he was doing. They formed the Veterans Action Committee of Syracuse Super-Markets. Committee sends open letters to employes and owners of other super-markets, wholesale and retail grocery distributors and to other veterans' and patriotic groups. Letters call attention to records of the Communists and fronters featured on radio and TV by manufacturers of products handled by these people.

JOHNSON stresses the positive. Contrary to what SAUL CARSON writes in Compass, he doesn't boycott or threaten to boycott any manufacturer.

He HAS given preferential treatment to manufacturers who keep their programs clean, or who clean them up when the records of people they have been featuring are brought to their attention.

But he refuses this added attention to manufacturers who do not clean up their programs (though he still stocks their products).

"You have a perfect right to feature anyone you want on your program," JOHNSON tells such sponsors, "but I have the right of choice, too...the right to feature only the products of sponsors who don't contribute indirect financial aid to the Communist Party."

Here's how JOHNSON rewards cooperative manufacturers: Like most retailers he has contracts with various firms which specify that he will feature special advertising and displays of their products a number of times a year. These contracts benefit manufacturer, retailer and consumer and are written so that they can be cancelled at any time at convenience of either party.

JOHNSON won't sign, or he cancels, such contracts with firms that hire pro-Communists at expense of anti-Communists. He cancelled one of these contracts with Procter & Gamble, the firm that has collaborated with CP-led Radio Writers Guild, a few months ago. It is also interesting to note:

That JULIAN FUNT, who writes the Procter & Gamble radio show, "Big Sister," was named in testimony before Senate Internal Security subcommittee as a member of the pro-Communist ruling clique of the Radio Writers Guild.

That MITCHELL GRAYSON, who directs this program for Procter & Gamble, has a Communist front record.

That the Compton agency, which has also collaborated with Communist-led Radio Writers Guild, handles this Procter & Gamble program.

That ABRAM S GINNES, ROBERT CENEDELLA and SHELDON STARK, the three representatives who signed the anti-"blacklist" statement for RWG, were also named as members of union's pro-CP ruling group.

JOHNSON has hurt the Communists in radio. He has enlisted other grocery wholesalers and retailers in the fight and he has carried on his campaign at great sacrifice of his time and energy. The Communists, of course, will now do all they can to hurt his business and his reputation.

LAURENCE JOHNSON provides one example of attitude American business men can take toward Communists. Procter & Gamble, Benton & Bowles and the Compton advertising agency offer another example.

Which would you choose?

ANTI-COMMUNISTS ENCOURAGED...AND DISCOURAGED...IN RADIO WRITERS GUILD.

"We The Undersigned", the anti-CP faction in Radio Writers Guild, will run candidates in opposition to pro-Communist administration slate in elections next month. Their bid to oust Communists from control will probably be made only in the Eastern region where they have their greatest strength (Communists are powerful in both Eastern and Western regions).

Anti-Communists have been encouraged by testimony released by Senate Internal Security subcommittee which has brought public attention to Communist control of Guild and should arouse anti-Communist majority to action.

They have also been encouraged by testimony of OWEN VINCENT, radio director and former CP member, who testified before House Committee on Un-American Activities in Hollywood last week and named a number of Guild members he had known as Communists. They are:

ABE BURROWS, well-known radio and TV comedian; LOUIS SCOFIELD, past Pres of Guild; HARMON (HY) ALEXANDER and KEN PETTUS, past members of Guild's nat'l council; SAM MOORE, another past Pres of Guild, REUBEN SHIP and GEORGIA BACKUS (all earlier identified in Hollywood hearings); LOUIS "STUDS" TERKEL, past Midwest Council member, and GENE STONE, JACK ROBINSON and his wife, MARY.

Outcome of election means a lot to anti-Communists, who have been fighting for several years...and without success...to unseat Communists.

But they are discouraged by fact that business men who are representatives of powerful forces in their industry, have undercut much of value of the Senate subcommittee and OWEN VINCENT testimony.

If Procter & Gamble, Benton & Bowles and the Compton agency think it is all right to collaborate with pro-CP clique in Guild, why shouldn't anti-Communists in guild do the same...and retain this clique in office?

If these same business firms say it is bad labor practice to "blacklist" Communists and pro-Communists, how can We The Undersigned convince the Guild (their union) members that they are not injuring the Guild and the whole union movement in trying to oust Communists from control?

We The Undersigned, fortunately, can tell their fellow anti-Communists not to look to these representatives of business for advice and example... but to look to the many trade unions which have openly stated that Communists and pro-Communists should not be officers of any union.

But it doesn't make sense that prominent representatives of the capitalist class should function as their own gravediggers. The Communists only laugh at them when they do...and they don't increase their stature in the eyes of anti-totalitarians.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

NEIL McELROY, Pres, Procter & Gamble Distributing Co, 155 East 44th Street, New York City.

WM BAKER, Pres, Benton & Bowles Inc, 444 Madison Ave, NYCity.

R D HOLBROOK, Pres, Compton Advertising Inc, 630 5th Ave, NYCity.

Ask them if they are going to keep on helping Stalin's Fifth Column or if they will reverse their unpatriotic behaviour and do something to remove the roadblocks they have thrown in the way of "We The Undersigned".

Yours faithfully,

October 10, 1952.

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

September 26, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 39

Dear Subscriber:

"DANGER" TV SHOW SEEMS TO BE APPROPRIATELY NAMED. The Block Drug Co, manufacturers of Ammident Toothpaste, Omega Oil, Minipoo Shampoo and other drug products, sponsors "Danger", a TV program featured on the CBS network each Tuesday at 10 PM, EDT.

Following people have worked on this show in last few months:

WILL LEE, who refused to deny he was a Communist Party (CP) member when he testified before California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948, and has since continued his support of Communist fronts.

MARTIN RITT, lecturer at CP's own drama school, People's Drama, last year. He sponsored the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference and has helped Communist-controlled unions put on propaganda shows.

SALEM LUDWIG, backer of CP's attempts to maintain its foothold in broadcasting industry by calling "anti-blacklist" rallies that are staged by Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP), the party's chief cultural infiltration agency in U S. LUDWIG has had roles in theatrical productions of NCASP and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the party's front for ensnaring Negroes in cultural field.

HOWARD WIERUM, another backer of CP's theatrical producing agency, People's Drama. He has had key roles in two of its propaganda plays and has supported other Communist causes.

WALTER BERNSTEIN, formerly of Daily Worker, who has been speaker for the party's Jefferson School of Social Science, has written for its cultural magazine, Masses and Mainstream, and has supported its May Day parade...in addition to backing several of Stalin's "peace" conferences and various other fronts. He was in Duncan Paris Post of American Legion which was refused permanent charter because it was Communist-controlled.

LEE GRANT, star of film version of "Detective Story". She had leading role in the Broadway Communist propaganda play "All You Need Is One Good Break", written by identified CP member ARNOLD MANOFF. LEE GRANT has also supported CP fronts.

ELI WALLACH, star of the Broadway production, "The Rose Tattoo", who made collection speech at Communist-inspired rally for WILLIE McGEE last year when CP was using McGEE's trial as a major propaganda weapon. WALLACH shared platform with WM L PATTERSON, leader of CP's Civil Rights Congress and formerly a legislative director of CP. PATTERSON, acting for CP, has brought charges of genocide against U S in the U N.

ALICE CHILDRESS, writer for CP's cultural monthly, Masses and Mainstream, and writer and star of Communist propaganda plays produced by New Playwrights and Committee for the Negro in the Arts, both CP fronts. Miss CHILDRESS, who appeared on "Danger" TV show Sept 9, is one of younger leading lights in CP cultural world. She marched in May Day parade this year.

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J. G. Keenan, President; H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor

There's nothing new in this type of casting on "Danger". Over a year ago, on Aug 7, 1951, for example, WALTER BERNSTEIN adapted the program's production of "Goodbye Hannah" in which JOHN RANDOLPH had a principal role.

RANDOLPH marched in CP's May Day parade this year and last year. He has made impassioned speeches at front meetings and has been especially active in CP's "anti-blacklist" campaign.

And LOU GILBERT, formerly of staff of Camp Unity, a Communist summer resort in NY, was starred on program early this year. He has supported International Workers Order and Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions...as well as People's Drama, the party's theatrical agency.

SIDNEY LUMET, director of "Danger", is on staff of the Drama Lab, a school well packed with Communists and front supporters (see COUNTERATTACK Jan 4, 1952, pp 1&2). LUMET sometimes features himself in "Danger" shows.

CBS itself produces and packages "Danger" for the Block Drug Co. Both the network and the drug company are equally responsible for the many Communists and CP fronters being subsidized by this program. CBS could not package ANY program in this way if Block Drug Co and other sponsors would refuse to buy such tainted goods.

And that's the danger shown in this program. If all people and businesses acted as CBS and the Block Drug Company have, there would be no real anti-Communism in the nation. The Communoid Daily Compass has high praise for "Danger". That's understandable. But what would overwhelming majority of Americans say about the program if they knew the kind of goods it has been palming off on them?

"American business should make it crystal clear...it is not giving direct or indirect financial support to Communism by employing artists who contribute to Communist causes. No excuses should be offered for this attitude. It is not penalizing persons for their 'political' views. It is... denying indirect financial aid to a movement which is essentially treason."

U S Chamber of Commerce made this statement in its 1951 report, "Communism: Where Do We Stand Today?" House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a similar warning to broadcasting industry in its 1951 report.

WHAT TO DO: Write to:

FRANK STANTON, Pres, CBS, 485 Madison Avenue, NYCity.

MELVIN A BLOCK, Pres, Block Drug Co, Inc, 257 Cornelison Ave, Jersey City, NJ.

Tell them what you think of business men who repeatedly palm off Communists and fronters on the American public while Americans are dying at hands of Communists in Korea to protect the freedom under which they make their business profits.

WILL THE PROFESSORS NOW STOP DEFENDING TREASON? Over four years ago, COUNTERATTACK pointed out that American Assn of University Professors (AAUP) had done excellent work in defending academic freedom, but that "it is now beginning to defend TREASON, without knowing what it is doing."

AAUP would defend right of all professors who are Communist Party members to hold their positions, it had announced, except in cases in which a professor was really involved in trying to overthrow govt.

But CP is a conspiracy "for EXACTLY that purpose", COUNTERATTACK pointed out, and it asked AAUP what it supposed every Communist Party member was doing. It called on American Association of University Professors to wake up and stop defending Fifth Columnists.

This appeal was repeated by one of best known educators in U S at meeting of American Chemical Society last week. Prof JOEL H HILDEBRAND, dean emeritus of College of Chemistry at Univ of Calif, urged the AAUP to reverse its ostrich-headed stand in speech he made before the society.

Academic freedom does not exempt anyone from responsibility to be a decent citizen, nor does it confer "a peculiar right to support an organization subservient to an unfriendly foreign power," he said. He quoted Prof A O LOVEJOY, founder of AAUP, who in 1949 stated:

The "conception of freedom is not one which implies the legitimacy and inevitability of its own suicide...what it implies is that there is one kind of freedom which is inadmissible--the freedom to destroy freedom."

AAUP defense of CP members is based on following assumption: Although the international Communist movement and CP may be subversive, it does not follow that all members and supporters of CP are subversive and aid the party with subversive intent.

This viewpoint may have been plausible years ago, before the conspiracy had repeatedly been exposed by press and in court proceedings in countries in all parts of world. But it just isn't plausible today.

Prof HILDEBRAND showed why in this comment on AAUP reasoning: "In other words one must not conclude that the man is a knave, he may be merely a fool. But is that all right for a university professor? It is equivalent to saying that one cannot know whether a man who joins and supports the Klu Klux Klan approves of its cowardly acts of terrorism."

The anti-Communist American Federation of Teachers (AFL) voted at its 1949 convention that membership in an organization or in a "legal political party" (meaning CP) was not sufficient grounds for dismissing a teacher unless such membership affected the individual's teaching and denied students the right to learn in an atmosphere of freedom and impartiality.

At same time this teachers' union reaffirmed its ban of all supporters of totalitarian ideologies from its own ranks.

COUNTERATTACK said it was inconsistent for Federation to say CP membership involved teachers in practices "inimical to free trade unions," and not to say that it also involved them in practices inimical to free, impartial teaching. This newsletter called on Teachers Federation to reverse its inconsistent stand at its next convention.

It did reverse its inconsistent stand at its next convention, which was held just last month. Convention delegates voted overwhelmingly not to support any teacher proved to be a CP member. They said it was illogical for their group to exclude Communists and at the same time insist that boards of education employ such people.

Isn't it time now for American Association of Univ Professors to follow lead of American Federation of Teachers and reverse its unrealistic policy in regard to betrayers of academic freedom?

TRENDS OF THE TIMES:

1. KAREN MORLEY, Hollywood actress who ducked subpoena to testify before Committee on Un-American Activities last year and reportedly skipped to Mexico or South America, is back pushing Stalin's cause in U S. She spoke at CP's big "Starlight Rally for Peace" in NY last month and at convention of CP-led Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers this month. If House Committee subpoenas her again, will she continue talking or clam up?

2. United Electrical Workers Union, largest of unions kicked out of CIO for following CP line, held convention last week. Like CP-led Mine,

Mill and Smelter Workers, it too, did NOT endorse candidates of Progressive Party for election. Observers took this another indication of CP's reluctance to hurt STEVENSON campaign (see last week's COUNTERATTACK, p 2).

3. HOWARD FAST, Stalin's gift to the literary world, is being run for Congress by the CP in NYCity.

U S PUBLISHING HOUSE MOCKS ANTI-COMMUNISTS AND VICTIMS OF STALIN. The publishing house is Henry Schuman, Inc, of New York. It has carried out its mockery by publishing "Hopalong Freud Rides Again", a satire by IRA WALLACH, an identified CP member who writes a column for the Daily Worker under the name of "TED TINSLEY" (COUNTERATTACK, July 4, p 4).

WALLACH satirizes eighteen well known authors in this book.

JEAN PAUL SARTRE's anti-CP play, "The Red Gloves", is one target of WALLACH's satire. The truth of Stalinist aggression is also derided. And in the lowest of all his parodies, "I Escaped From the Borscht Mines", he mocks those refugees from Soviet tyranny who, unlike millions of others, have been lucky enough to escape from Stalin's slave labor camps.

Don't believe all this bunk about slave labor, about Soviet aggression; don't believe anything anti-Communists say about Stalin Russia or Communism, WALLACH says in his book...with the help of Henry Schuman, Inc.

Would Henry Schuman publish a mockery of the millions who died in Hitler's concentration camps? Undoubtedly not. Then why did it publish WALLACH's book? On what peculiar double standard is the firm operating?

NY Times plugged WALLACH's book in a review by GILBERT MILLSTEIN, staff member of NY Times magazine, who wrote well of WALLACH's "muscular parodies" but said not a word of the CP propaganda in them.

CP press was not quite so happy as NY Times with WALLACH's latest opus. It liked his "progressive approach" and expressed the hope that "many more satirical blasts at the reactionary elements in American life" would come from his pen.

But it did not like his parody on slave labor any more than COUNTERATTACK does...though obviously for very different reasons.

"The Big Lie of Soviet slave labor is not a subject for humor", CP press said. It argued that this "gross" evil (the truth about slave labor in Russia) cannot be overcome by joking denials, that it must be met with solemn, angry denials (great big lies).

WALLACH will now have to watch his step carefully to see that he does not again write satires on what CP thinks are the wrong subjects. On basis of his past record, he will undoubtedly do bidding of his CP bosses. He wouldn't still be writing for Daily Worker if Stalin's top agents thought he might rebel against them and write as a free man.

Educational Note: Isn't it strange how reviews in CP press are often much more revealing from the anti-Communist point of view than those which appear in publications like NY Times?

DON'T FORGET to write to presidents of CBS and Block Drug Co about their repeated subsidizing of Communists and fronters (see pp 1&2).

Yours faithfully,

September 26, 1952

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

August 8, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 32

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST FRONT PLANS TO UNSEAT MEMBERS OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been under the fire of a Communist smear campaign since it was set up in late Thirties.

A large part of U S press cooperated in this smear attack in early days...and even as late as 1948. When House Committee started its Hollywood investigation in 1947 it met with such a hostile press reception that the investigation was dropped without being completed. Its espionage investigation in 1948 brought similar reaction from many papers.

Many Congressmen were reluctant to serve on committee because the Communist-inspired smear campaign was so successful that they feared their careers would be seriously hurt if they were committee members.

Now times have changed. When Sen RICHARD M NIXON of Calif (then a Congressman and committee member) forced exposure of ALGER HISS he did much to raise committee's prestige. General quality of committee members has improved in recent years, too...there is no longer a JOHN RANKIN on it.

Congressmen no longer fear to serve on Committee. They are actually glad to do so. The committee has public acceptance and support...and is hurting the Communist Party (CP) by its continued exposures.

Of course the Communists and fellow travelers still attack it. So do The Nation magazine and some influential but soft-headed newspapers. But the attacks and sniping are largely ineffective.

So Communists are using a new tactic. They are waging a campaign to vote out of office any Congressman who serves on committee. They are using the old Communist weapon...fear.

Citizens' Committee to Preserve American Freedoms is the front set up to do this job. It is located in Hollywood.

To raise money from all over U S it inserted a half-page ad in The Nation magazine's recent Smear America issue. Ad read:

"RETIRE YOUR CONGRESSMAN if he is a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee....

"Voters have ended the careers of other committee members.

"Make membership on the Committee a political 'hot seat'.

"Through ads in community papers and by special campaign leaflets assistance is given voters in retiring House Committee Congressmen."

Citizens' Committee to Preserve American Freedoms has already held several rallies, has circulated briefs for the quashing of subpoenas to appear before House Committee served on doctors and lawyers, is arranging a rally to honor all those subpoenaed to testify before committee, and has prepared three ads to insert in newspapers prior to holding of committee's next hearings in Los Angeles. These ads "expose" record of House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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J. G. Keenan, President: H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor

This front's ad in The Nation quotes former Attorney Gen'l FRANCIS BIDDLE's smear of House Committee in his recent book "The Fear of Freedom": "Congress has become a hostage of its own creature — the House Un-American Activities Committee. It is afraid to arrest the Committee's mad course."

It quotes American Civil Liberties Union statement: "Nothing is so un-American as the Committee's own activities...There can be no compromise with the conclusion that it should be wholly abolished."

Reps DONALD JACKSON and CLYDE DOYLE of Calif, both members of House Committee, are front's special targets. But it also wants to retire all members of committee and so is asking for money gifts from all over U S.

Watch for Communist-inspired smear attacks on members of committee in your district, state or region. Do everything you can to offset them by getting true facts before the voting public.

Note: The American Civil Liberties Union, Southern California Branch, has given strong support to Citizens' Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and its campaign to undermine House Committee.

A A HEIST, exec director of that ACLU branch and editor of its official publication has sponsored, spoken at, and served as chairman of its rallies. The ACLU organ, controlled by HEIST, has plugged the front and supported its campaign to raise $25,000. HEIST has a Communist front record.

THE "MONTHLY REVIEW" PUSHES "THE NATION" MAGAZINE'S SMEAR OF U S. On July 11 COUNTERATTACK referred to The Nation magazine's special "How Free Is Free" issue as "an arsenal of misinformation for the smear America bund." It said it would do great harm to U S here and abroad.

The Monthly Review is a Communist-line publication that parades under disguise of "an independent socialist magazine." It is part of the Smear America bund and is edited by LEO HUBERMAN and PAUL M SWEEZY.

HUBERMAN, former labor editor of the defunct CP-line newspaper, PM, now writes a column for the Communoid Daily Compass. He has a very long Communist front record that dates back many years.

SWEEZY said rulers of U S are real threat to peace, in speech at Waldorf "Peace" conference in 1949. He signed statement defending the now convicted 11 Communist Party (CP) leaders and has supported fronts.

CORLISS LAMONT, millionaire backer of the Daily Compass who has predicted U S would have Communist govt by 1960, and BASIL DAVIDSON, a staff writer for the British weekly, The New Statesman and Nation, are recent contributors to Monthly Review. Magazine relies heavily on anonymous pro-CP writers featured as "A Student of the USSR," "A Marxian Economist", etc.

All Monthly Review subscribers recently received free copy of The Nation magazine's special Smear America issue. Attached to it was a memo from HUBERMAN and SWEEZY.

"We think it is a valuable weapon in the fight against American fascism," the memo said. "You will want to see it distributed as widely as possible — to all your friends and to your friends' friends."

They urged Monthly Review readers to take advantage of special reduced rates The Nation is now offering for bundle orders of its deceitful series of articles smearing U S.

Communists and pro-Communists are obviously making concerted effort to give this issue of The Nation very wide circulation (it has been plugged repeatedly in Daily Worker and in The Compass). It is an important weapon in their anti-U S propaganda campaign.

The damage done to U S by The Nation is not over. The effect of this special issue will last for months and years. It will get results (for Moscow) in all corners of the earth.

So it is important for COUNTERATTACK readers to know the names of those who helped make it possible by subsidizing The Nation with big ads.

Full page ads in this smear America issue were contributed by: American Civil Liberties Union; Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (a relatively new alleged "civil liberties" group headed by Prof PAUL L LEHMANN of Princeton Theological Seminary; its executive committee boasts large percentage of leading CP fronters); Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (CIO); United Packinghouse Workers of America (where CP has its greatest strength in CIO); Beacon Press (Boston) and Simon and Schuster publishers.

Half or one-third page ads: Harper & Brothers; the "Committee of 100" of the Nat'l Assn for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Defense and Education Fund; the Citizens' Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (see pages 1 & 2) and International Publishers, official CP publishing house.

CBS EXECUTIVE DEFENDS NETWORK'S USE OF COMMUNIST FRONTER. On July 25 COUNTERATTACK published part of artist BEN SHAHN's long Communist front record...and revealed that CBS had hired him to draw illustration for full-page ad for the CBS-Westinghouse Electric Corp coverage of Republican and Democratic conventions.

J L VAN VOLKENBURG, Pres of CBS Television, subsequently wrote to COUNTERATTACK and said CBS had paid full cost of ad...contrary to COUNTERATTACK's statement that "Westinghouse paid part of cost."

COUNTERATTACK subscribers received letters from Westinghouse denying it paid part of cost and saying the firm "resents very much the careless and unjustified implications of the article in Counterattack."

But a CBS official gave COUNTERATTACK its facts about ad. This newsletter checked with JOHN COWDEN, Operations Director of Advertising and Self Promotion for CBS, before publishing story. He said Westinghouse paid part of cost. If there was a mistake in COUNTERATTACK's report, it was due to misinformation from CBS itself.

But VAN VOLKENBURG's letter is important because it is an indirect defense of CBS's use of BEN SHAHN to illustrate its ad.

There's not a word in it saying use of SHAHN was wrong or an error ...or that CBS-TV wouldn't use him, or someone with a similar record, again.

On the contrary, VAN VOLKENBURG went out of his way to praise SHAHN as being "universally recognized as one of the greatest living painters" -- a description of SHAHN's reputation that is, at best, highly debatable... though undoubtedly pleasing to SHAHN and CP fronts he has helped.

CBS ad was to build "maximum audiences" for conventions, VAN VOLKENBURG wrote, and to help "a free people reach independent decisions on the basis of what they have seen with their own eyes." The implication was that as long as CBS is working for a noble cause it doesn't matter that a CP fronter gets a big sum of money from CBS.

VAN VOLKENBURG's letter is a weak attempt to defend CBS's error by beating around the bush and subtly whitewashing BEN SHAHN.

NBC-TV STARS PLUG RADIO CRITIC FOR COMMUNOID NEWSPAPER. SAUL CARSON, former radio editor of the New Republic, now writes a TV column for the Daily Compass. CARSON's record gives an indication of his attitude towards Communists in radio:

He has contributed to New Masses, the now defunct propaganda magazine of the Communist Party. He has been member of, and speaker for, the Voice of Freedom Committee, the party front in the broadcasting industry.

CARSON was member of openly revolutionary League of American Writers. He sponsored the phony Waldorf "Peace" Conference and also attended the Moscow-directed peace conference held in Wroclaw, Poland, in 1948.

Yet following NBC stars have written guest columns for CARSON in the Communoid Daily Compass while he is on vacation.

SID CAESAR, co-star of "Your Show of Shows."

GROUCHO MARX, star of "You Bet Your Life."

FRED COE, director of "Goodyear Playhouse."

PAUL WINCHELL, star of "Paul Winchell and Jerry Mahoney Show."

CP fronter SAUL CARSON seems to have many friends at NBC.

WHY DOES CARNEGIE HALL HELP COMMUNISTS' WAR AGAINST U S? NYCity's Carnegie Hall was built by and for people interested in cultural and artistic achievement. It has played big role in U S cultural life.

The Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP) is Moscow's top culture-destroying agency in U S. It uses talents of all types of cultural workers as instruments of the biggest confidence game in history... the conspiracy directed by Moscow to destroy all freedom and culture.

Yet NCASP held one of its rallies at Carnegie Hall last Thursday, July 31...in spite of fact that following people, all well known as pro-Moscow propagandists, were billed as speakers and performers.

JULIUS "COMRADE JUNIPER" EMSPAK, identified CP member who is a top leader of one of Moscow's greatest sabotage forces in U S in event of war... the United Electrical Workers, biggest CP-led union in U S.

I F STONE, openly pro-Communist columnist for the Daily Compass, who has called on Negroes in U S to resort to violence.

SIDNEY ROGER, West Coast radio commentator who is a staunch supporter of CP line and fund raiser for Communist fronts.

Film actors HOWARD da SILVA and MORRIS CARNOVSKY, both identified as CP members in Hollywood hearings. Radio-TV actor ELLIOTT SULLIVAN, also identified as CP member in same hearings.

Singer LAURA DUNCAN, identified CP member who is a leader of the party's entertainment front, Peoples Artists.

Radio-TV actress ADELAIDE BEAN, an active participant in CP's political warfare rallies against U S.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

ROBERT E SIMON JR, Pres, Carnegie Hall, 7th Ave and 57th St, NYC.

Remind him that NCASP has often used Carnegie Hall to carry on its obvious political warfare against U S.

Tell him you won't be "surprised as well as pleased" to learn NCASP agreed that nothing would be said at rally that was "unlawful or subversive to the principles" of the U S Govt. (He has written this to COUNTERATTACK subscribers in the past when they protested use of hall by NCASP).

Ask him when he's going to work up enough courage to stop collaborating with CP fronts and refuse use of Carnegie Hall to enemy agencies.

Yours faithfully,

August 8, 1952

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

July 25, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 30

Dear Subscriber:

BIG BUSINESS HELPS ENEMY OF REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TO CAPITALIZE ON THEIR CONVENTIONS. The CBS network featured a full page ad in leading local and nationally distributed newspapers published in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit and NYCity on July 6. Ad plugged CBS's coverage of the Republican and Democratic conventions, which was sponsored by Westinghouse Electric Corp, one of biggest manufacturing firms in U S.

BEN SHAHN drew the illustration for this ad. SHAHN has done art work for the "cultural" monthly of the Communist Party (CP), "Masses & Mainstream", and for Morning Freiheit Assn which publishes The Morning Freiheit, official CP Yiddish-language newspaper, and also the CP propaganda monthly, "Jewish Life" (NOT to be confused with the anti-Communist "Orthodox Jewish Life").

SHAHN has backed many CP fronts...the Waldorf Peace Conference, American Continental Congress for Peace, Bill of Rights Conference (in defense of 11 now convicted CP leaders), National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and others.

He drew illustration for lying ad in NY Times of January 15, 1951. Ad attacked the Govt's refusal to issue passports to PAUL ROBESON and HOWARD FAST and its denial of visas to Moscow agents who wanted to come to U S. It defended the "Hollywood Ten", attacked COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS", and publicized a story used by Communists for propaganda purposes.

SHAHN drew the cover illustration for The Nation magazine's recent issue that smeared the U S as one step from Fascism (COUNTERATTACK, July 11).

And he drew key Progressive Party poster for the 1948 presidential campaign when Communists were using HENRY WALLACE as bait in their bid to move into the White House.

This poster mocked Republican and Democratic parties. It portrayed the Republican candidate, Gov THOMAS E DEWEY of NY, sitting on top of a piano being played by Pres TRUMAN, Democratic candidate for reelection. Pres TRUMAN had song sheets spread on the piano..."A Good Man Is Hard To Find", "Blest Be The Tie That Binds", "Little White Lies" and "It Had To Be You."

Now in 1952, CBS and Westinghouse jointly pay BEN SHAHN to draw the ad plugging their TV coverage of the Democratic and Republican conventions. CBS alone chose SHAHN and prepared ad, and Westinghouse paid part of cost.

If CBS and Westinghouse can carelessly aid Communist cause by subsidizing its fronters and propagandists, so can everyone else. There's nothing wrong with it. That, in effect, was the message in their hiring BEN SHAHN.

WHAT TO DO: Write to:
Dr FRANK STANTON, Pres, CBS, 485 Madison Ave, NYCity.
GWILYM A PRICE, Pres, Westinghouse Electric Corp, 40 Wall St, NYC.
Ask them if they can justify their firm's carelessness in helping to finance a leading, continual supporter of Communist Party causes.

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J. G. Keenan, President; H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor

THE NATION MAGAZINE'S SMEAR-AMERICA LINE GETS RESULTS ABROAD. Two weeks ago COUNTERATTACK gave facts on The Nation magazine's special, double-size, smear-the-U S issue. That issue was not a departure from The Nation's usual line...it was just an extra-heavy dose of it wrapped up in one volume.

COUNTERATTACK emphasized bad effect that The Nation has abroad where it helps Stalin by discrediting U S as fascistic and hysterical.

Here's a concrete example of the effect it has:

KINGSLEY MARTIN is editor of the New Statesman and Nation, an ap-. peasement line English weekly. MARTIN recently visited U S...and then described his impressions of this country in New Statesman and Nation, which is widely circulated in England and is read by intellectuals in many countries.

Fear is prevalent everywhere in U S, MARTIN wrote. Liberty is in danger..."the powerful unions are conservative and not much concerned with preserving the Bill of Rights." He plugs NY Times for occasionally pointing out the "excesses in the witch hunt", but says that even that doesn't do much good because Americans actually believe they are at war with Communist China! (He blandly shuts his eyes to Chinese armies fighting in Korea.)

The truth about the witch hunt in U S, he says, is described in such books as former Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE's "The Fear of Freedom", ALAN BARTH's "The Loyalty of Free Men" and CAREY McWILLIAMS' "Witch Hunt" (all are books that paint distorted or dishonest pictures of life in America).

KINGSLEY MARTIN bemoans the "well known" success of COUNTERATTACK and its book, "RED CHANNELS"...and then praises the American Civil Liberties Union for its book, "The Judges and the Judged", by MERLE MILLER. This book, MARTIN claims, shows how many entertainment personalities have been deprived of their livelihood by the "smear technique".

The "American purges", MARTIN says, appear to stem from the same principle that prompted the bloody Moscow purges of the Thirties (in which Stalin liquidated all nonconformists).

MARTIN's words, like those of The Nation which he apes so closely, will further undermine U S prestige and leadership in England and other countries where his paper is circulated.

Where and how does he get his distorted ideas about U S?

MARTIN is a reader and friend of The Nation. A year and a half ago The Nation published a 120-page 85th Anniversary issue entitled "Peace With Russia: Can it be Negotiated?" MARTIN sent his "warmest congratulations" and praised The Nation highly on that occasion.

He had preconceived ideas about U S from reading The Nation. And when he visited this country he naturally gravitated to those people who support The Nation and plug its line. They fed him more horror tales about U S and he returned to England with a large stock of The Nation's continuous libels of America. Now he is spreading them...armed with the ammunition of the Biddles, the Barths, The Nation and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Great influence of The Nation abroad was effectively demonstrated by its 85th Anniversary issue. Among contributors to it were:

Sir BENEGAL RAU, Indian permanent representative at U N; ABBA EBAN, Israeli Ambassador to U S and permanent representative to U N; R H S CROSSMAN, asst editor of New Statesman and Nation; GERALD BAILEY, director of British Nat'l Peace Council from 1930 to 1949; ISAAC DEUTSCHER, of the influential London Economist; JESUS SILVA HERZOG, Mexican economist and editor of the Latin American magazine, Cuadernos Americanos.

Also Americans such as: Bishop G BROMLEY OXNAM; ARCHIBALD MacLEISH,

Harvard Professor and former librarian of Congress; VERA MICHELES DEAN, research director of Foreign Policy Assn; H STUART HUGHES, then asst director of Harvard's Russian Research Center...and ANDREW ROTH of Amerasia notoriety and the old reliable, OWEN LATTIMORE.

Is it strange that people in foreign countries are impressed by The Nation line when the magazine has such contributors?...and when its 85th Anniversary issue featured messages of congratulations and encouragement to The Nation from the following people:

Pres TRUMAN; OSCAR L CHAPMAN, Sec'y of the Interior; CHAS F BRANNAN, Sec'y of Agriculture; ELEANOR ROOSEVELT; then Sen FRANK P GRAHAM; JAMES G PATTON, Pres of Farmers Union; WALTER WHITE, exec sec'y of Nat'l Assn for the Advancement of Colored People; Sen WAYNE MORSE; DAVID E LILIENTHAL, former chairman of Atomic Energy Commission, and various church, trade union and civic leaders.

Most people abroad have never read what GRANVILLE HICKS wrote of this 85th anniversary issue of The Nation in "Commentary", the monthly publication of the American Jewish Committee:

"There is a pro-Soviet bias in enough of the twenty-five articles to color the entire issue....The general line of this bias is in the direction of giving the Soviet Union the benefit of every doubt, and the United States the benefit of very little doubt at all."

Many people abroad didn't see the bias. But they saw the big names. So they were impressed by the pro-Soviet line.

OUTSTANDING MUSICAL ARTISTES HELP BOOST "THE COMPASS". The musical concerts at the City College's Lewisohn Stadium are a major event in summer musical life of NYCity. An average of 15,000 people attend each one of them to see and hear top-ranking artists perform.

The Daily Compass, nationally distributed newspaper that plugs the Communist line and is an employment haven for pro-Communist newspaper people, has found a way of capitalizing on the concerts.

It runs a weekly "Compass-Stadium" Concerts Quiz. Winners of quiz get a season pass for two persons to next season's concerts (value $72)...and also two tickets to this season's Rodgers-Hammerstein Concert at Stadium.

And these are the people who cooperate with Communoid Daily Compass by serving as judges for quiz: ALEXANDER SMALLENS, musical director who has conducted Lewisohn Stadium concerts since 1934; ERICA MORINI, the violinist; JAN PEERCE and RISE STEVENS, stars of Metropolitan Opera, and Mrs CHAS S GUGGENHEIMER, chairman of Stadium Concerts, Inc, which sponsors the concerts.

What does Mayor VINCENT L IMPELLITTERI of NYCity, honorary chairman of the concert committee of Stadium Concerts, Inc, think of fact that the organization's chairman, Mrs GUGGENHEIMER, serves as a judge of the Compass contest...and that Stadium Concerts, Inc, cooperates with the Communoid Compass by supplying the prizes for its contest?

Why do prominent people still allow themselves, or organizations of which they are officials, to be used to give prestige to a newspaper that does so much for the Communist line and Communist causes?

"FORGERY BY TYPEWRITER" TALE OF ALGER HISS FALLS FLAT. An article favoring ALGER HISS' bizarre defense proposition of "forgery by typewriter" appears in current issue of "True" magazine. It claims that the forged Woodstock built by the author of the article for HISS' attorneys has fooled some of country's top forged documents experts.

CBS

But U S District Judge HENRY W GODDARD smashed this far-fetched theory when he denied HISS' petition for a new trial this week.

CHAMBERS had only three months in which he could have forged the typewriter, Judge GODDARD pointed out...and it took a team of experts hired by HISS a year to make a forgery that wasn't perfect. In addition, there is "not a trace of any evidence" that CHAMBERS had the skill, tools, material or equipment needed for making such a forgery.

Why did True magazine publish its one-sided story while the HISS petition, based on "forgery by typewriter", was before the courts. Why didn't it also give the Govt's argument which demolished the theory?

DO THEATRE OWNERS WANT HELP OF PETER LAWRENCE? "Changing methods of entertainment," the Theatre Owners of America report, have forced many film theatres to close and permit others to stay open only with great difficulty.

Theatre owners are searching for a way of reopening their closed theatres and putting new life into the shaky ones.

They believe that PETER LAWRENCE, producer of "Let's Make An Opera" and the recent Broadway revival of "Peter Pan", may be their knight in shining armor. He has submitted a plan that he thinks may solve their problem.

LAWRENCE wants to produce three musical comedies within next six months. They will have popular appeal and real stars...and will be shown at prices ranging from $1.20 to $2.40.

LAWRENCE needs a coast-to-coast chain of 2,000-seat theatres with adequate stage space and backstage facilities to make a go of his project.

RKO, Century, United Paramount and the Pinanski theatre circuits are reportedly much interested in LAWRENCE's proposal.

Theatre Owners of America, representing 10,000 movie theatres in all parts of U S, are now polling their membership to get their reaction to it.

Here are some facts about PETER LAWRENCE they should know before they cast their vote:

He is a member of Nat'l Council of Arts Sciences and Professions (NCASP), the Communist Party's top cultural front in U S. Last September he spoke at two of this front's "anti-blacklist" rallies, which were held to protect the party's infuence in the broadcasting industry.

He shared speakers' platform with identified CP members such as LESTER COLE and HOWARD da SILVA at these meetings.

He also attended NCASP rally held in honor of GALE SONDERGAARD and HOWARD da SILVA in March, 1951. NCASP was honoring these two identified CP members because when called as witnesses in Hollywood investigation they had defied House Committee on Un-American Activities and refused to answer questions. LAWRENCE contributed to NCASP fund appeal at this rally.

He signed Communist-line appeal for Pres TRUMAN to intervene in case of WILLIE McGEE when CP was whipping up propaganda campaign on that issue last year. He has also served on Subcommittee on Unemployment of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, another Communist front.

And this year PETER LAWRENCE marched in CP's May Day Parade.

Reminder: Don't forget to write to CBS and Westinghouse about their use of BEN SHAHN (see p 1).

Yours faithfully,

July 25, 1952

Counterattack

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COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

May 23, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 21

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNIST PARTY EXPECTS TO FORM AN EX-PRISONER OF WAR FRONT. The recent fiasco in the handling of Communist prisoners of war in Korea brings up another very important question: What about U S prisoners of war held by the Communists in Korea?

The first big batch of mail from U S prisoners of war arrived in this country on Dec 30, 1951...following the exchange of POW lists a few weeks earlier which had revealed that an unusually large number of missing U N troops were probably the victims of atrocity murders.

Mr and Mrs PAUL F SCHNUR of San Francisco received a letter in this initial shipment. It came from their son, PAUL Jr, who had been a prisoner of war for over a year...since Dec 1, 1950.

The letter spoke well of the Chinese and Korean Communists. SCHNUR said he and his fellow prisoners were going to have a fine Christmas holiday, a four-day celebration, "but it would have been better being home". The "Chinese volunteers" were giving them presents and "apples, nuts and candy... fried chicken," etc..."I know there will be many people in the States who will not be eating as well as we".

SCHNUR had been reading a lot of Chinese literature (Communist, of course -- Ed), he said, and wrote that he was "beginning to understand the Chinese better, and I wish I could help them".

U S wire services...and the press generally...picked up the letter and reprinted it widely. It received much publicity...even though it obviously contained blatant Communist propaganda.

PAUL F SCHNUR Sr, the father of the prisoner, was identified as a Communist Party (CP) member in sworn testimony before Calif Joint Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947. He has been active in Communist movement on West Coast for about 20 years. He is a friend of HARRY BRIDGES, convicted Communist-perjurer and head of Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. SCHNUR was exec-sec'y of San Francisco CIO Council when it was controlled by Communists...and in 1944 was sec'y of the Tom Mooney Labor School, the CP's top school on West Coast...now called California Labor School

So it's easy to understand the Communist propaganda in SCHNUR Jr's letter. Whether or not he is actually a CP member, he has undoubtedly been strongly influenced by his father...and is ideal material for Chinese and Korean Communists to work on as a propaganda medium.

There are Communists and fellow travelers in Armed Forces today. How many of them have been sent to Korea because of the unrealistic attitude of some military officials on Communist issue? How many have deliberately surrendered to Chinese or Korean Communists at the first opportunity...perhaps even by prearrangement...so they could work for Stalin as POW's sending propaganda letters to the U S?...and so they can spark-plug the party's ex-prisoner of war front that will be set up when they get back to this country?

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J. G. Keenan, President; H. A. Morgan, Secretary; F. J. McNamara, Editor; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Managing Editor

How many converts to their cause have these men made among other U S prisoners of war? While some letters from POW's which contain obvious Communist propaganda have probably been written under duress, others have undoubtedly been written freely. The writers of these letters, if not Communists when they surrendered, have been converted by their captors or by fellow POW's who are Communists and fellow travelers.

All POW's are under a certain amount of duress. Isolated from all contacts with the outside world, and given only the distorted news that the Communists want them to get, they can be influenced in varying degrees by clever propagandists.

If an exchange of prisoners in Korea is arranged and these men are returned to U S, some of them will be used to form the Communist ex-prisoner of war front, which will have chapters in all parts of the country.

This front will be an especially effective instrument of Communist propaganda. Its members will be able to speak with authority on horrors of war and on virtues of Chinese and Korean Communists. Their propaganda will be very telling on parents who are getting tired of what they believe is a fruitless war in Korea and who naturally dislike the idea of their sons going to fight in foreign lands.

And it will be something for Armed Services to worry about because it will also have considerable influence on high school and college students of draft age who will soon be entering military service.

It is too late now to stop formation of such a front. But by careful screening and re-education of POW's returned to U S, the Armed Services will at least be able to cut down the number of men who will be sucked into ...or will knowingly join...this front.

And most careful screening possible of all men sent to Korea in the future must also be made...in order to cut down the potential strength of this contemplated Communist morale-busting agency.

NY TIMES IS AGAIN USED TO PLUG MOSCOW'S LINE. The letters-to-the-editor column of NY Times is probably most influential in U S. It receives many letters...but can publish only those it considers the best.

U S was equated with Nazi govt of Hitler in letter NY Times chose to publish last week. Logical inference of this was that all honest, right-minded Americans should therefore oppose their Govt (as Communists do).

Letter protested bombings which totally destroyed cities in North Korea. The letter writer, a doctor, in comparing U S to totalitarian fascist dictatorships because of the bombings, said he was utterly appalled by fact that in one day the U N Air Force "has killed and maimed more people than I can cure in my whole life as a doctor".

This was clever Communist propaganda...even if specious argument. During World War II Allied Air Forces killed many more people in one day than DOZENS OF DOCTORS could cure in their lifetime. This is characteristic of any large-scale war fought with modern weapons.

But how many Times readers didn't think of that simply because they weren't looking for subtle Communist propaganda in NY Times?

"I say it is time to stop these dreadful tactics, these horrible bombings. There is not a decent person in America or in the whole world who does not condemn them. Are we to lose the support of every thinking person the world over?", the doctor asked.

That humanitarian, idealistic line was clever and persuasive... even if it contained a false statement and a false insinuation.

And it was persuasive and clever because it was written by Dr JOSEPH B FURST, who is now teaching a course on "Science of Society" at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science. The school catalogue outlines the course as follows:

"The basic principles of Marxism, studied in relation to current economic and political problems. What is capitalism, imperialism, fascism? What is the class struggle; how did it arise and what is the direction of its development? What causes wars?..."

FURST has also lectured on psychiatry at Jefferson School. He has lectured for Marxist Cultural Society and written for Communist Party publications like "Masses & Mainstream". The only times people have been turned away from lectures at Jefferson School because of space limitations have been when FURST was lecturing on Marxism and psychiatry.

But FURST has much better reason to be pleased with the NY Times "lecture" than with his lectures at Jefferson School. He reached a much wider audience through the Times...and it was a non-Communist audience that Stalin wants very much to reach at this time with messages undermining the U S and the U N effort in Korea.

NY Times should make a statement for its readers. It should tell them honestly whether the editor of its "letters to the editor" column is incapable of recognizing glaring Communist propaganda...or whether that person does recognize it, but publishes such propaganda as part of what NY Times calls "all the news that's fit to print."

YOUR COPY OF REBUKE TO AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU), by MERLYN S PITZELE, a member of ACLU's own board of directors, is enclosed with this newsletter. It is the review of the ACLU's book, "The Judges and the Judged" which appeared in the New Leader magazine of May 12 and was mentioned in last week's COUNTERATTACK. Book was written by MERLE MILLER.

PITZELE, who is also Chairman of NY State Board of Mediation and Labor Editor of "Business Week", raps ACLU for violating its own principles by issuing a book containing lies and other misleading statements.

He exposes some of untruths used in the MERLE MILLER book in its dishonest attempt to show that "RED CHANNELS" has mislabeled people...and he shows how MILLER has tried to whitewash Communists and front supporters by picturing them as the cream of the broadcasting industry.

WHO IS THIS NEW WORKER FOR ALGER HISS? There were several developments in the HISS-CHAMBERS case this week.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS' book, "Witness", was published by Random House. This account of Communist espionage, which CHAMBERS has developed into an overall interpretation of the greatest struggle in the history of the world deserves the widest possible circulation. Buy the book and encourage your friends and acquaintances to do the same. See that it is bought by...or presented as a gift to...every library in your community.

The other development was this: U S Govt submitted a brief to the Federal District Court in NY opposing ALGER HISS' petition for a new trial.

The brief demolishes HISS' bizarre defense proposition of "forgery by typewriter"...and it uncovers a new worker in the HISS camp.

She is ELEANOR KIRSTEIN, who has dug up material to be used by HISS' lawyer in an attempt to discredit CHAMBERS in the new trial...if HISS gets it. And it's not surprising that she is trying to help HISS.

She's a former agent of Tass, the Soviet "news agency" that is actually part of Stalin's international espionage network.

HOW MANY LITTLE LIVER PILLS WILL ALSWANG, CONWAY, AND RITT SELL?
"City Hospital" is a CBS-TV dramatic show sponsored by Carter's Little Liver Pills (alternate Tuesdays, 9-9:30 PM, EDT).

CURT CONWAY directs this program. CONWAY was a defender of the Moscow purge trials of 1938, which were staged as a legal excuse for the liquidation or imprisonment of all actual or potential dissidents to the absolute dictatorship of Stalin in Russia.

CONWAY opposed the investigation of Communist infiltration in Hollywood in 1947 and signed an ad (published in a Hollywood trade paper) which said House Committee on Un-American Activities should be abolished. Ad also acclaimed all those who fought the investigation as upholders of the "finest traditions" of U S. It was sponsored by Actors Division of the Progressive Citizens of America, a CP front.

CONWAY has been a member of Radio Division of Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP), the CP's top cultural front. He had a role in NCASP's production of "The Journey of Simon McKeever", which was staged at Carnegie Hall in 1949. Play was written by ALBERT MALTZ, one of the Hollywood Ten who went to jail for contempt of Congress. Photostats of his CP membership cards were produced in 1947 investigation and five witnesses identified him as a CP member in last year's investigation.

CURT CONWAY is listed as a member of the staff of the Drama Lab, the dramatic school whose teaching staff is loaded with Communists and supporters of the party's fronts (see COUNTERATTACK, Jan 4, 1952, pp 1&2).

RALPH ALSWANG is asst scene designer for "City Hospital". Like CONWAY, he has been active in NCASP. He sponsored its phony Waldorf "Peace" Conference (and its pre-Waldorf conference theatre rally) in 1949.

He sponsored CP's May Day parades in 1947 and 1948. In 1950 he did the sets for a production of the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble, a CP front (it is the successor of Artef Theatre, which Communist Party press has referred to as "the first of our revolutionary dramatic organizations").

Just last year ALSWANG was advertised as a lecturer at the School of the Theatre run by People's Drama, which is openly referred to by the CP as its own theatre group.

And MARTIN RITT was featured in role on the "City Hospital" program this week. In 1947 he helped several CP-controlled locals of the Retail, Wholesale and Dept Store Union stage their annual show.

Like CONWAY, RITT has backed the NCASP. He was a sponsor of its Waldorf "Peace" Conference in 1949.

And with ALSWANG, he was billed last year as a lecturer at the CP's own theatre training center...the school run by People's Drama.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write to:

H H HOYT, Pres, Carter Products, Inc (manufacturers of Carter's Little Liver Pills, Arid, and Rise shaving cream), 53 Park Place, NY 7, NY.

Ask him if he thinks he will win goodwill of American people by subsidizing men who have been teaching at Communist front schools while Americans are fighting Communists in Korea.

Yours faithfully,

May 23, 1952

Counterattack

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IS THERE A BLACKLIST IN RADIO-TV?

Reprinted from the new Leader 7 E. 15 St., New York

MAY 12, 1952

Is There a Blacklist?

The Judges and the Judged.
By Merle Miller.
Doubleday. 220 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by Merlyn S. Pitzele
Member, board of directors, American Civil Liberties Union; Labor Editor, "Business Week"

MORE IN SORROW than in anger, Murray Kempton concluded his devastating review of this book in the New York *Post* by saying: "The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization which deserves well of all of us; it can be excused one clinker." If Mr. Kempton had remembered the ACLU's last major effort of this sort, its report on the rioting at Peekskill, he would have been honest enough to call the Miller book a "second clinker."

As a member of the board of directors of the ACLU—a minority member in this instance—I do not think it should be forgiven. The ACLU's great value lies in its being, as it has been for so long, a disinterested voice of conscience. When a discernible pattern of error in its works begins to skew it in one direction, its friends must call it to account or see its value lost.

In accumulating its tremendous store of good will, the ACLU was always careful to fight the vigilante's passion with the law, the demagogue's rhetoric with the facts, and the half-lie with the whole truth. Such methods have been its hallmark of integrity.

As long as the ACLU steered by these concepts, no group pursuing a special interest could count it as either an ally or an enemy. The ACLU fought against Henry Ford when he libeled the Jews. Then it fought for Henry Ford when an interpretation of the Wagner Act deprived him of his freedom of speech. It fought for unions which were intimidated in the exercise of their rights, and against those same unions when they abused the power they had won. Negro and Jewish organizations have had the strong support of the ACLU when they fought against discrimination; they have met the ACLU in opposition when they sought discrimination against white supremacists or anti-Semites. To be a real civil libertarian, without being politically castrate, is a searing masochistic ordeal as you fight with impartiality for the rights of crackpots, Klansmen, Fascists and Communists.

JEAN MUIR: THE REST HAVE JOBS

If it is to be heard in these clamorous times, a voice of conscience must speak louder. It is understandable that it may even become, on occasion, a little strident. But when it gives tongue to the half-truth and the half-lie, it has been touched with hysteria. It is no longer a voice of conscience. It is no longer the ACLU which lived and thrived solely on honor. And it is not to be excused.

It is only because Merle Miller's book is a report commissioned and issued by the ACLU that it is worth taking seriously. Otherwise, it could be dismissed as just about what could be expected from a man grown firmer in a view he expressed in 1947: "The real threat to veterans, to the United States, to the world, is not from the Left but from the Right." Such a man could be expected to find what is for him a mountain of evidence that the right-wingers blacklist those they disapprove of in radio and television, but to find—in his words—"not a single instance of such proof" showing Communists blacklisting their enemies.

But this book appears under ACLU sponsorship, and in a generous acknowledgement Miller credits Alan Reitman, Assistant Director of the ACLU, with valuable assistance in its research and writing. If that were not so, one could conceive of some of those victimized by this book coming to the ACLU for help.

For example: Rabbi Benjamin Schultz protested the appearance of Jean Muir on a radio program. As a result of a number of such protests to General Foods, the program's sponsor, NBC, and Young & Rubicam, Miss Muir was paid the full amount due her under her contract but not allowed to work. But the right of any and all to protest, regardless of their object or motive, has long been maintained and supported by the ACLU as a fundamental civil liberty. The ACLU has often distinguished itself in the past for defending this right for individuals whose motives

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

were thoroughly abhorrent to it.

But the ACLU's book attacks and smears Rabbi Schultz for exercising his right of protest. It smears him by stating baldly that he said, "ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] is really more dangerous than Communism." Now, first of all, the ACLU has based its creed on taking no interest in people's private political opinions; and, second, Rabbi Schultz never said any such thing.

Others who might, if the ACLU was not the prosecutor, seek the ACLU's help against persecution are the publishers of *Red Channels*. Remember, the ACLU was not expected to approve the contents of any of the books it fought for. It has battled with postal authorities who wanted to suppress publications as obscene, with right-wing groups which wanted to suppress left-wing literature, with left-wing groups which wanted to suppress right-wing literature. Recently, it rejected a proposal by Norman Thomas, a member of the ACLU board, that it protest the use in schools of reactionary pamphlets which equated Socialism with Communism. What a book says or fails to say is not a civil-liberties issue.

In its attack on *Red Channels*, which is almost the whole of Merle Miller's report, the ACLU departs from its principles. And, as in the case of Rabbi Schultz, the departure is fatal. It leads to everything the ACLU has itself condemned: anonymous charges, half-truths, distortions and lies. Is the case of civil libertarians against blacklisting in radio and television really so weak that it will not stand without being hoked up? Or is the ACLU no longer the advocate of old who could argue it?

Red Channels is a book which lists the alleged organizational connections of 150 people in radio and television. The ACLU found it being used as a blacklist, even though one member of the ACLU board, the legal representative for some of the people listed in *Red Channels*, says that everybody in the book except Miss Muir is now working. On what does the ACLU base the finding that *Red Channels* is being used as a blacklist? On the testimony of unnamed individuals whom Miller and Reitman say they interviewed, promising them anonymity.

If the ACLU has not been the first, it has certainly been the most articulate foe of anonymous accusation and testimony. It has held, on logic and on principle, that the accuser who was masked was an irresponsible witness. In standing for the right of confrontation, it has maintained that anonymous testimony is worthless. Yet the case of the ACLU against *Red Channels* rests on anonymous testimony.

Not the whole case. Some of it rests on even worse grounds. One of the most serious charges the ACLU makes against *Red Channels* is that the compromising associations given for those listed are not recent, the implication being that until 1945 we were allied with Russia in fighting Hitler and many innocents were sucked into joining Communist or Communist-dominated organizations. The report states: "One actor's most recent listing was 1938; many had no listing after 1941; a sizable minority, none after 1945."

The truth is that every name in *Red Channels* has a listing after 1938. The "many" with no listing after 1941 amount to exactly three. The "sizable minority" with none after 1945 amount to just two more. For 1946, 11 of those named have listings; for 1947, 17; for 1948, 24; for 1949, 74; and for 1950, in April of which year *Red Channels* went to the printers, there are 19 listings.

That statement appears to be a whole lie. Another such is fabricated to support the equally serious charge that *Red Channels* left out available information that some of its listees took positions distasteful to the Communist party. On this point, the ACLU report states: "In the booklet itself, of the 151 [sic] persons named, only two are credited with such activity." It names two of the listees: Alfred Drake, who made a statement reported in the N. Y. *World-Telegram*, and John Garfield, whose approval of the Marshall Plan was reported in the *Sunday Mirror*.

But in its listing of Lisa Sergio, *Red Channels* records a New York *Sun* report that she withdrew from the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in March 1949. And the most recent listing in *Red Channels* for William S. Gailmor reports that he became a supporter of Tito.

There is the same deception in the ACLU's report as it concerns itself with how many listings appear after each name; with the relations between J. Edgar Hoover and Theodore C. Kirkpatrick, one of the publishers of *Red Channels;* and with a number of other matters which, while of lesser substantive importance, are of great significance in creating the insidious impression that gray is black.

There is, for example, what for a report on radio and television amounts to reaching way out into left field, when the case of Angus Cameron and Little, Brown is brought in. To show Kirkpatrick's nefarious operations, the report cites a special issue of his newsletter, *Counterattack*, which charged that Cameron, a Little, Brown director and editor, had a pro-Communist slant. The ACLU should not be arguing this point with Kirkpatrick, but with a member of its own national committee who publicly broke his publishing contract with Little, Brown because of Angus Cameron's politics.

Murray Kempton notes this same point in his *Post* review and goes on to say:

> "Having concealed the whole truth, Miller passes into a further extension of the implied untruth. Throughout the book there runs the strong implication that a man who signed a letter praising the Soviet Union after the Moscow trials has no reason to apologize. There is even the implication that the *Red Channels* listees are the flower of humanity and radio artistry."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

That is so. To show the dreadful effect of *Red Channels*, the ACLU report quotes from one of its anonymous sources, identified only as a vice-president of a network:

> "If I were picking a writer for a documentary, I'd pick the best writer for the job. However, if there were two writers available, both about equal in talent, and one was in the little book and one wasn't, I'd take the one that wasn't. I'd feel the same way when it came to choosing the cast. That's just common sense."

As Mr. Kempton has pointed out, the position implied by the ACLU is that, talent equal, it is the one listed in *Red Channels* who should be hired. That, I submit, is a long distance from where the ACLU used to stand. When its devotion was to civil liberties and civil liberties only, it would have said: "Between two people of equal ability, toss a coin." And it would not have implied it, but stated it without equivocation.

What has happened to the American Civil Liberties Union? I think it may be on its way to being possessed by the hysteria it sees in its enemies and does not recognize in itself. I think McCarthyism may be stampeding it into deserting its principles.

Yet none of the issues raised for civil libertarians by McCarthyism are new. Many times before in its 35-year history, the ACLU has fought the good fight on questions of academic freedom, blacklisting, radicalism, free speech, loyalty oaths, employment rights, and unpopular opinion. Thus far, what is known as McCarthyism has developed nothing which history can conceivably weigh as equal to the raids of A. Mitchell Palmer, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and the judicial finding that a crime was committed when John T. Scopes taught Darwin's theory of evolution in the State of Tennessee.

The ACLU as an organization is far from being a casualty of McCarthyism. Despite its bulletins asserting that civil liberties are in eclipse, it has more members than ever before. It has more funds in its treasury than at any time in its past; it has a larger staff, paid salaries which would have been considered fantastic in Roger Baldwin's day; and it undertakes more activities now than ever before.

What the ACLU may lose to McCarthyism is its probity. And that is certainly more important than its continued existence as a fat bureaucratic relic.

Diana Trilling, in her April 28 essay for THE NEW LEADER on Bertrand Russell, makes the point that that group of liberals who were clear-eyed about Fascism but astigmatic on Communism are today rallying around the issue of civil liberties. But, consciously or unconsciously, civil liberties is for them only a political tactic. It is the slogan under which whoever wants to pursue the fight against Communism can be attacked as a McCarthyite.

This tide seems to be running so strong that it has pulled the ACLU off its course.

The Communists and the anti-anti-Communists are intent on making McCarthy the total symbol of anti-Communism. It is they who foster the fear that freedom dies when Communists are called Communists and are required to assume responsibility for being Communists. It is they who foster the idea that the nation is in the grip of hysteria. A recent ACLU membership appeal opens by declaring: "You have a stake in the ACLU's fight against the hysteria under which independent thinkers are condemned as Communists. . . ." What independent thinkers? Owen Lattimore? John Howard Lawson? Dirk J. Struik? Angus Cameron? That is hysteria. And, like Miller's report, it is a departure from those civil-liberties principles which did not defend Fascists on the sleazy ground that they were not really Fascists, but defended them because Fascists, too, have rights.

Unless the ACLU finds its way back to first principles, true liberalism in America will have suffered a grievous loss.

COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

February 22, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 8

Dear Subscriber:

REASONS FOR COUNTERATTACK'S LONG CAMPAIGN AGAINST COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF FILMS, RADIO AND TV, AND UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN CORROBORATED BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. When House Committee on Un-American Activities published its annual report for 1951 last Saturday, it made a number of sound recommendations for tightening U S security regulations. And it also made statements emphasizing certain key factors in fight against Communism that COUNTERATTACK has been stressing for several years.

1. The committee lashed out at Hollywood for failing to take steps to clean out Communists and fellow travelers in the industry.

The committee reported that actually its "1947 hearings had not lessened" the extent of CP infiltration in the industry...and that Hollywood was one of "principal sources" of funds for the Communist Party (CP).

COUNTERATTACK has repeatedly given facts on how film industry continued to subsidize Communists and fellow travelers after the 1947 investigation. This newsletter has also pointed out fact that the film industry was one of the major sources of income for the CP.

2. Committee also criticized Mass Inst of Technology for retaining Prof DIRK J STRUIK after he had been identified as CP member. It condemned activities of Prof KIRTLEY F MATHER of Harvard in behalf of Prof STRUIK and pointed up failure of "leading universities" to root out Communism.

COUNTERATTACK exposed Prof STRUIK's activities even before he was named in trial of eleven CP politburo members in 1949 (see issue of Mar 25, 1949, p 1). It has also exposed MATHER's activities and has given prominence to his recent attempts to whitewash Prof STRUIK.

This newsletter has frequently revealed that "leading universities" had Communists on their staffs and that some were even giving jobs to, and defending, professors involved in A-bomb espionage activities.

3. House committee also warned television industry that Communists would try to infiltrate TV "on a large scale" because of the rapidity with which it is becoming a major entertainment medium in U S.

COUNTERATTACK has exposed Communist infiltration in TV and radio continually during past four years. It awakened many individuals to this threat through facts presented regularly in this newsletter. And almost two years ago, by its publication of "RED CHANNELS", it jolted the industry itself and thousands of Americans out of their lethargy and into a realization of what was going on in this field.

Television industry, now that it has also received warning from Congress, should act firmly to stop Communist infiltration. If it doesn't, it may discover before long that it is in the unfavorable publicity position Hollywoood is in because it continued giving aid to Stalin's Fifth Column.

WHAT CAN YOU LOOK FOR? The vitriolic smear attacks on the House

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Committee on Un-American Activities that were so common some time ago have died down. Now there will probably be a resurrection of these attacks. And they won't be limited to House Committee, but will include American Legion, COUNTERATTACK and all others that are hurting the Communists.

"UNTRUE"..."UNFAIR"..."MISLEADING"...CRIED MOVIE CZAR ERIC JOHNSTON the day after report of House Committee on Un-American Activities was issued. He tried to defend industry and said report contained not "a shred of evidence" that Communists had influenced content of a single picture made by a member of the Motion Picture Association of America (which he heads).

The truth: Former CP official HAROLD J ASHE testified in Hollywood hearings on objectives of CP in infiltrating the film industry:

"They wanted to control, as far as possible, the content of the films made in Hollywood...I KNOW OF ANY NUMBER OF OCCASIONS WHEN THEY DID INFLUENCE THE CONTENT OF THESE FILMS. I didn't come prepared to give chapter and verse. I could if I had enough time to do some research. I HAVE SEEN MANY, MANY FILMS OUT OF HOLLYWOOD IN WHICH SOME PART OF THE COMMUNIST LINE WAS INJECTED BY DELIBERATE INTENT" (emphasis added).

ASHE cited the film "Blockade"..."a Communist film from start to finish"...as just one example. He said he believed CLIFFORD ODETS wrote it, though JOHN HOWARD LAWSON took credit for it.

Many more people can tell ERIC JOHNSTON about Communist influence on content of films...if he wants to find out about it. Almost a year ago (3/30/51, p 2), this newsletter pointed out fact that CP press had praised the ostensibly patriotic film, "Cloak and Dagger" (Warner Bros) for its Communist-line slant (written into it by ALBERT MALTZ and RING LARDNER, Jr, both of whom have been identified as CP members).

JOHNSTON also claimed that House Committee's statement that industry had failed to take "positive and determined steps" to check Communism was "untrue". He said leaders of industry agreed in 1947 that they would not "knowingly employ Communists" and had "unswervingly" followed this policy.

That was a smokescreen statement to hide fact that industry has dodged its responsibility on this matter. Just what standards did Hollywood set up to determine who was a Communist in its great (?) fight against CP?

Those who have been backing CP and its fronts for years through every twist and turn of Moscow's line are communists even though not party members. Govt has taken official recognition of this fact. Did Hollywood?

Didn't GALE SONDERGAARD, HOWARD Da SILVA, GORDON KAHN, WALDO SALT, and many others fit this description of a "communist"? From 1947 on (when some of them were "unfriendly witnesses"), they plugged the CP line, backed and spoke at party fronts, etc. They made no bones about where they stood. They were finally identified as actual CP members in 1951 investigation. What "positive and determined steps" had industry taken to weed them out?

And what does JOHNSTON mean by "hiring"? CLIFFORD ODETS was identified as CP member by HOWARD RUSHMORE in 1947. He was again identified by former CP official MANNING JOHNSON in 1949. ODETS is STILL plugging fronts.

But RKO recently filmed, and will soon release, his "Clash by Night". Technically, RKO didn't "hire" ODETS...but it used his work and PAID him for it. What's the difference?

It is expected that JOHNSTON, though anti-Communist, should try to soften up Hollywood's bad publicity. But isn't it time he realized that American public will not swallow so specious a statement as he made in his unjustified attack on the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

THE POLK AWARDS...THE UNIVERSITY OF CHARACTER ASSASSINATION...AND "SPONSOR". A CBS reporter, GOERGE POLK, was murdered in Greece in 1948. GREGORY STAKTOPOULOS, a former Greek Communist, was convicted of complicity in his murder and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1949. STAKTOPOULOS admitted he was with POLK as his interpreter when POLK met two other Greek Communists to arrange a visit to hq of Communist guerillas. STAKTOPOULOS identified one of these men as the person who shot POLK...and both of them were sentenced to death in absentia when STAKTOPOULOS was convicted.

POLK strongly opposed U S policy in Greece. CP press praised his reporting on Greece and was aggrieved at the stilling of this "last voice" that was trying to tell truth about this "Royalist" govt. This created an air of mystery about his murder. Why would the Communists kill him?

STAKTOPOULOS claimed that Communists hoped POLK's death would be blamed on Greek Nationalists (POLK opposed Nationalists) and that this would lead to end of U S aid to Greece...and make a Communist victory possible.

As a CBS reporter, POLK evidently could not go as far as he wanted to in attacking anti-Communist Govt of Greece...so he wrote surreptitiously for a party-line publication. Shortly after his murder, GEO SELDES, editor of the newsletter, "In Fact", revealed that an article on Greece that had appeared in the newsletter anonymously about a month before the murder had actually been written by POLK.

SELDES was offered job as editor of Daily Worker in 1940. LOUIS BUDENZ has made this statement without benefit of Congressional immunity. He also stated that CP's top officials finally decided, however, that SELDES would be more useful to party with an supposedly non-CP publication. The newsletter "In Fact" was subsequently launched with SELDES as editor.

"In Fact" not only followed Communist line, but was strongly anti-newspaper and anti-advertising (it was ostensibly set up as an antidote to the corrupt, bought-by-advertising U S press).

POLK's article in "In Fact" was an attack on anti-Communist govt of Greece. It accused Premier TSALDARIS of planning to establish a fascist dictatorship in that country at the first opportunity.

Long Island University set up the George Polk Memorial Awards for distinguished achievements by New York newspaper men after POLK's murder. POLK's "distinguished achievements" consisted of favoring Greek Communists and writing for a thinly-disguised Communist organ that was anti-U S press and anti-advertising. That makes it difficult to understand just why the school of journalism of an American...and a supposedly anti-Communist... university would name a press award for him.

But that is what L I U did. And it has done more. Some of its awards "in the spirit of George Polk" have also followed POLK's line:

HOWARD K SMITH is chief of European news bureau for CBS. POLK was on his staff. SMITH received a Polk award last year. He has been plugged in CP press for defending and excusing Communist tyranny in Hungary and for branding the Truman Doctrine (aid to Greece and Turkey) as unjust. A little over a year ago he falsely reported that Europe "has risen in rebellion" against U S, that it was not certain justice was on side of U S in Korea... and that this rebellion was "highly-reasoned".

Among winners of fourth annual Polk awards named by L I U last week:

EDWARD R MURROW (special award). He has defended OWEN LATTIMORE on the air and also those who have joined fronts, taking position that nobody

should be blamed for that. Though not pro-Communist, he is confused on Communist issues and defends those involved in Communist causes.

KALMAN SEIGEL of N Y Times staff for his series on the alleged "stifling" of academic freedom on U S campuses. Prof SIDNEY HOOK of N Y U, a recognized authority on Communism and a leader of liberal thought, has pointed out the gross exaggerations in SEIGEL's series. Others have done the same. In WM W REMINGTON Communist trial, Govt attorneys protested what they claimed was SEIGEL's inaccurate coverage of proceedings in N Y Times.

RICHARD CARTER of the "Daily Compass" also received a POLK award this year. COUNTERATTACK has frequently shown how Compass follows CP line. And CARTER follows same line in his Compass stories. He was former chrmn of Compass unit of American Newspaper Guild. This unit has consistently backed CP-endorsed candidates in Guild elections...and plugged CP line in meetings.

And the radio and TV trade magazine "Sponsor" received a special award for its series of three articles on "RED CHANNELS". COUNTERATTACK gave facts about this series in its issue of last Nov 23 (pp 1, 2 & 3).

The newsletter "Inside Advertising" (A Confidential Report to the Executive) commented on the Sponsor series and COUNTERATTACK's answer:

"Counterattack accuses Sponsor, and its editors, of untruths, half-truths, sloppy reporting and misstatements...Counterattack lists point after point in the series, alleging them as untrue...Looks like a first-class feud is in the making, for if Sponsor takes the ripping, slashing attack of the editors of Red Channels lying down, it could seriously cripple both its ad revenue and its circulation. On the other hand, if it can prove Counterattack to be wrong, it has a beautiful libel suit."

But NORMAN R GLENN, owner of "Sponsor", did not answer COUNTERATTACK's charges. And FRANK RASKY, who wrote the smear series, "resigned".

Now GLENN is in a peculiar position. It appears that he has failed to back up RASKY and his character assassination series in Sponsor.

Yet Long Island University has awarded him a special prize for this smear series. What should GLENN do now? Should he refuse the award and tell L I U it has become the Long Island University of Character Assassination? Or should he accept the award and express the wish that RASKY was back on his staff because he won "Sponsor" an award from a university that honors character assassins...an award named after a man who wrote surreptitiously for a Communist newsletter that was anti-advertising?

Who are the people at L I U who put GLENN on this spot...who have endorsed and honored character assassination...who have honored RICHARD CARTER, a Communist-line writer for a discredited, Communist-line newspaper?

Dr WILLIAM MARION HUDSON is acting Pres of Long Island University.

Prof T E KRUGLAK is chairman of L I U's Journalism Dept, which selects the winners of the George Polk Memorial Awards.

You might want to drop them a note...telling them what you think of their official sanctioning of pro-Communism and character assassination.

Long Island University is located at 380 Pearl St, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Yours faithfully,

February 22, 1952

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

February 1, 1952
Vol. 6, No. 5

Dear Subscriber:

HOUSE COMMITTEE IS GETTING INTO ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT AREAS OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN ITS PRESS INVESTIGATION. Testimony of CHAS W JUDSON before House Committee on Un-American Activities last week highlighted what informed anti-Communists have long recognized as a phase of Communist penetration long overdue for complete exposure.

JUDSON, former Communist Party (CP) member and newspaperman, is now senior associate editor of Fortnight Magazine, which publishes many anti-Communist articles. He exposed activities of Newspaper Unit 140 of the CP in his testimony...and named 16 other newspaper people who were members of this Communist cell with him in Los Angeles in late Thirties.

Communist newspaper people can do more for Stalin than almost any other Communists in information field because they have wide audience, have opportunity to slant what readers believe is "straight" news, and can also suppress vital information about activities of Communists and fellow travelers. U S is paying a high price today for fact that Communists have had considerable success in infiltrating newspaper field.

JUDSON was city editor of Los Angeles Daily News when he joined CP in 1937. Here was a man of high position on a big newspaper in a major U S city throwing his lot in with the Communists. How many others have done the same? JUDSON finally broke with CP in 1941.

And five other people on staff of Los Angeles Daily News...DOLPH WINEBRENNER, LEO SIMON, DARR SMITH, JOHN COHLE and TOM O'CONNOR...were also members of Newspaper Unit 140 of the CP with him, JUDSON testified.

He also stated that PETTIS PERRY, CP leader now indicted for conspiracy, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, former editor of Daily Worker and member of CP's Central Committee, and PAUL CLINE, top man in the party in Los Angeles, were Communist officials who addressed members of this newspaper cell to "indoctrinate" them in Marxist teachings and the party line.

How many readers of the Los Angeles Daily News were misled and befuddled when these Communists were on staff of the paper?

Los Angeles Daily News recently published series of three articles on "RED CHANNELS" and COUNTERATTACK written by its columnist, PAUL PRICE.

PRICE's columns contained completely false statements and insinuations...and glaring inaccuracies. They were a typical smear attack.

Daily News is still misleading its readers on Communist question.

House Committee on Un-American Activities should press its investigation of Communist infiltration in newspaper field in all parts of U S.

JUDSON testified that principal aim of CP cell 140 was the organization of the American Newspaper Guild (ANG), control of its policies, and the election of Communists and "trustworthy persons" to key offices in union. The now anti-CP Newspaper Guild is THE union of newspaper people in U S.

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

ANG could help newspapers clean house, but has shown no desire to do so. On the contrary, it welcomes known Communists as Guild members. Ironically, there's little hope for American people that ANG will do anything to see that newspaper readers aren't fed Moscow-slanted news.

So it's up to House Committee. A few years ago an investigation of press infiltration would have been almost impossible. Because Communists had been successful in their infiltration and had befuddled so many newspaper people as well as newspaper readers, howls of indignation would have been raised if such an investigation had been attempted. Cries of "censorship", "destruction of free press", etc, would have gone up (remember the furor raised by press against first investigation of Communism in Hollywood?). They will still go up in some circles.

But times have changed. Many newspapers are waking up and, in spite of some other newspapers that still protect and defend Communists, the people are much better informed about Communism today. They would welcome a well-conducted, thorough investigation of one of the most important and dangerous phases of infiltration by Stalin's agents.

Committee should continue good work it started in Los Angeles.

"FREE" PRESS SUPPRESSES TRUTH ABOUT ITSELF. Newspaperman TED O THACKREY, who used to edit N Y Post and now edits "The Daily Compass", is publicly a tireless champion of a free press. He fumes every time he uncovers what he believes is an example of suppression of truth by other papers... especially those that don't plug the CP line.

But THACKREY suppressed a big story that concerned his own paper this week. When CHAS W JUDSON testified before House Committee on Un-American Activities last Saturday, he gave information of vital interest to readers of "The Compass". He said that a key person on the Compass staff had been a member of CP's newspaper cell with him in Los Angeles.

That person is TOM O'CONNOR, managing editor of The Compass. O'CONNOR actually controls all news that appears in Compass. As managing editor, he's top man there...with exception of THACKREY. Those Compass readers who aren't Communists and fellow travelers certainly had right to know that O'CONNOR had been identified as CP member.

But not a word was printed in Daily Compass about JUDSON's testimony. O'CONNOR had conveniently suppressed truth about himself...and there hasn't been a peep of protest from TED O THACKREY.

Truth is that O'CONNOR made no bones about fact he was CP member when he was on staff of the now defunct newspaper, "PM". That was long after the Thirties. COUNTERATTACK knew this in 1949 when it said of O'CONNOR that he "doesn't deny" belonging to CP (4/22/49, p 3).

O'CONNOR's answer was unprintable when, in April, 1949, a representative of COUNTERATTACK telephoned him and asked if he was a CP member. Call was made because O'CONNOR had just written an article for "The Nation".

O'CONNOR attacked U S newspapers that told truth about the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference in this article. He claimed they were unfair because they did not mislead people...but stated truthfully that Conference was a Communist affair. But he had great praise for N Y Times which, he claimed, had "magnificently succeeded" in telling truth about the Conference. (Several Times stories on it had pro-Communist slant...and several staff members of Times were sponsors of this Communist shindig).

COUNTERATTACK suggested that The Nation ask O'CONNOR if he was a CP member...and print his answer in its pages. The suggestion was ignored.

HAS PROF HARLOW SHAPLEY GONE BACK TO THE FOLD? For a decade beginning in 1940, Harvard astronomer HARLOW SHAPLEY was a leader in the Communist front movement. He sponsored, spoke for, served as official of, or otherwise aided at least 13 organizations cited as Communist or subversive by Dept of Justice. He helped other fronts that did not enjoy this dubious distinction and contributed to the Communist magazine, "New Masses".

He reached the peak of his CP-fronting activities in 1948 when he was chosen chrmn of the CP's chief cultural infiltration agency in U S, the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (NCASP). When this front staged the notorious Waldorf "Peace" Conference in 1949, SHAPLEY, as chairman of the Conference and NCASP, presided at the affair and had the colossal gall to state at the closing session: "Here are assembled the most ardent and loyal Americans in the United States".

He was also NCASP chrmn in 1950, but even before the year was over had dropped out of the limelight. Publicly, at least, he seemed to have ceased his activities with CP fronts. Because of the prestige of his position as Director of Harvard Observatory and past Pres of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, SHAPLEY had been an invaluable aid to the Communist front movement.

Anti-Communists hoped that through SHAPLEY's "retirement" Stalin had lost one of the most influential fronts for his demoralization and infiltration activities in U S cultural life.

But for past few weeks NCASP has been billing SHAPLEY as one of big attractions at affair it staged this Wednesday (Jan 30). It was a memorial meeting to the late sculptor JO DAVIDSON, who founded Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (predecessor of NCASP) and had been first honorary chrmn of NCASP. Others billed with SHAPLEY as main attractions at this affair were:

OLIN DOWNES, music critic of N Y Times; HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, prof emeritus at N Y U; MINNA HARKAVY, sculptress; MAX WEBER, artist, and MILLARD LAMPELL, novelist and radio and TV writer. None is a stranger to CP front movement...all have long, continuing records of support for party fronts.

And all were undoubtedly very pleased to see Prof SHAPLEY once more join in their "progressive" activities.

BRAZILIAN GOVT HAS BANNED AMERICAN CONTINENTAL PEACE CONFERENCE. Last week COUNTERATTACK gave facts on Stalin's most recent attempt to split Western Hemisphere unity by staging one of his now-familiar "peace" conferences in Rio de Janiero. News that the Conference had been banned in that city arrived too late to be mentioned in last week's issue.

And now Conference is banned in all Brazil, not just in Rio de Janiero. This week, Brazil's Minister of Justice called on all state and territorial Governors to prevent the holding of this conference anywhere in that nation. His orders described the proposed Conference as "a movement of Soviet origin and orientation and an instrument of Communist action".

Communists are now looking around for another place to stage their psychological sabotage demonstration.

THE OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR GIVING CP-LED UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS UNION time on TV station WRGB in Schenectady, N Y, is C H LANG, v-pres in charge of public relations for Gen'l Electric Corp (which owns station).

COUNTERATTACK stated two weeks ago that this person was R S PEARE, v-pres in charge of broadcasting for G E. This statement was based on

[redacted]

information contained in the Radio Annual and Television Yearbook for 1951, a standard reference work. COUNTERATTACK has since learned that Mr PEARE is deceased and that Mr LANG has taken over his duties.

WHY DON'T MORE POLICE DO THIS? For years the CP has found that one of its sure-fire money raising gimmicks was a party in a private home (often advertised in Communist press) at which liquor was sold illegally.

Communists in Wash, D C, recently threw party of this type to raise defense funds for Mrs MARIE RICHARDSON HARRIS, clerk in Library of Congress who was indicted in November for falsely denying she was ever a CP member.

Police raided party, found that about 60 "guests" were present...and that LEROY H WOOD, chrmn of the District CP, was one of them. They arrested Mrs EMMA ROBINSON, in whose home party was held...and now know much more about the comrades and their friends in Wash, D C, area.

PHONEY "ANTI-DISCRIMINATION" OF CP-LED UNION: Last week EDDIE TANGEN said he would "retire" as secy-treas of Marine Cooks and Stewards...and back JOE JOHNSON, a Negro, for the post. This was supposed to show union's opposition to discrimination. But two days later, a Federal Judge issued an order for TANGEN's union to cease its discriminatory practice of refusing to give jobs to unionists (Negro or white) who opposed its Moscow line.

RADIO LOWLIGHTS OF THE WEEK:

1. ALAN MANSON had role in "Casey-Crime Photographer", the CBS-TV program sponsored by Toni Permanent Wave, on Jan 31 (10:30 PM, EST). MANSON marched in CP's May Day Parade in 1950, has entertained for Progressive Citizens of America, backed HENRY WALLACE for President, and was member of CP front set up to fight passage of Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill.

CURT CONWAY, an instructor at the Drama Lab who has front record (COUNTERATTACK 1/4/52, pp 1&2), is director of "Casey-Crime Photographer". He also directed the CBS-TV Workshop program on Jan 27.

2. SALEM LUDWIG was featured on Hallmark Hall of Fame program on Jan 27 (NBC-TV, 3:30 PM, EST). Program is sponsored by Hallmark Cards.

LUDWIG has played roles in propaganda plays put on by NCASP and Committee for the Negro in the Arts, another party front. Last September he took part in NCASP meeting called to block attempts of anti-Communists to rid the airwaves of Communists and fellow travelers.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO COMBAT COMMUNISM? Write To:

1. R N W HARRIS, Pres, Toni Co, Division of Gillette Safety Razor Co, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois.

2. J C HALL, Pres, Hall Brothers, Inc (Hallmark Cards), 2505 Grand Ave, Kansas City, Mo.

Ask them if they are having difficulty finding performers and writers whose records are clearly pro-American.

3. Rep JOHN S WOOD, Chrmn, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Wash, D C...and to your Congressman.

Ask them to press for continuation and widening of House Committee's investigation of Communist infiltration in the newspaper field.

Yours faithfully,

February 1, 1952

Counterattack

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FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

January 4, 1952
Volume 6, No. 1

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS HAVE CREATED A "LIVING MEMORIAL" FOR J EDWARD BROMBERG. About 1500 people were jammed into a hall in the Hotel Diplomat (NYCity) on night of Dec 23. A thousand people were turned away for lack of space.

And what had these people come for? To hear identified Communist Party (CP) members such as playwright CLIFFORD ODETS, actor MORRIS CARNOVSKY, ~~film director~~ JULES DASSIN, and writer ABRAHAM POLONSKY eulogize the late J EDWARD BROMBERG, actor and CP member, who refused to tell House Committee on Un-American Activities whether or not he would fight for U S in event of war with Stalin Russia.

Other speakers at this obviously Communist-inspired tribute to J EDWARD BROMBERG were:

LEE GRANT, who is starred in current Paramount film, "Detective Story", and has leading role in the Broadway production, "Lo and Behold". Miss GRANT has front record and last year was featured in the Broadway flop, "All You Need Is One Good Break". This was a Communist propaganda play written by ARNOLD MANOFF, an identified CP member. In spite of efforts of CP and its supporters to make a hit of this play, it failed miserably.

PAUL MANN, radio actor-director who has backed fronts like National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Waldorf "Peace" Conference, Voice of Freedom Committee, etc.

Also: PHOEBE BRAND, wife of actor MORRIS CARNOVSKY. Like her husband, she was identified as CP member in recent Hollywood investigation.

PHILIP EVERGOOD, artist who has backed Daily Worker, CP candidates for public office, and many fronts. He is an editor of Masses & Mainstream.

FRANK SILVERA, star of People's Drama, CP's own dramatic group.

Pre-meeting announcements named following people, in addition to some of the above speakers, as initiators of this tribute to deceased CP member BROMBERG: Actress EVA LA GALLIENE, scene designer RALPH ALSWANG, stage and radio actor FREDERICK O'NEAL, producer LEE STRASBERG, artist BEN SHAHN, and actor (and identified CP member) HOWARD DA SILVA.

All speakers plugged the CP "martyrdom" line about BROMBERG...blamed his death on House Committee on Un-American Activities, Calif Committee on Un-American Activities and COUNTERATTACK's book, "RED CHANNELS". LIONEL STANDER, Hollywood actor identified as CP member, was at meeting. PAUL JARRICO, the film writer identified as CP member in recent investigation, and JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, CP cultural commissar who directed Communist infiltration of Hollywood, sent messages that were read at rally.

The "living memorial" to BROMBERG created at this affair was a scholarship to The Drama Lab (NYCity) for some aspiring actor or actress. A brief resume of the records of key personnel at The Drama Lab will explain why the scholarship was given to this "dramatic school":

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J. G. Keenan, President; T. C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary-Treasurer; F. J. McNamara, Editor

MORRIS CARNOVSKY and his wife, PHOEBE BRAND. Both identified CP members (teachers of advanced and basic acting techniques at Drama Lab).

ANNA SOKOLOW, instructor of dancing at CP's Jefferson School of Social Science (teacher of body movement for the professional).

WILLIAM KORFF, instructor of "social dancing" for CP's Jefferson School; member of New Dance Group and backer of other Communist fronts (gives children's courses in dance and drama).

MURIEL MANING, active in Theatre Arts Committee of CP-controlled American Labor Party in Brooklyn; has taken part in special children's dance program at Community Church of N Y with WM KORFF (see above) and notorious CP fronters (supervisor of Children's Workshop, instructor in body movement).

WALTER BERNSTEIN, formerly affiliated with Daily Worker, official CP newspaper; speaker for Jefferson School; backer of CP magazines New Masses, Mainstream, and (after their merger) Masses & Mainstream (teacher of television script writing).

LEE NEMETZ, director of People's Drama School of the Theatre (CP openly refers to People's Drama as its own theatre group); acts in People's Drama productions and has front record (faculty director and instructor in beginning scene work for Drama Lab).

SHIRLEY NORRIS, leading light in CP's People's Drama. Also acts in its productions (teacher of acting for teen-agers).

CURT CONWAY, supporter of Stalin's bloody Moscow purges of late Thirties; backer of the "Hollywood Ten" and Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions. CONWAY is director of "Casey-Crime Photographer" on CBS-TV network (instructor in television directing).

CLARENCE DERWENT, Pres of Actors Equity Ass'n and board member of American Nat'l Theatre and Academy and American Theatre Wing, who has backed several fronts (lecturer on influences in American theatre).

Some other members of Drama Lab's faculty are: DAVID ALEXANDER, director of the "Somerset Maugham Theatre", until recently an NBC-TV feature; SIDNEY LUMET, director of "Danger" (CBS-TV); SHIRLEY NORRIS, TV actress (Somerset Maugham Theatre, Nash Air Flyte Theatre, The Big Story); CHAS SKINNER, director of "The Big Story" (NBC-TV); and W E WATTS, film and radio director.

NBC and CBS should ask CONWAY, SKINNER, and LUMET why they are giving their services to Drama Lab. Mere fact that they are on faculty doesn't mean that they are Communists or pro-Communist. But the record shows clearly that Drama Lab is run by Communists and fronters...and is helping CP.

Knowing this, would loyal Americans serve The Drama Lab?

HOW MUCH DOES N Y TIMES DRAMA CRITIC KNOW ABOUT U S STAGE? The tribute to J EDWARD BROMBERG...and the above facts on personnel of Drama Lab ...are just two of many incidents which indicate that BROOKS ATKINSON sometimes talks through his hat in a way that helps the Communists when he writes about theatre in U S. ATKINSON is dramatic critic of N Y Times, which is read by followers of the theatre in all parts of U S and abroad.

Current theatre season has been no good, wrote ATKINSON on Dec 2. He reviewed a number of factors that have contributed to general decline of the theatre, admitted that they were mostly economic, and then added: "but something elusive and intangible seems to have drained the vitality out of the theatre and perhaps out of other American arts as well".

ATKINSON's description of this "elusive" thing read like a Daily Worker editorial: It was the emphasis on "meekness and conformity" in all

public expression; people "playing safe" (afraid to say what they think). He moaned that "ignorant heresy-hunting and the bigoted character assassination that have acquired the generic title of McCarthyism are succeeding".

Then he drew this fabulous conclusion: "The hoodlums are in control here as well as in Russia...We cannot expect to have vital art in our theatre if we...yield the control of cultural life to the Yahoos and hoodlums."

Few people will dispute ATKINSON's opening remarks about state of theatre. But many of those who know stage in U S will dispute his claim that it has been brought on by fanatical and hysterical anti-Communists.

Take a look at some of the leading playwrights and producers of the last decade: CLIFFORD ODETS, LILLIAN HELLMAN, CHERYL CRAWFORD, KERMIT BLOOMGARDEN, MARC BLITZSTEIN, LEE STRASBERG, ARTHUR MILLER, ELMER RICE, GARSON KANIN, ELIA KAZAN, SAM WANAMAKER, PETER LAWRENCE, HERMAN SHUMLIN, MARGARET WEBSTER, OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II, JOSE FERRER...to name just a few. ODETS and HELLMAN have been identified as Communist Party members. All the others on this list have front records...most of them very long records.

Add to the list: lyricists like E Y HARBURG and JOHN LA TOUCHE; choreographers like JEROME ROBBINS (of "Call Me Madam") and HELEN TAMIRIS; scene designers like HOWARD BAY and RALPH ALSWANG; actresses like UTA HAGEN, KIM HUNTER and MILDRED DUNNOCK; actors like PHILIP LOEB, ART SMITH, ALBERT DEKKER, LEE J COBB, MORRIS CARNOVSKY, MARTIN WOLFSON and LIONEL STANDER...and writers like JEROME and EDWARD CHODOROV and ARTHUR LAURENTS. All of them, too, have long Communist front records .

Theatre Arts Committee, Stage for Action, New Theatre League, and People's Drama are just a few of the CP theatre fronts that have won backing of many leaders of U S theatre during last decade.

For years many of most influential theatre personalities have been Communists and people with long front records.

And the theatre today has become the refuge of Communists and sympathizers who are no longer wanted in radio, TV and in Hollywood.

BROOKS ATKINSON did NOT cite a single fact to back up his unfounded charge that "witch-hunters" and "character assassins" have brought about the decline of the theatre in this country.

And in view of facts cited in this issue of COUNTERATTACK, it is difficult to believe that his statement is anything but hogwash. Why, then, did he make it? Following facts may help explain his strange action:

ALEXANDER BARMINE, former Russian diplomat and General in Soviet Military Intelligence, gave following information in his sworn testimony before Senate Internal Security Committee last July...during Committee's investigation of Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).

When OWEN LATTIMORE's book, "Solution in Asia", was published in 1945, BARMINE was editorial adviser for Readers Digest. He recognized dangerous Communist propaganda in book and succeeded in preventing publication of a digest of it in the magazine. He also wrote review of LATTIMORE's book for the weekly magazine, "The New Leader". Review started as follows:

"The Chinese Communists have been particularly fortunate in the American newspaper correspondents who have written about the controversy between Chungking and Yenan. Through such writers as Brooks Atkinson, Edgar Snow, Agnes Smedley, Harrison Forman, and Owen Lattimore, the cause of the Yenan regime has been pleaded to the American public more effectively, persuasively, and cleverly, than any known Communist could possibly do it..."

CBS

ATKINSON's name came up in another exhibit introduced in IPR hearings during testimony of LOUIS BUDENZ. It was an article from the Daily Worker of Nov 29, 1945, written by foreign editor JOSEPH STAROBIN.

STAROBIN was doing a hatchet job on Maj Gen PATRICK J HURLEY, former Ambassador to China in this article. He said HURLEY was irked by fact that "well-informed" journalists were very critical of his methods and of the Chinese Nationalist Govt which HURLEY supported against the Communists.

"Newspapermen like Brooks Atkinson, Harrison Forman and Israel Epstein (who knew China better than HURLEY) were telling the truth about both the Kuomintang and the Communists", STAROBIN wrote in Daily Worker (EPSTEIN is a Communist and FORMAN was following CP line at the time).

It didn't help BROOKS ATKINSON to have a former General in Stalin's military intelligence (espionage) service put him in the same category with AGNES SMEDLEY, EDGAR SNOW, and OWEN LATTIMORE as a reporter on China during World War II...nor to have one of top writers on Daily Worker praise him as a reporter of the "truth" about China.

And by an ironic twist a letter ATKINSON wrote to Loyalty Review Board in behalf of JOHN STEWART SERVICE was actually a factor in the Board's dismissing SERVICE from the State Dept (COUNTERATTACK, 12/21/51, p 1).

So it's quite possible that ATKINSON has an axe to grind. He may feel that he has been hurt by the "witch-hunters" and "character assassins" (anti-Communists who state facts about Communists and those who have helped them)...and wants to hit back. They have resurrected facts about his past reportorial activities in China that he hoped the public had forgotten.

Members and staff of Internal Security Committee, in their unusually well-conducted investigation of IPR, have, of necessity, let the chips fall where they may in producing evidence. ATKINSON's name came up during investigation in purely incidental (but legitimate) way...not because they were trying to "assassinate" his character.

When ATKINSON was in Moscow for N Y Times after World War II he wrote articles critical of Stalin's policies. Pravda denounced him for it. ATKINSON has been critical of Soviet stage and has said that totalitarian Communism has destroyed the once great theatrical art of Russia.

But he's one of those unfortunate Americans who can denounce Communists and Communism in foreign lands...yet cannot bring himself around to denouncing the Communists and pro-Communists who have been prostituting the theatre in the U S. He has been strangely silent on this point.

And when he finally broke his silence on Dec 2 he made misleading statements that helped Communists (a large part of his column was reprinted in Daily Worker...it fell right in with party's present "cultural" line).

And he discredited himself as an authority on the theatre...for only those who don't know the truth will accept his specious claim that the "McCarthyites" are ruling and destroying the U S theatre (in which Communists and front supporters still have far too much influence).

ATKINSON could do much more for U S theatre if his line hurt rather than helped the Communists who have been working for years to make the stage, a vital factor in the cultural life of this nation, a voice of Moscow.

Yours faithfully,

January 4, 1952

Counterattack

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Communism - Loyalty
Counterattack

COMMUNISTS OPPOSE CBS SECURITY MEASURES. On Dec. 20, JOSEPH H. REAM, Exec V-Pres of the Columbia Broadcasting System, announced that because of the national emergency CBS had adopted two important security measures.

To protect equipment from sabotage and prevent service interruptions, armed guards have been placed at transmitters and in master control rooms.

The 2500 regular employes of CBS have been asked to sign a loyalty questionnaire which is the same as that signed by Federal Civil Service employes. Questionnaire lists all organizations (including CP) that have been cited by the Attorney General. Employes must state whether they have ever belonged to any of these groups or any other organizations which advocated violent overthrow of U S Govt.

This is first time a major network has adopted such measures...and CBS did not have to wait long for Communist reaction.

Daily Worker, official CP newspaper, attacked the CBS loyalty program editorially. WM L PATTERSON, exec-director of Civil Rights Congress who will stand trial for contempt of Congress Jan 10, has called on all comrades and fellow travelers to write protest letters to CBS.

Radio Writers Guild urged its members not to sign loyalty statements until they had been advised on policy by Authors League of America, parent body of the Guild. Last summer, Radio Writers Guild refused to consider a resolution supporting U S action to prevent Communist rape of Korea.

Authors League of America, which has a number of CP front supporters on its board, sent a protest letter to REAM. It claimed CBS was making a writer's "politics" (actually, his affiliations with a traitor organization or its agencies) the criterion of his employment.

REAM replied that no employes' civil rights would be curtailed and no loyal American's reputation would be damaged by CBS' use of the statement.

EXECUTIVE FILES

Most Communists will willingly sign a false statement to protect their influence and lucrative positions in radio. For this reason, a loyalty statement has limited value...but COUNTERATTACK, in its weekly newsletters and in "Red Channels", The Report of Communist Influence In Radio and Television, has given the CP front activities of more than one CBS employe. CBS should check its employes' loyalty statements against these and other records.

CBS has not announced what it will do about employes who refuse to sign or who admit membership in subversive groups...but this very fact is an indication that it intends to take action.

And reaction of CP, its fronts and Communist factions in the radio unions indicate that the comrades are convinced CBS means business.

That's good. But it also means that CBS will be subject to strong pressure by all forces the party can muster without obviously tipping the hands of its secret agents in radio.

WHAT CAN YOU DO? You have written to CBS in the past to protest some of its programs which featured party liners. Now write again to:

JOSEPH H. REAM, Exec Vice-Pres, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Ave., NYCity. Congratulate him for action CBS has taken, tell him to stick by his guns...that he has your complete support.

see page 2

COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1455

Letter No. 138
January 13, 1950

Dear Subscriber:

AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE 7 TO 1 IN FAVOR OF FORCING COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS TO REGISTER. That's the report of the Gallup Poll.

And yet Mundt-Nixon Bill for registering Communist Party members and otherwise controlling the party is stymied in Congress.

This bill was drafted in 1948 by Rep Richard M Nixon of Calif, the outstanding member of House Un-American Activities Committee.

It passed the House then but didn't get out of committee in Senate. And there has been some talk about it since then but absolutely no action.

Why is this? Why is there no action when the voters are 7 to 1 in favor of the main provision of the bill?

Because there has been an organized fight AGAINST the bill but NO organized fight FOR it. The Communist Party sounded an alarm, raised huge sums of money, published lie after lie about the bill, declaring it would endanger labor unions and all liberals. And the Communists panicked many unions and liberals and even conservatives into opposing the bill.

This was the triumph of falsehood over truth. It was the triumph of strategy over confusion & ignorance. It was the triumph of ORGANIZATION.

The Communist Party launched several new fronts in 1948 to oppose Mundt-Nixon Bill. Later it merged these into one...the Natl Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. And last year when it seemed the bill might be revived, this Communist front reopened hq in Washington, with Ex-Congressman Jerry J O'Connell in charge, and renewed its campaign.

But anti-Communists have done practically NOTHING. You yourself may be a member of more than one large organization that opposes Communism. Ask it whether it made a real effort in 1949 for the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

All these organizations have many OTHER things to do. Their anti-Communist efforts are a mere sideline.

And there isn't a single sizable organization devoted entirely to fighting the Communist Party. There are some local organizations...and some specialized ones like Common Cause (which stresses the overseas angle) and American Jewish League Against Communism. But there isn't a single big general organization that concentrates on fighting Communist Party of USA.

Main reason is that conservatives, liberals, and others in such an organization would find it hard to stick to one subject...anti-Communism... and to agree on a program. They would tend to quarrel about unions, Taft-Hartley Law, New Deal, Fair Deal, civil liberties, social security, etc.

Still this obstacle can be overcome. If some capable people with determination & tact try hard enough, such an organization can be formed.

But don't let the lack of such an organization deter you from writing NOW to your congressman and your two senators, pointing out the 7-to-1 Gallup poll, and urging them to support Mundt-Nixon Communist control bill.

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MOVIE INDUSTRY'S BAN ON INDICTED HOLLYWOOD COMMUNISTS IS AGAIN EVADED by the showing of a second movie made in England by Edward Dmytryk.

Counterattack reported Dec 16 that Director Dmytryk's first British-made movie, "Give Us This Day", was about to have its first showing in U S and would be nationally released early this year by Eagle-Lion.

Now his second movie, "The Hidden Room", has opened at Broadway Embassy Theater, NYCity. It will be released nationally in Feb by Eagle-Lion.

Dmytryk is one of the Tongue-Tied Ten, who all refused to tell Congress whether they were members of Communist Party. Two of these 10 have already been convicted of contempt of Congress. The other cases are pending.

Part of Dmytryk's Communist Party record was reported to House Un-American Activities Committee by Investigator Louis J Russell, former FBI agent. He gave numbers of Dmytryk's CP membership cards in various years.

What are movie theaters going to do about Dmytryk's two pictures?

One leading exhibitor, who has over 400 theaters in Southwest, says he doesn't care whether Dmytryk is a Communist or whether he unlawfully refused to answer questions of Congress. This big exhibitor says his decision on showing the two movies will be made without regard to Dmytryk's behavior.

And yet it was the protests of the exhibitors that forced the leading producers to ban Dmytryk and the rest of the 10 "Unfriendly Witnesses" who had obstructed the Congressional investigation of Communism in Hollywood.

The exhibitors acted in obedience to protests by movie-goers.

The producers yielded. They denied employment to the 10.

Dmytryk went to England, evaded the ban, made two movies.

But some exhibitors say they don't care whether he evaded it.

The heat is off...the public isn't protesting any more...so why should these exhibitors worry about the evasion of the industry's decision?

WHAT TO DO: Phone and/or write movie theaters in your area, even if you've already done so about Dmytryk's earlier movie, "Give Us This Day". Tell them of his second movie, "The Hidden Room". Ask them whether they intend to show these pictures, thus helping Dmytryk evade the ban which the theaters themselves forced the producers to impose on the Tongue-Tied Ten.

And ask your own organizations (unions, business, civic, veterans' groups, etc) to write and send delegations to movie theaters on this matter.

EXECUTIVE FILES

NORMAN CORWIN AND JOSE FERRER MAKE GUEST SPEECHES ON PHILHARMONIC PROGRAM ON CBS. There are many music-lovers all over the country who listen to NY Philharmonic Symphony concert on CBS, every Sunday afternoon.

During intermission there's a prominent guest speaker.

Norman Corwin, radio writer & director, was guest Jan 1. He delivered New Year's greetings to the musical world.

Jose Ferrer, actor, was guest Jan 8 and largely talked of himself.

Both Corwin & Ferrer are among top backers of Communist fronts.

Corwin & Ferrer sponsored the big Communist-front conference at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, NY, last March. This was the U S Congress of Intellectuals ("for peace"). State Dept called it a Moscow sounding-board.

During Judith Coplon's trial in Washington last year, her lawyer insisted on reading to the jury some FBI unprocessed material. Corwin was mentioned in this. Then CBS jumped to Corwin's defense, insisting he was neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler. But CBS ignored the amazingly long list of Communist fronts which Corwin has supported. Among them are Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, People's Radio Foundation, Progressive Citizens of America, and American-Russian Institute.

Jose Ferrer endorsed Benj J Davis as candidate on Communist ticket. Davis is Pres of Communist Party's national paper, the Daily Worker. He's one of the 11 U S Politbureau members convicted of plotting against U S Govt.

Ferrer was a member of a committee headed by Communist Paul Robeson that supported Davis when he ran for public office in 1945.

WHAT TO DO: Write to Wm S Paley, chairman, Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Ave, NY, asking him why Norman Corwin & Jose Ferrer were honored with radio time Jan 1 & 8. Even if Philharmonic chose them, CBS shouldn't have accepted them.

And write to Chas Triller, Pres, Philharmonic Symphony Society, 113 W 57th St, NYCity, asking him the same question. Can't Philharmonic get interesting speakers who don't help Communist fronts & Communist candidates?

"WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION" TAKES PROMPT ACTION ON CLUB DISCUSSION PROGRAM. Counterattack on Dec 23 revealed that this leading magazine had "sent to women's clubs throughout the country a club discussion program that is pretty much down the Communists' alley." It included pamphlets, films, and other material issued by Communist fronts.

Counterattack pointed out that there are cunning Communists on many magazines but that whether or not the pro-Stalin slant of the Woman's Home Companion material was intentional on anyone's part or accidental, certainly the magazine itself and the Crowell-Collier Publishing Co are NOT pro-Moscow.

We suggested that our subscribers write to Thos H Beck, chairman of the board of the company, recommending corrective measures.

Chairman Beck has answered a big volume of mail on the subject with the following letter: "The material referred to in Counterattack was sent wholly without our knowledge. The person responsible has been dismissed, and we are writing all recipients requesting destruction of the material.

"You may be sure that we shall not, knowingly, ever tolerate the inclusion of any such stuff in either our magazines or letters."

Crowell-Collier has taken the right attitude...right morally and right practically. This is in contrast with the attitude of some other companies, which tend to cover up an embarrassing situation.

For example, Counterattack last year pointed out some serious faults in a forum conducted by one unit of a publishing company. Some Counterattack subscribers wrote to the head office of the firm, expressing their displeasure. Instead of frankly admitting the faults, the company delayed for months...and then it answered our subscribers, saying that conferences had been held with Counterattack and that the forum matter had been explained to the satisfaction of "everyone".

This seemed to imply that Counterattack had agreed that its report on the forum was inaccurate. But in fact it was accurate and thoroughly justified. The publishing company in question is surely NOT pro-Communist ...and Counterattack has no wish to embarrass it unnecessarily. But we stand by our report on the matter, and we believe that by printing it we have discouraged a repetition of the faults we pointed out.

Crowell-Collier, on the contrary, took direct & sensible action. Recognizing the justice of Counterattack's report on the club discussion program sent out by the Woman's Home Companion, Chairman Beck made an immediate inquiry, removed the person responsible, and said so to all inquirers.

Counterattack's subscribers can take credit, in this case as in many others, for contributing to a quick corrective action against Communism.

SOME OF THE HOTTEST BATTLES AFFECTING UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS are taking place in Chicago. The UE has received some sharp blows there from employers and also from former party-liners.

Stewart-Warner Corp has begun its own purge of Communists. Every employee whom it suspects of Communism is required to sign a non-Communist affidavit. A number of UE leaders at the main plant have refused and all have been fired. Stewart-Warner explains that it has taken this action because the Defense Dept has laid down the policy of denying defense contracts to any company employing Communist Party members or pro-Communists.

One UE official quit UE and quit Communist Party at the same time last week. He's Lee Lundgren, who resigned as field representative of Local 1150, which represents employees in 14 Chicago companies.

Attorney Irving Krane, business manager of Local 1150, resigned that office. Krane had long been a supporter of Ernest De Maio, Pres of UE District 11 (including Wis, Minn, and nearly all of Illinois). Krane charged that DeMaio and the Communist Party controlled the local.

Communist Party Member Lundgren, in resigning from the party and the union, declared that in 1945 he had been "recruited into the Communist Party by Pat Amato, Pres of Local 1150".

But Pat Amato lately signed a non-Communist affidavit, so as to get his local accepted by Natl Labor Relations Bd.

And the Sunbeam Corp, one of the 14 companies where Local 1150 represents the employees, last week denounced the NLRB for accepting the non-Communist affidavits of the Local 1150 officers. Asking that a recent election which was won by the local be set aside, Sunbeam Corp declares NLRB "insists on admitting the Trojan horse of Communism into American factories".

NLRB should act at once. Plenty of proof is available to show that Local 1150 is Communist-run. It should lose its NLRB standing without delay.

DEP'T OF JUSTICE DEMANDS THAT CONGRESS OF AMERICAN WOMEN REGISTER AS FOREIGN AGENT, under Foreign Agents Registration Act. Communist Muriel Draper, Pres of Congress of American Women (and mother of Paul Draper, the tap dancer) virtuously denies the outfit is a foreign agent. As a result of the Dept of Justice demand, the front asserts it has disaffiliated from the Women's International Democratic Federation. This is Stalin's world-wide women's front, a women's auxiliary of the Cominform.

But in fact the Congress of American Women will continue to act as an agent of Moscow. There are some other fronts that are similarly tied up with international fronts in particular fields. Dept of Justice should get after all of them under Foreign Agents Registration Act. But in addition Congress should pass Mundt-Nixon Bill, to control CP and its fronts.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO BEAT THE COMMUNISTS? You and your organizations should take action in favor of compulsory registration of Communist Party members (see P 1)...and should write to movie theaters about the Dmytryk evasion of the industry's ban (P 2)...and to Columbia Broadcasting System and Philharmonic Symphony about Norman Corwin and Jose Ferrer (P 3).

Yours faithfully,

January 13, 1950

Counterattack

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F 201-9/52

File 165 v Polit

PRIVATE WIRE

Prog - Pol 3d
FCC Inquiry

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by REGULAR OR AIR MAIL would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via REGULAR MAIL addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, and via AIR MAIL to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for WBBM and KNX are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than NOON LOCAL TIME on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" ONLY if faster service to these other stations is vital.

VIA WESTERN UNION

DATE NOV 1, 1952 19

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. [ ] [ ] [ ]
Div. Dept.

URGENT URGENT URGENT.

STATION MANAGER (AS PER ATTACHED LIST.)

AT THE FCC'S DIRECTION, WE ARE SCHEDULING A TALK BY MYRA TANNER WEISS, VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 1:15-~~1:30~~ 1:25:50 PM, EST, SUNDAY, NOV. 2, LIVE FROM KNX. THIS TO BALANCE POLITICAL COVERAGE GIVEN REP. AND DEM. PARTIES ON "PICK THE WINNER." IF YOUR STATION CARRIES "PICK THE WINNER" BE SURE TO CONSULT YOUR LEGAL ADVISERS BEFORE DECIDING TO NOT CARRY THIS PROGRAM.

HELEN J. SIOUSSAT - TALKS DEPT
ARTHUR G. PECK - NY NETWORK OPERATIONS

cc: Miss Sioussat
Mr. Brauner
Mr. Guillotte
NGB.

Rec'd JB
11/5 - 11am

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

(Copy)

October 9, 1952

Honorable Mike Monroney
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Monroney:

This is in reply to your letter of August 20, 1952 in which you make the following inquiry:

> "The situation we are faced with is that even though our candidates appear on commercially sponsored programs in which the time is evenly divided in debate between Democrats and Republicans, the major networks fear that a local candidate running against such Democratic speakers used on the debate program could demand free compensating time on the State or Congressional district stations."

The Commission has given very careful consideration to the question you have presented, including the consideration of detailed responses that were made by the networks to the Commission's request for information. To answer your question specificially, if local candidates are permitted to appear without cost to them on the commercially sponsored programs to which you refer, opposing candidates could demand and would be entitled to receive comparable time without cost on the stations which carried the program and which serve the areas in which those opposing candidates are running.

BY DIRECTION OF THE COMMISSION

s/ Paul A. Walker

Paul A. Walker
Chairman

COMMISSIONERS

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY, CHAIRMAN
THAD H. BROWN
PAUL A. WALKER
NORMAN S. CASE
GEORGE HENRY PAYNE
T. A. M. CRAVEN
FREDERICK I. THOMPSON

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE SECRETARY

T. J. SLOWIE, SECRETARY

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 17, 1940

Mr Branner to note

File 1940 Comm't.

Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of October 17, 1940, in response to the Commission's telegram of October 14, 1940, in which you state that Station WABC carried the address of Israel Amter, Communist Party nominee for the United States Senate from New York. Accordingly, the Commission's file in this matter has been marked "closed" and the complainant so notified.

Very truly yours,

T. J. Slowie

T. J. Slowie,
Secretary.

copy

OPENING AND CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR ISRAEL AMTER

OCTOBER 15, 1940

11:00-11:15 PM EST

OPENING:

In obedience to law, which requires that we give equal treatment to all candidates for political office, we now present a broadcast sponsored by the New York State election Campaign Committee of the Communist Party, a campaign talk by Israel Amter, Communist candidate from New York State for the United States Senate. The subject of Mr. Amter's address is "Civil Liberties in the State of New York". Mr. Amter.

CLOSING:

In obedience to law, which requires that we give equal treatment to all candidates for political office, we have presented a broadcast sponsored by the New York State Election Campaign Committee of the Communist Party, a campaign talk by Israel Amter, the Communist candidate from New York State for the United States Senate. Mr. Amter's subject was "Civil Liberties in the State of New York". Copies of Mr. Amter's address

may be obtained by writing direct to Mr. Israel Amter, 35 East 12th Street, New York City.

This is the C.B.S.

COMMISSIONERS

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY, CHAIRMAN
PAUL A. WALKER
NORMAN S. CASE
T. A. M. CRAVEN
GEORGE HENRY PAYNE
FREDERICK I. THOMPSON
THAD H. BROWN

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE SECRETARY

T. J. SLOWIE, SECRETARY

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 11, 1940

Mr. Edward Klauber,
Executive Vice President,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of your telegram of October 10, advising the Commission that the Columbia Broadcasting System would precede its broadcast of Mr. Earl Browder's campaign talk of October 10 with only part of the announcement which had been previously proposed.

As requested in your telegram, the action of Columbia Broadcasting System in deleting a part of the proposed announcement will not be interpreted as in any way prejudicing your position in this matter.

Very truly yours,

T. J. Slowie,
Secretary.

C O P Y (WESTERN UNION)

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 10, 1940

ATTENTION: THOMAS J. SLOWIE, SECRETARY

REPLYING TO YOUR TELEGRAM OF TODAY, WHICH WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED, BUT THE TEXT OF WHICH HAS BEEN COMMUNICATED TO US BY OUR WASHINGTON OFFICE, WE WISH TO ADVISE YOU THAT WE HAD PROPOSED TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF WHICH THE COMMUNISTS COMPLAINED TO YOU, AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT WE WERE COMPLETELY JUSTIFIED IN MAKING SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT. SINCE YOUR TELEGRAM IMPLIES THAT, IN YOUR JUDGMENT, THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE VIOLATIVE OF THE LAW, AND SINCE IN VIEW OF THE IMMINENCE OF THIS BROADCAST TONIGHT WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT TO YOU OUR REASONS FOR DISAGREEING WITH WHAT SEEMS TO BE YOUR INTERPRETATION OF THE LAW, WE ARE DELETING THE SENTENCE OF WHICH YOUR TELEGRAM SEEMS TO COMPLAIN, BUT ASK THAT OUR ACTION BE ACCEPTED AS DUE TO THE TIME ELEMENT INVOLVED AND BE INTERPRETED BY YOU AS ENTIRELY WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR POSITION.

EDWARD KLAUBER, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

cc: Mr. Butcher

COPY (WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM)

October 10, 1940 - 6:00 PM 21

NAB269 K77 GOVT - WASHINGTON D.C. 10 452 P
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE

WE ARE IN RECEIPT OF A TELEGRAM FROM WILLIAM Z. FOSTER READING IN PART AS FOLLOWS QUOTE AT THIS LATE DATE CBS ADVISES US IT INSISTS UPON MAKING FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT AT OPENING AND CLOSING OF EARL BROWDER BROADCAST THURSDAY OCTOBER 10, 10:15 PM INTERQUOTE IN OBEDIENCE TO LAW WHICH REQUIRES THAT WE GIVE EQUAL TREATMENT TO ALL CANDIDATES FOR A POLITICAL OFFICE WE NOW PRESENT THE BROADCAST SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES. COLUMBIA HAS PUBLICLY ADVOCATED AND STILL ADVOCATES THAT THE LAW BE CHANGED SO THAT IT CANNOT BE REQUIRED TO CARRY COMMUNIST BROADCAST IF IT CARRIES THOSE OF OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES UNQUOTE PLEASE INFORM US PROMPTLY WHETHER THE FOREGOING IS AN ACCURATE STATEMENT OF THE SITUATION WITH SUCH OTHER COMMENTS AS YOU CARE TO MAKE. IN THIS CONNECTION WE INVITE YOUR ATTENTION TO SECTION 315 OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT AND PARTICULARLY TO THE REQUIREMENT THAT QUOTE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES UNQUOTE SHALL BE AFFORDED TO CANDIDATES. .

T. J. SLOWIE, SECRETARY,
FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

C O P Y (WESTERN UNION)

(TELEGRAM TO MR. FLY FROM WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)

AT THIS LATE DATE CBS ADVISES US IT INSISTS UPON MAKING THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT AT OPENING AND CLOSING OF EARL BROWDER BROADCAST THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 10:15 PM. QUOTE IN OBEDIENCE TO LAW, WHICH REQUIRES THAT WE GIVE EQUAL TREATMENT TO ALL CANDIDATES FOR A POLITICAL OFFICE, WE NOW PRESENT A BROADCAST SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, (check exact title) A CAMPAIGN TALK BY EARL BROWDER, COMMUNIST CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES. COLUMBIA HAS PUBLICLY ADVOCATED AND STILL ADVOCATES THAT THE LAW BE CHANGED SO THAT IT MAY NOT BE REQUIRED TO CARRY COMMUNIST BROADCASTS IF IT CARRIES THOSE OF THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. UNQUOTE WE HAVE ADVISED CBS TODAY WE CANNOT APPROVE THE SECOND SENTENCE. THIS VIOLATES LAW GUARANTEEING EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALL CANDIDATES. A BROADCASTING CORPORATION LICENSED BY THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO RIGHT TO UTILIZE ITS AIR PRIVILEGES TO ADVOCATE CHANGES IN LAWS WHICH DISPLEASE THEM OR TO AGITATE AGAINST A PARTICULAR POLITICAL PARTY. THIS REPRESENTS ELECTIONEERING AGAINST CANDIDATES OF ONE POLITICAL PARTY IN FAVOR OF OTHER PREFERRED BY CBS. THIS CONSTITUTES CENSORSHIP OF THE MOST FLAGRANT CHARACTER. WE MUST ASK YOU THAT COMMISSION COUNSEL CBS TO GRANT OUR PARTY SAME TREATMENT ACCORDED CANDIDATES OF ALL OTHER PARTIES. INTRODUCTION OF PREVIOUS BROADCASTS OVER NBC AND MUTUAL NETWORKS WERE CONFINED TO FORMAL INTRODUCTIONS CONTAINED IN FIRST SENTENCE QUOTED ABOVE AND NO EXCEPTION TAKEN THERETO BY US. IN VIEW OF CLOSENESS OF BROADCAST, RESPECTFULLY REQUEST IMMEDIATE ACTION AND WILL APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU BY WIRE OR TELEPHONE AT OUR EXPENSE.

PLEASE BE BRIEF

PRIVATE WIRE

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, Inc.

F 51 ORDINARY ☐ RUSH ☐ URGENT ☒ Date 10/9/40

INSTRUCTIONS

Before sending this private wire make sure a letter would not serve as well.

ORDINARY Private wires are held for the daily contact with each station and should be used only when a letter is not sufficiently fast.

RUSH Private wires are sent the same day either on regular or special contacts but the reply will be received from the other end during regular contact next day.

URGENT Private wires are sent immediately regardless of cost and the reply is received as soon as possible by special call if necessary.

Please indicate in proper place type of transmission desired. Unmarked wires will be considered ORDINARY.

WDAE
TAMPA

WE ARE NOT IN POSITION TO ALVISE YOU WHETHER OR NOT BROWDER IS A LEGALLY QUALIFIED CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT STOP ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION HE IS SO QUALIFIED IN SEVE AL STATES SUGGEST YOU CLEAR WITH YOUR ATTORNEYS.

JULIUS F. BRAUNER
COLUMBIA- LEGAL DEPARTMENT

Messrs Boone Hanneman Mr Bonney on (To file)

COPY OF KFPY REPLY TO BROWDER QST

Read file & return 9/30

SEPT. 26, 1940

9:10 P.M.

PROCKTER

ACCEPT BUT UNDER PROTEST - OUR ACCEPTANCE DICTATED ONLY BY TELEGRAM RECD THIS MORN FM T J SLOWIE SEC FED COMMUNICATIONS COMM STATING QUOTE - COMM HAS NO AUTHORITY TO WAIVE EXPRESS PROVISIONS SEC 315 COMMUNICATIONS ACT WHICH REQUIRE THAT IF STN HAS AFFORDED USE OF FACILITIES TO CANDIDATE FOR OFC IT MUST GIVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL OTHER LEGALLY QUALIFIED CANDIDATES FOR SAME OFC UNQUOTE - ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY THIS SITN RESTS WITH CONGRESS ITSELF AND WE ARE HOPING U ARE EXERTING UR INFLUENCE TO HV LAW AMENDED.

BRIGHT KFPY

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

To Mr. Paley

From Mr. Ream

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

June 20, 1940

SUBJECT Communists as "Legally Qualified Candidates"

Attached is a table indicating whether the Communist party was on the ballot in 1936 and whether it had qualified its candidates' names to appear on the ballot in 1940 as of June 10 this year. For many of the states there are also listed the requirements which a party or candidate must meet in order to qualify for a place on the ballot, and the last date on which petitions, nomination certificates, convention certifications, etc. may be filed.

These figures show that the Communists were:

On the Ballot in 1936	in 31 states
Not on the Ballot in 1936	in 17 states
On the 1940 Ballot as of June 10	in 12 states
Not as yet on the 1940 Ballot as of June 10	in 36 states

It is of course possible for the Communists to qualify in many of the 36 states by meeting the requirements indicated on the table. It is also possible that they may be disqualified in some of the states in which they are now qualified if their petitions or other qualifications are successfully attacked. We are maintaining a weekly check on any changes which may occur in their status in each state.

Among the more important states in which they are now qualified are California, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

I also attach a summary of the total presidential votes in 1936, 1932 and 1928, together with a tabulation of the votes received by all of the minor parties, and their percentage relation to the total vote cast. For 1936, we have also computed the percentage of the Communist vote to the total vote cast in each state where the Communists received 1,000 votes or more.

JHR

att

From NAB Reports - June 7, 1940.

On Friday, Senator Wheeler, during a speech on "Civil Liberties" in the Senate, made the following remarks:

"This morning representatives of the National Broadcasting Co. and the Columbia Broadcasting Co., and the head of the organization of all the broadcasters, called at my office. They called my attention to the following statement which they had issued:

New York, N.Y., May 30, 1940.

Gillis, Radio Station WJSV.,
Washington, D.C.:

The Columbia Broadcasting System in response to several inquiries concerning Earl Browder's talk Sunday night, issued the following statement: The radio law requires broadcasters to give the same treatment to all candidates for any public office. In compliance with this law we have arranged to carry on Sunday evening, June 2, a 15-minute talk by Earl Browder on the Communist Party's representation that, at that time he will be the duly nominated candidate for the Presidency. It is obvious that when the Congress enacted the communications law, present conditions and their dangers were not apparent. Columbia is of course obedient to the laws of the United States but it is of the belief that the communications law should be changed so that no broadcaster is compelled to give time to the candidates of any political party if it is proven to be subservient to a foreign power.

In this connection I call attention to the statute. When we passed the communications law some years ago it contained this provision:

Sec. 315. If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the Commission shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect: PROVIDED, That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

The present law was drafted, not in a Democratic administration, but in a Republican administration, to preserve the right of free speech in the United States, and to see to it that each candidate for public office shall have the right to express his views, whether we agree with them or not, and I certainly do not agree with Mr. Browder, the Communist Party, or their theory of government. I think that the law probably should be changed, because of the fact that it perhaps goes too far in one respect as the Commission has interpreted it. Today a broadcaster is liable in damages if the speech contains libelous matter. Either the broadcaster should be relieved of liability or libelous matters should not be permitted."

Announcement immediately following
Earl Browder broadcast of Sunday,
June 2, 1940

You have just heard a talk by Earl Browder, Communist party candidate for the presidency of the United States. Columbia wishes to repeat at this time the statement with which it preceded Mr. Browder's talk, in order to make clear the reason for broadcasting it.

"The radio law, since 1927, has provided that broadcasters must treat all political candidates alike, that is, if a broadcaster allows the use of his facilities to one candidate for any public office, he cannot deny the use of those facilities to other candidates.

"Columbia has already carried talks by the presidential candidates of two minor parties and soon will carry talks by the major parties' candidates.

"We are therefore compelled under the law as we understand it, to carry the Communist candidate likewise.

"Because of present world conditions, Columbia has recommended that the law be changed, so that no broadcaster is forced to carry a broadcast by the representative of any party subservient to a foreign power."

This is the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Announcement made prior to Earl Browder broadcast of Sunday, June 2, 1940

Before the Columbia Broadcasting System presents a talk by Earl Browder, Communist Party candidate for the Presidency of the United States, it wishes to make clear the reason for broadcasting this talk.

The radio law, since 1927, has provided that broadcasters must treat all political candidates alike, that is, if a broadcaster allows the use of his facilities to one candidate for any public office, he cannot deny the use of those facilities to other candidates.

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We are therefore compelled under the law as we understand it, to carry the Communist candidate likewise.

Because of present world conditions, Columbia has recommended that the law be changed, so that no broadcaster is forced to carry a broadcast by the representative of any party subservient to a foreign power.

We now present Mr. Browder:

Communism

9AR

August 18, 1949

Dear Carl:

Although I realize that he is now in Europe, I should like to acknowledge John Patt's recent letter to me regarding the July 1 Counterattack article on CBS and Communism. I am familiar with the article and have devoted a great deal of personal attention to a study of the facts and implications of this piece.

The problems involved in the selection of creative personnel, particularly when engaged for a one-time performance, are sometimes exceedingly difficult. In the field of broadcasting -- where the measure of success depends so largely on the degree of ingenuity and original inventiveness of program producers and performers -- the emphasis is necessarily placed on the creative abilities of the artists. This type of person, because he ordinarily differs from the run-of-the-mine individual, tends more often than not to be regarded as "liberal" rather than "conservative." For this reason, I believe the network with the best record of original creative programming is bound to have more problems of personnel than an organization which is less prone to explore new fields.

However, I want to state categorically that the Columbia Broadcasting System does not knowingly employ any Communists or any party sympathizers in its broadcasts.

EXECUTIVE FILES

Further, we exercise complete editorial control over our programs on the air, and I am sure that in none of the broadcasts mentioned was there any hint of Communist infiltration. Even Counterattack does not question the programs themselves.

As I am sure you are aware, it is not always possible to tell a Communist when you see one -- and yet I am personally convinced that we do not employ a single party member in the creation of our programs. In view of the size of our organization, it is always possible that a few are employed in

the lower echelons of the departments, although I am not aware of it. When it comes to "fellow-travelers," "fronters," or "party sympathizers," definition as well as identification becomes much more difficult -- especially when the activity cited as evidence may have occurred a number of years ago, or in a period of the individual's immature social development.

With regard to the individuals cited by Counterattack, I am attaching a memorandum giving the pertinent information as to each in his relation to CBS.

We do more than 6,000 hours of broadcasting a year, and have nearly 3,000 persons on our payroll. This, plus the criterion of the air product itself, may put the record into a somewhat more proper perspective. Nevertheless, we recognize the need for all possible vigilance, and we are re-examining our procedures for engaging talent in order to avoid future criticism along this line.

Even though the problem is a difficult one, I am sure that with patience, intelligence and practicability it is one which can be solved without destroying the creative spark which has made American radio, and CBS, so vital a part of the life of this country.

With all good wishes.

Cordially,

Mr. Carl George
Vice President
The WGAR Broadcasting Company
Statler Hotel
Cleveland, Ohio

ww

THE W G A R BROADCASTING COMPANY
STATLER HOTEL
CLEVELAND

JOHN F. PATT
VICE PRESIDENT & GENERAL MANAGER

July 21, 1949

Mr. Frank Stanton
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I am sure the enclosed issue of "Counterattack" has already come to your attention and that you are no doubt seriously concerned with the allocations.

Personally, I wonder if this publication has not gone a little bit overboard here so far as some CBS writers and directors are concerned.

The thing which will concern us all, ~~which~~ as I know it does you, is pinning the "commie" ribbon on CBS.

How should we reply to a thing of this sort?

Sincerely yours,

John

John F. Patt
General Manager

jfp/rd

Enc.

Background?
File
Follow up
For appropriate action
F Y I
Note and return
Noted
Phone FS
Present status?
Reply direct
Return to sender
Suggest reply
To discuss
Urgent
Your comment or recommendation

This came to me from a local advertising agency.

FREE SPEECH MIKE

COUNTERATTACK

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y. LONGACRE 4-1458

Letter No. 110
July 1, 1949

Dear Subscriber:

COMMUNISTS REJOICE AS NEW LABOR BILL IS KILLED AND TAFT-HARTLEY ACT REMAINS. That's exactly what they've been aiming at. That's why Communist-controlled unions held a national "emergency conference" in Washington last Sunday, June 26, "for complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and the re-enactment of the Wagner Act without amendments."

Of course they knew they couldn't get what they formally asked. It was either a compromise or nothing. They preferred NOTHING. Therefore they used the time-honored strategy of demanding EVERYTHING.

There are two main reasons for the way the Communists acted:

1. Non-Communist affidavit provision. This wasn't in Wagner Act. It's in Taft-Hartley. And it was sure to be retained in any compromise. Not being able to get rid of it, the Communists preferred to keep it as part of Taft-Hartley Law, bearing Taft-Hartley stigma. They wanted to be able to curse the provision as a "reactionary, Fascist" device, an integral part of the entire hated T-H law. They didn't want to have such a provision in some new labor law that would be passed with the blessing of both CIO and AFL.

2. Communist Party was eager to put Philip Murray on the spot. Now the Communists in CIO think they can convince many union members that they've been right all along...that their "Progressive" (or Commugressive) Party is the only hope for labor, and Murray has been dead wrong.

It's true that Murray and the AFL leaders, too, were overconfident. Now the Communists expect to cash in with the old "We told you so!"

COMMUNISTS PUSH THEIR PLAN TO SMEAR AND WRECK THE FBI. They and their stooges & dupes are urging investigation of FBI...but what CP really wants is to WRECK it, as far as its work against Communist Fifth Column is concerned. FBI can continue its activities against non-Communist criminals, its investigations of bank robberies and other crimes...but it must stop all investigation of efforts to destroy the country. Says the CP, "The American people must rid the nation of the 'undercover network'."

Now the truth is that J Edgar Hoover has followed a moderate course ...that he has impressed on his agency the necessity of safeguarding the rights of the people, instead of trampling on them in the manner of a Nazi or Communist secret police. If Hoover hadn't tried hard to make the FBI an impartial Govt agency, conscientiously enforcing the law, he would have been involved in many public squabbles long ago. Even so, of course, he hasn't been able to avoid making some enemies. The Communists hate him. And there are politicians in Washington who think their side may lose votes if the embarrassing disclosures of Communist infiltration in Govt aren't stopped. Some of these politicians would like an excuse to hamstring the FBI.

WHAT TO DO: Write Pres Truman and your senators and your congressman, telling them the FBI should be encouraged to increase its investigation

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of the CP...and that any Govt action unfriendly to the FBI will be PRO-Communist in its results, no matter what its avowed purposes may be.

OUR BIGGEST CITY HAS COMMUNISTS & FELLOW-TRAVELERS ON RADIO STATION. It isn't merely a local matter, it's a national scandal when largest city in US puts CP members and other party-liners on its station, WNYC.

Oscar Brand, "the shoeless troubadour", is master of ceremonies on a folk song program on the New York municipal station every Sunday night. Brand was listed as a singer at a party given by a CP branch a few months ago. And he has openly supported Communist fronts, including such a powerful and dangerous one as Civil Rights Congress...the outfit that put up the bail for Gerhart Eisler and for the 11 U S Politbureau members now on trial for plotting against the Govt.

When a Communist front holds a presentation ceremony on the air, that's something. Recently the Young Progressives of America, which is the youth section of the Communists' Third Party, gave Oscar Brand an award. The presentation was made on Brand's WNYC program.

Woody Guthrie is typical of the Communist Party members who sing on Brand's program. Guthrie is a star of the Communists' singing & playing troupe, People's Songs, which is now being reorganized under other names.

Kenneth Spencer, who has sung at Lenin Memorial rallies and other CP functions, also sings occasionally on Oscar Brand's program.

Pete Seeger, who led the singing at Communists' Third Party convention in Phila last July that nominated Wallace for President, is one of Brand's frequent guests. Another is Lee Hays. Seeger & Hays staged a political show of "songs and topical satire" under auspices of Cultural Division of CP a few weeks ago, in honor of the Politbureau members now on trial.

Earl Robinson is "also known as Robert Earl on Communist pamphlets", according to a Congressional committee report, and he's "one of the most prominent American Communists of recent years". Robinson wrote the music of the song, "Ballad for Americans". He's another of Brand's guest stars.

Josh White, one of the top folk balladists in Communist fronts, has also appeared on Oscar Brand's program. So have Richard Dyer-Bennett, Susan Reed, Norman Atkins, Ernie Lieberman, Laura Duncan, Sonny Terry, Hallie Wood, Alan Lomax, Betty Sanders, Maxine Sullivan, and other fronters.

Oscar Brand also appears on television. He sings folk songs on some of the Americana shows on WNBT.

And now he'll sing on CBS, July 10, in a program described below.

CBS IS THE MOST SATISFYING NETWORK FOR THE COMMUNISTS. Exact degree of infiltration by Communist Party members and other Communists in CBS or any other network is hard to determine. But it's plain that NBC and Mutual are LEAST satisfactory to Communists...that American Broadcasting Co is about at halfway point between most satisfactory and least satisfactory ...and that CBS is tops as far as Communists are concerned.

Of course no network is preponderantly on CP's side. A network couldn't do that without being OPENLY pro-Communist...and in that case it would lose most of its advertisers and couldn't survive. But there's such a thing as allowing Communists & pro-Communists an exceptional amount of time on the air...and hiring writers, actors, etc, who support Communist fronts.

Communist Party praises CBS, saying: "CBS has given more leeway to progressive voices in American radio than any other network." When CP uses

the word "progressive", it means anyone or anything that is either Communist or pro-Communist or in accord with the Communist line of the moment.

CBS USES NORMAN CORWIN AND OTHER COMMUNIST-FRONTERS AS WRITERS of documentary programs. These are "fact" programs, dealing with historical and other public events. And CBS takes great pride in them. It uses them for prestige purposes. They're all unsponsored but CBS spends money freely on them, hiring talented people and giving them ample time to do their work.

For these prestige programs, surely only writers with proved anti-totalitarian records should be chosen. But note the CBS writers in 1949.

First was Shirley Graham (biographer of Communist Paul Robeson). She wrote the Jan 25 program, which was in honor of Negro History Week. There are many talented Negro writers who are non-Communist or even definitely ANTI-Communist. How come, then, that CBS picked Shirley Graham?

It isn't necessary to ask whether Shirley Graham is a member of CP. That question becomes largely irrelevant in view of her known record. She OPENLY supported CP's nominees for public office in 1946. She writes for CP's "cultural" magazine, "Masses and Mainstream". She has backed CP's May Day Parade and many Communist fronts, including U S Congress of Intellectuals (for "peace"), which was held at Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, NYCity, in March.

Arnold Perl, highly praised by Communist press, was picked by CBS to write a documentary that was broadcast Feb 2, and another that is coming in September or later. The CP's national newspaper, Daily Worker, used a full column to praise Perl when his documentary was produced. Perl was one of the speakers at the meeting last year that organized a Communist front, Stop Censorship Committee. He was also listed as sponsor of a "cultural conference" arranged by several Communist fronts.

Walter Bernstein, writer for the Communist press, was chosen by CBS to write the Feb 6 documentary. Bernstein has written for CP's "cultural" magazine, "Masses and Main Stream". He has supported CP's May Day Parade, Civil Rights Congress, Jefferson School of Social Science, and the recent U S Congress of Intellectuals. He was a leader of Duncan-Paris Post of American Legion, which lost its charter because of Communist control.

Peter Lyon, backer of many Communist fronts, wrote a documentary for CBS that was broadcast May 22. He has been listed as a supporter of the CP's May Day parade. And he was one of the faculty & advisors of "School of Political Action Techniques", which was held in 1946 by Natl Citizens Political Action Committee, a Communist front. He also sponsored another top front, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences & Professions. In Dec 1946 these two fronts merged as Progressive Citizens of America... and Peter Lyon went on its board of directors.

He supported People's Radio Foundation, a front set up by the Communist Party to try to get an FM license. Surely CBS knows People's Radio Foundation was a front...the whole radio industry knows THAT. Yet Columbia hires Peter Lyon as one of its top writers.

Norman Corwin will be back on CBS July 10...and how the Communists are delighted! Note remarks of Voice of Freedom Committee, a pressure group that fights to put pro-Communists on the air and to keep anti-Communists off. This Communist front sent a directive lately to its "monitors"..that is, its supporters who write pressure letters and make pressure phone calls to radio stations, sponsors, etc. The directive began in capitals:

"NORMAN CORWIN IS BACK. He is writing a new documentary for CBS... Write to CBS, 485 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C., and Norman Corwin at CBS to let them know how much we have missed the Corwin Documentaries, their depth of vision, their wholesome honesty and their rare poetry. Let them know that we are looking forward to the coming broadcast."

Counterattack on June 10 gave a few facts about the raptures of the CP in 1946 when Corwin made a series of 13 broadcasts on CBS, after his "One World" global trip. CP exclaimed that Corwin's broadcasts more than met its high expectations. And Wm Z Foster himself later quoted Corwin admiringly.

Corwin has backed such fronts as American Russian Institute, Natl Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and People's Radio Foundation, which are all on Dept of Justice list of subversive organizations. When Hollywood Communists in 1947 resisted investigation of movie industry by Congress, they held a conference that dishonestly purported to be against "thought control". This conference was under auspices of a big front, Progressive Citizens of America..and Norman Corwin was keynote speaker.

CBS sprang to Corwin's defense when he was named in unprocessed FBI material which Judith Coplon's lawyer recently insisted on reading to jury. CBS said it was sure Corwin was neither a Communist nor a fellow-traveler. But CBS said nothing of the staggeringly long list of CP fronts that Corwin has supported...including U S Congress of Intellectuals, which even the cautious State Dept called a Communist sounding-board. How come that CBS presents Corwin as writer of a documentary on the work of various United Nations agencies that have indirect bearing on subject of peace? What sort of "peace" slant can be expected from a man with Corwin's record?

Lee J Cobb, star of the prize play, "Death of a Salesman", will be narrator on the Sunday, July 10, broadcast of Corwin's documentary. Cobb was listed as a sponsor of U S Congress of Intellectuals. During Stalin-Hitler Pact the records show he supported the big Communist front, American Peace Mobilization, which was then picketing the White House, calling Roosevelt a warmonger. The Daily Worker praised him last year for rejecting an important role in the anti-Communist movie, "The Iron Curtain". Cobb was a speaker at the same fake "anti-thought-control" conference in Hollywood in 1947 at which Norman Corwin made the keynote speech.

CBS picked Corwin...and Cobb...and Oscar Brand, the folksinger, who will be on Corwin program. Where does CBS get its knack of picking such persons, who at the very least are comrades of the comrades?

"DEAR COMRADE"...HERE'S A SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY DOCUMENT, now in possession of Counterattack. It's very short, very simple. It was received by a Chicago member of the CP recently. We reproduce it here exactly:

"Dear Comrade: SPRING! CLEAN UP TIME IS HERE - Your desks, files, pockets and your homes - all excess baggage to be destroyed."

It was signed "Claude" (name of an important Chicago CP'er).

Get rid of all telltale papers...that's the meaning. And similar messages, in writing or by word of mouth, have gone out all over the U S.

Yours faithfully,

July 1, 1949

Counterattack

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Carr, Robert T.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 14, 1947

Dear Mr. Carr:

Mr. Davidson Taylor has handed me your letter of May 5th. I shall attempt to answer your question as briefly and concisely as possible. It would perhaps be best if you regarded this as a private statement.

The principles which guide CBS relationships with minority groups are of long standing and have been expressed on numerous occasions in various forms. Briefly, these principles are as follows:

CBS has pledged itself to both freedom of the air and fairness of the air.

By freedom of the air we mean the right of any speaker, to whom our facilities are made available for public discussion, to express his views, subject only to general laws and the laws of libel and slander, the rule that he may not seek to provoke racial or religious hatred and the ordinary limitations of good taste and the decorum appropriate to the homes of the nation.

By fairness we mean that no discussion must ever be one-sided so long as any qualified spokesman wants to take the other side. The party in power must never dominate the air. No majority must ever monopolize. Minorities must always have fair opportunities to express themselves.

Further to implement this principle of fairness, CBS does not sell time to individuals or groups for the discussion of controversial public issues such as, for example, taxation, legislation or regulation. It supplies its time and its facilities as a public duty and refuses to accept pay for it. The sole exception to this principle is that after candidates for election have been

COPY

nominated, we cease giving time to the political parties and for the duration of the campaign, sell it, because during those few months the parties require, and should have, more time than we can afford to give away.

Our reasons for refusing to sell time for public discussion and for insisting upon giving it away instead, are threefold. First, we believe that we have a public duty to bring such material to our audience regardless of the willingness of others to pay for it. Second, we believe that such discussion should be kept in balance by editorial judgment. If we sold time for the discussion of controversial issues, we would in fairness have to sell to all with the ability and the inclination to buy at a given moment. Thus we should surrender all possibility of regulating the amount of discussion on the air in proportion to other elements of well-balanced programming. Third, and by far the most important, we realize that if we sold time for the discussion of controversial public issues, for the propagation of the views of individuals or groups, we would necessarily allow a powerful public forum to gravitate almost wholly into the hands of those with the means to buy it.

We shall, of course, be very glad indeed to supply you with any additional information you may require.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert K. Carr
The Presidents Committee on Civil Rights
1712 G Street, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

dm

TO Mr Ream

From MR. E. R. MURROW

This was drafted by Mr Gray - Seems ok to me. What say?

OK, but feel you should point out that this, in itself, is not a public statement & not to be treated as such

J

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THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1712 G Street NW., Room 208, Washington 25, D. C.

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ROBERT K. CARR,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 5, 1947

Murrow

Mr. ~~Davidson Taylor~~
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

The President's Committee on Civil Rights is interested in the treatment of minority groups in the principal communication means, including radio. We would like to have copies of any policy statements -- public or private -- which your network has for the coverage of news about, or programs involving, racial, religious and national origin minorities.

Since we are working under pressure of time, we hope that you will let us have this information at your earliest convenience.

For your convenience in replying, there is enclosed a franked, self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Robert K. Carr

Robert K. Carr

Enclosure

The following is a statement by Mr. William S. Paley and Dr. Frank Stanton, Chairman of the Board of Directors and President, respectively, of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., in response to questions put by Newsweek in a letter dated March 17, 1954. The statement sets out policies which CBS has developed over the years, and have governed CBS broadcasting practices.

QUESTION: Should Television Editorialize?

ANSWER: The answer to the question whether television and radio should editorialize must be broken down into several parts. The answer hinges on the type of program which is involved.

a. News Programs

In radio and television programs devoted to the current news or news analysis, CBS policy insists that there should be no editorializing. CBS policy on this score has been articulated by providing that CBS news and news analysis programs are broadcast

> "solely for the purpose of enabling the listeners thereto to know facts - so far as they are ascertainable - and so to elucidate, illuminate and explain facts and situations as fairly to enable the listener to weigh and judge for himself.
>
> "In other words: Columbia endeavors to assist the listener in weighing and judging developments throughout the world, but refrains particularly with respect to all controversial, political, social and economic questions from trying to make up the listener's mind for him."

b. The Policy on Network or Station Editorial Programs

In the pattern of mass communications as part of the fabric of

freedom, we believe that a broadcasting station or network has the same right to editorialize and the same right to independent expression as the free press. It is our firm belief that the expression of informed opinion contributes to the awareness and understanding of an issue. Conversely, we believe that the suppression of opinion and independent thought -- whether it be on the printed page or over the air waves -- limits public understanding.

When a station or network exercises its right to editorialize, however, it is vitally important for it to separate opinion from news. Opinion should be clearly labeled as such. The listener is entitled to know what he is receiving, news or opinion, and if it be opinion, who's opinion.

c. Other types of Programs

There are, of course, types of programs other than those devoted primarily to current news and news analysis and to the expression of opinions. One such type of program is the feature or documentary program and, in such a program, the expression of opinion or editorialization might take place.

In the production of such programs by CBS, it can and does at times delegate responsibility for the program content and for the expression of opinion (if any) to one of its staff members. It is careful, of course, not to delegate such responsibility except to one in whose integrity and devotion to democratic principles CBS reposes complete confidence.

If this type of program is sponsored, the sponsor does not thereby purchase or in any way gain any right to control the contents of the program or the expression of opinion in it.

If there is expression of opinion or editorialization either by

CBS itself or by its staff member in the course of the feature or documentary program, itself, the program remains bound by the basic and overriding policies of fairness and balance which are discussed in greater detail in the answer to the second question.

In the case of programs which are organized and designed primarily for entertainment, and not for the expression of news and opinions, it is CBS policy to avoid the expression of opinion on controversial issues by its performers or by other people appearing on such entertainment programs. Nevertheless, it sometimes occurs that despite reasonable efforts and despite such policy, there is some expression of opinion by a program participant. This happens particularly on programs for which there is no set advance script. If, despite safeguards, opinions on controversial issues are expressed on such programs, the same overriding rule of fairness and balance prevails, including the opportunity for opposing viewpoints to be heard on subsequent programs.

d. The Right of Others to Editorialize

CBS believes that since it reserves the right itself to editorialize in the manner described above, it would be improper to deny this right to others who wish to use its broadcasting facilities for the expression of opinions in similar types of programs. Hence, CBS reserves the right to sell time for the expression of opinion on public issues. But as in the case of its own editorializing, editorials and opinions on programs sponsored by others must be separated from the news and must be clearly labeled as editorial and opinion broadcasting. And similarly, as discussed in the answer to

the second question, the same principles of over-all fairness and balance remain controlling.

QUESTION: What Should the Ground Rules be for Fairness?

ANSWER: It is a basic CBS policy that all significant viewpoints on any controversial public issue be afforded the opportunity for expression over CBS facilities in order that CBS listeners or viewers can then make their own informed choice.

If a CBS broadcast presents one side of a controversial issue -- regardless of whether it is presented as a CBS editorial, or as the opinion of a CBS staff member, or as an opinion expressed in time sold for that purpose, or even expressed inadvertently in the course of an entertainment program -- CBS strives to afford an opportunity to other interested persons in order to provide appropriate balance.

This policy of making our facilities available to designated, qualified spokesmen representing opposing views on issues of public interest is the cornerstone of the CBS principle of fairness and balance. But the execution of the policy cannot be reduced to a mathematical formula or even to a set of rigid rules which are self-executing and will cover all possible circumstances. In achieving fairness and balance, the exercise of judgment by station or network management to assure fair play must control.

Because of the great impact of the two media and because of their great potentials for good or evil, we believe that every operator of a radio and television station or network has an overriding responsibility to train and discipline himself so as affirmatively to want to be fair. By the very

nature of his business, a broadcaster is brought into intimate contact with all the daily events and pressures of our political system; inevitably, he is bound to have his own personal biases and views. No thinking person who keeps his eyes and ears open today can avoid coming to personal conclusions about the issues of the day.

But this most certainly does not mean that the broadcaster cannot effectively maintain a policy of fairness and balance. He can and will maintain that policy if he steadfastly intends to do so. If the intent is present, the fact that it is wholly impossible not to be influenced by personal tastes, environment, background, and political and social leanings, is immaterial. Whether the medium is magazines, newspapers, radio or television, the will to be fair is a strong assurance of fairness in fact.

Fairness is not assured by self-sterilization -- by being so frightened or nervous of the powerful impact of the medium that opinions are required to die before utterance. As has been said so often, it is essential, in order to maintain a vital democracy, to assure a free market place for the exchange of ideas. Surely, this objective is defeated if broadcasters were forbidden to disseminate opinions. Rather than prohibition, protection against possible abuse is best achieved by the steadfast purpose of each broadcaster, in his broadcasting operations, to give each side an opportunity to be heard and to be heard fully, fairly and effectively.

Undoubtedly there may be abuses, as there are in other media. But we have enough faith in the vitality of the democratic process, in the intelligence of the American people and in the freshness of the competitive

climate to believe that the good will and fair intent of most broadcasters, coupled with the powerful voice of the people, will provide far better protection against abuse than any form of control.

QUESTION: Is There a Difference Between a Newspaper and Radio or Television When It Comes to Editorializing?

ANSWER: CBS believes there is no difference among the various media in respect of editorializing. Newspapers should, and good newspapers do, follow the same rules of fairness and balance that CBS follows.

It is fallacious to argue that there are certain inherent peculiarities in broadcasting which should deprive it of the right to express opinions. Most often, those who would deny broadcasters the right to express opinions over the air base their argument on the so-called "scarcity" theory. The argument runs that anyone can start a newspaper, but the air belongs to the people; a government license is needed to start a radio or television station; and the number of available frequencies is limited.

The fact that the air belongs to the people is irrelevant in this context. So do the mails through which the printed medium finds much of its circulation, yet no one suggests that this warrants a policy of forbidding newspaper or magazine editorials. And in any event, the scarcity theory is wrong in fact. There are about 3,000 radio stations in the United States; there are today less than 2,000 English-language daily newspapers. There are about 2,000 channels available for television stations; there are now 372 stations on the air; by the end of the year there will be about 450 stations on the air, and the number will increase steadily thereafter. In New York City,

there are only nine daily newspapers, but there are now fifteen radio stations and seven television stations. In Chicago, there are four daily newspapers, four television stations and sixteen radio stations. In Los Angeles, there are five daily newspapers (owned by only three groups), while there are thirteen radio stations and eight television stations. In Washington, D. C., there are three daily newspapers, fourteen radio stations and four television stations.

It is clear, therefore, that the "scarcity" theory furnishes no basis for denying to broadcasters the right to editorialize.

QUESTION: <u>What About a Situation When a Professional Radio or Television Man Disagrees With Someone Who, Unversed in Radio or Television, Will Not Have All the Techniques That Would Make for an Effective Answer?</u>

In other words, could unfairness creep in if the accuser is a pro and the defendant an amateur?

ANSWER: In any form of debate or disagreement among people there is almost inevitably an unequal match in some respects. There are almost always differences in delivery, content and personality among speakers. This obtains in any field. A person who feels himself aggrieved by a newspaper editorial may well not be as adept, as literate and as trained to write persuasively as the editorial writer -- who, after all, is chosen for those precise abilities. There are no external methods of equalizing these inherent differences.

But radio and television are particularly appropriate means to bring out the truth or to equalize what might otherwise be the disadvantages of the "amateur." Radio and television bring a speaker into the home. When a man

speaks over the radio, nothing comes between his voice and the ears of his listener; his words and manner of expression need pass through no third person. And television, too, is immediate; the viewer can hear and see the whole man as he delivers his words. Thus the intimacy and immediacy of these media may well place at an advantage the "amateur" where each viewer or listener can see and hear the "amateur" directly and where a premium is placed on personal impressions of natural sincerity and candor.

We do not believe that it would be appropriate for CBS to undertake the responsibility of producing a program for someone who wishes to reply to something which has already been said over CBS facilities. To do so would be to oblige the same staff which produced the pro, also to produce the con. This would be something like asking the attorney for the plaintiff to represent the defendant after the plaintiff's case is in. On the other hand, our studio experts -- the camera men, the audio men, the director and the others who are immediately responsible for putting on the best program possible -- must exercise their full energies not to place at a disadvantage the one who answers as well as the one who attacks.

QUESTION: <u>Will There Probably Be More Editorializing on Radio and Television, Especially Television?</u>

ANSWER: We are unable to answer this for other broadcasters. As for CBS, the reaction caused by "See It Now" will not alter our programming structure or our policies.

QUESTION: Is Television More Sure of Itself Than it Was Say Three Years Ago? Is It More Sure of Itself than Radio is or Used to Be?

We are not quite sure of the meaning of this question.

QUESTION: Is There any Difference Between Radio Editorializing and Television Editorializing? Is It More than Just a Matter of Degree? (Television having more impact than radio?)

ANSWER: Each medium is different than the other. But, though each medium has a different way of expressing itself and each applies its special talents to the most effective extent possible, the basic rules of fairness and balance, and the basic rights, are the same.

COPY

THE AUTHORS LEAGUE OF AMERICA INC.

SIX EAST THIRTY-NINTH STREET. NEW YORK 16, N. Y. TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 9-4950

December 28, 1950

Mr. J. H. Ream
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ream:

The Council of The Authors League has instructed us to inform you that the League has taken note of the action of CBS in requiring its employees to answer loyalty questionnaires. Since a number of members of one of the affiliated Guilds of The Authors League, The Radio Writers Guild, are affected by your order, the League wishes to make certain observations on it and to request certain assurances from you in connection with it.

Our opinion is that the only valid defense of American democracy will consist of a re-affirmation and a strengthening of its ideals and its established processes. If the kind of personal liberties which are defined in the first ten amendments to the Constitution are ever lost, the democracy we wish to defend will have been lost. We recognize that in times of stress in the past certain personal liberties have been curtailed. We feel that in the present crisis, the issue of individual civil liberties has become one of the central issues at conflict, and that no sacrifice in those liberties should be permitted without the most careful scrutiny.

In the light of such scrutiny we have reached the following conclusions about your order:

1) It establishes the principle that a writer's employment may depend upon his politics. The Authors League has always taken the view that a writer's employment should depend upon his writings. We fully understand that under wartime conditions precautions have to be taken, especially in the field of communications, against subversion and sabotage, and that the move by CBS has been taken in the name of such precautions. Nevertheless, we deplore the principle that the hiring or firing of a writer should be decided by his politics, without recourse to the proper channels for security against subversion already established and now being extended by the United States Government. Your technique goes outside and beyond these channels and arrogates to one corporation a type of function which has traditionally belonged to the Federal Government. Unless and until this power is delegated to private corporations in a legal and orderly manner, it seems to us improper for a single company haphazardly to take it.

Mr. J. H. Ream
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. December 28, 1950

2) The CBS questionnaire is more likely to condemn the loyal unjustly than to discover the disloyal. In days of hysteria like these, the mere hint that a man has ever had Communistic connections may damage his earning power indefinitely. No safeguards against this happening to those who are loyal have been announced by CBS. A fundamental safeguard, it seems to us, would be a guarantee not to deprive a writer of his job on any ground except incompetence without a hearing.

3) The questionnaire is not flexible; it does not take into account the passage of time. In checking on all present and past affiliations, it equates, for instance, the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact with the period when the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia were wartime allies; and both those periods with the present time. Majority opinion and the national interest have shifted with the times: your questionnaire makes no acknowledgement of that fact. Nor does it admit that men may change their minds.

4) The questionnaire seems to us negative in intent and in effect. It asks a writer to prove his loyalty to the United States by denying that he has ever belonged to certain organizations. As only a positive loyalty can be of value to the nation, so only an affirmative means of determining it -- and of inspiring it -- can be justified as being of any use.

5) We have serious doubts as to the effectiveness of your method. If a man is dedicated to the overthrow of a form of government and a society, why should he think twice about lying to a corporation?

We make the above observations because we feel that those of our members who are in your employment are entitled to assurances from you that their rights under law will in no way be curtailed or disturbed by your action; further, that those among them who are affirmatively loyal to their country and to its traditions of freedom of conscience are entitled to assurance from you that their individual reputations will in no instance and in no way be damaged by your questionnaire or by any use that is made of it.

We request assurances from you on both these headings in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Hammerstein, II (signed)
Oscar Hammerstein, II
President

John Hersey (signed)
John Hersey
Vice President

Erik Barnouw (signed)
Erik Barnouw
Secretary

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 203

Communism

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To The Organization

From Mr. Ream

Station

December 19, 1950

In the last war radio, and CBS, played a vital and important role. In some areas our operations -- short wave programming and transmitter operation, and laboratory developmental work -- were under direct contract with the federal government. The value of broadcasting's contribution has been attested by high government officials and, even more significantly, by the many millions of listeners who depended on radio for information, inspiration and entertainment during the period of crisis.

Today, we are faced with a new crisis in our national life. The President of the United States has declared a national emergency.

If we are to fulfill our obligations and responsibilities as radio and television broadcasters in this new crisis, we must do at least two things: First, we must make sure that our broadcasting operations in the public interest are not interrupted by sabotage or violence; second, we must make sure that the full confidence of our listeners and viewers is unimpaired.

EXECUTIVE FILES

To accomplish the first objective we will institute measures for physical security generally similar to those existing in the last war.

To accomplish the second objective we are asking each employee to answer the questions on the form attached, which we will keep confidential, unless at some future time the information is demanded by a governmental security agency. These questions are identical to those appearing in the Civil Service Commission application for federal employment.

Because of the unique nature of broadcasting, it is most important that, for the good of both the country and our own organization, there be no question concerning loyalty to our country of any CBS employee. We are all aware that in the past year certain groups have raised questions concerning alleged subversive influences in broadcasting. It is important that the true facts -- based on the statement of each employee -- be established.

J. H. R.

Note: Please return signed questionnaire to your department head or, if you prefer, direct to my office.

To
Columbia Broadcasting System:

My answers to the following questions are as checked below:

	Yes	No
1. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party, USA, or any Communist organization?	☐	☐
2. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of a Fascist organization?	☐	☐
3. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government, or of an organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons which has adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States or of seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means?	☐	☐

If answer to Question 1, 2 or 3 above is "yes", state below the names of all such organizations, associations, movements, groups, or combinations of persons and dates of membership. Give complete details of your activities therein and make any explanation you desire regarding your membership or activities therein.

A consolidated list, issued October 30, 1950, of organizations and groups designated totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive by the Attorney General of the United States appears on the back hereof.

DETAILS OR EXPLANATIONS, IF ANY:

Dated....., 19.....

Signature.....

CONSOLIDATED LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS
Designated Totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or Subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, Issued October 30, 1950

Totalitarian

Black Dragon Society.
Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai).
Central Japanese Association of Southern California.
Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan of Military Art Society of Japan).
Heimuska Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibel Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibei Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association).
Hinode Kai (Imperial Japanese Reservists).
Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans).
Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association).
Japanese Association of America.
Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai).
Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940.
Japanese Protective Association (Recruiting Organization).
Jikyoku lin Kai (Current Affairs Association).
Kibei Seinen Kai (Association of U. S. citizens of Japanese ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan).
Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans).
Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (The Great Fujii Theater).
Northwest Japanese Association.
Peace Movement of Ethiopa.
Sakura Kai (Patriotic Society, or Cherry Association—composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War).
Shinto Temples.
Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society).
Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers Association Los Angeles).

Fascist

American Nationalist Party.
American National Labor Party.
American National Socialist League.
American National Socialist Party.
American Patriots, Inc.
Ausland - Organization der NS DAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party.
Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung).
Central Organization of the German - American National Alliance (Deutsche - Amerikanische Einheitsfront).
Citizens Protective League.
Committee for Nationalist Action.
Dante Alighieri Society.
Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U. S. A. Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America).
Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands).
German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund).
German - American Republican League.
German - American Vocational League Deutsche - Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft).
Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund), Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft).
Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kreigshilfswerk).
Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts).
Mario Morgantini Circle.
National Blue Star Mothers of America.
Nationalist Action League.

Communist

Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Ill.
Action Committee to Free Spain Now.
American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions.
American Committee for European Workers' Relief.
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
American Committee for Spanish Freedom.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity.
American Council on Soviet Relations.
American Croatian Congress.
American Jewish Labor Council.
American League Against War and Fascism.
American League for Peace and Democracy.
American Peace Mobilization.
American Polish Labor Council.
American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee).
American Russian Institute, New York.
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia.
American Russian Institute (of San Francisco).
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles.
American Slav Congress.
American Youth Congress.
American Youth for Democracy.
Armenian Progressive League of America.
Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Mass.
California Labor School, Inc., 216 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, aka Central Council of American Women, National Council of Croatian Women.
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges.
Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
- Civil Rights Congress for Texas.
- Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York.

Comite Coordinator Pro Republica Espanola.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.
Communist Party, U. S. A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City).
- Committee to Aid the Fighting South.
- Daily Worker Press Club.
- Dennis Defense Committee.
- Labor Research Association, Inc.
- Southern Negro Youth Congress.
- United May Day Committee.
- United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.
- Yiddisher Kultur Farband.

Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Florida Press and Educational League.
- Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas.
- Virginia League for Peoples Education.

Connecticut State Youth Conference.
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers.
Congress of American Women.
Council on African Affairs.
Council for Pan-American Democracy.
Detroit Youth Assembly.
Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee).
Friends of the Soviet Union.
George Washington Carver School, New York City.
Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee.
Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense.
Hungarian-American Council for Democracy.
Independent Socialist League.
International Labor Defense.
International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- American-Russian Fraternal Society.
- Carpatho-Russian Peoples Society.
- Cervantes Fraternal Society.
- Croatian Benevolent Fraternity.
- Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society.
- Garibaldi American Fraternal Society.
- Hellenic-American Brotherhood.
- Hungarian Brotherhood.
- Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order.
- People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
- Polonia Society of the IWO.
- Romanian - American Fraternal Society.
- Serbian-American Fraternal Society.
- Slovak Workers Society.
- Ukranian-American Fraternal Union.

Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City.
Jewish Peoples Committee.
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Mo.
Labor Youth League.
League of American Writers.
Macedonian-American People's League.
Michigan Civil Rights Federation.
Michigan School of Social Science.
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.
National Committee to Win the Peace.
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a Conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).
National Council of Americans of Crotian Descent.
National Conncil of American-Soviet Friendship.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
National Negro Congress.
Nature Friends of America (since 1935).
Negro Labor Victory Committee.
New Committee for Publications.
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
North American Spanish Aid Committee.
Ohio School of Social Sciences.
Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners.
Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone).
Peoples Educational Association (incorporated under name Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc.), aka Peoples Educational Center, Peoples University, People's School.
People's Institute of Applied Religion.
Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art.
Photo League (New York City).
Progressive German-Americans, aka Progressive German-Americans of Chicago.
Proletarian Party of America.
Revolutionary Workers League.
Samuel Adams School, Boston, Mass.
Schappes Defense Committee.
Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee.
School of Jewish Studies, New York City.
Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
Serbian Vidovdan Council.
Slovenian - American National Council.
Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief.
Socialist Youth League.
Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa.
Tom Paine School of Westchester, N. Y.
Union of American Crotians.
United American Spanish Aid Committee.
United Committee of South Slavic Americans.
United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization.
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, N. J.
Washington Bookshop Association.
Washington Committee for Democratic Action.
Washington Commonwealth Federation.
Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation.
Workers Alliance.
Workers Party, including Socialist Youth League.
Young Communist League.

Subversive

Communist Party, U. S. A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates.
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Florida Press and Educational League.
- Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas.
- Virginia League for Peoples Education.
- German-American Bund.
- Independent Socialist League.

Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone).
Socialist Workers Party.
Workers Party.
Young Communist League.

Organizations which have "adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States":

American Christian Nationalist Party.
Associated Klans of America.
Association of Georgia Klans.
Columbians.
Knights of the White Camellia.
Ku Klux Klan.
Original Southern Klans, Incorporated.
Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
Silver Shirt Legion of America.

Organizations which "seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means":

Communist Party, U. S. A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates.
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including:
- Florida Press and Educational League.
- Peoples Educational and Press Association of Texas.
- Virginia League for Peoples Education.
- Independent Socialist League.

Industrial Workers of the World.
Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico.
Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone).
Socialist Workers Party.
Workers Party.
Young Communist League.

January 2, 1951

Mr. Oscar Hammerstein, II, President
Mr. John Hersey, Vice President
Mr. Erik Barnouw, Secretary
The Authors League of America Inc.
6 East 39 Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 28, and I will try to answer the questions which you have raised.

In this period of national emergency, the unique nature of broadcasting requires that we do two things: make sure that our broadcasting operations in the public interest are not interrupted by sabotage or violence, and make sure that the full confidence of our listeners and viewers is unimpaired.

With respect to your request for assurances, I want to say first, and categorically, that the rights under law of your members who are in our employ will in no way be curtailed or disturbed by our request for answers to the loyalty questionnaire.

Second, there is no intention that the reputation of any loyal American will be damaged by the questionnaire or any use made of it. In fact, as I pointed out in my memorandum of December 19, we will hold the information confidential, except as we are obligated to make it available to a government security agency. We believe that it is important, in view of questions which have been raised concerning subversive influences in broadcasting, that we make every attempt to know the true facts.

I expect to meet today for a discussion with your representatives. To the end that such a discussion may resolve as many doubts as possible, it may be desirable if I commented at this time on other parts of your letter.

The preservation of individual civil liberties is unquestionably one of the central issues in our conflict with world

Communism. If these are lost, I most certainly agree that the democracy we wish to defend will have been lost. Any curtailment in a period of national emergency should be strictly circumscribed and reasonably calculated to serve a desirable or necessary purpose. In following the Civil Service Commission form which has been in use for more than three years and has been subscribed by many hundreds of thousands of federal employees, we believe that individual rights have been accorded prime consideration.

There has been nothing haphazard about the step we have taken. We have given many months of the most conscientious study to the problem. The consequences of subversive infiltration in broadcasting are probably more serious than in many government bureaus and agencies. Also, it can scarcely be doubted that subversives regard radio as a most fruitful field wherein to exert their influence. The declaration of the national emergency seemed to us to require a formal recognition of our responsibilities as broadcasters.

I take it from your letter, however, that you agree that it is proper for us to take steps to protect the security of our programs and operations, but that you question the specific step we have taken. Apparently you feel that in some respects it goes too far, and also you question its effectiveness.

The answer lies in how intelligently and fairly the program is administered, and this obviously cannot be proved or disproved in advance. Our record over the years in the field of controversial public issues involving public opinion should provide substantial assurance to you that fairness will be our touchstone.

As to the specific points listed in your letter, I have the following comments:

In the first place, employment will not depend on an individual's politics. We are not concerned with that, but with loyalty.

Next, we necessarily have to evaluate the reported subversive connections. I have indicated to our staff group that I am available to discuss with any employee any questions which he may have. Also, in cases where I may have questions, I intend

to seek discussion with the employee concerned.

In your third point you assume that we will treat membership in organizations during the period, for example, when Soviet Russia was our wartime ally in the same way that we would view such membership which may exist at the present time. This is completely inaccurate. You will notice from the questionnaire that we invite details and explanations, which of course includes dates, of any reported membership. These facts necessarily are important in any evaluation process. Obviously, membership in a listed group in the late '30's or during the war is vastly different than membership in more recent years.

We hope that the questionnaire is not negative in intent or effect, and we do not think it is. Certainly there is ample opportunity to include as much detail as desired concerning affirmative evidence of active loyalty -- and there is some basis to hope that the questionnaire may inspire affirmative action in this direction.

Finally, I wish I could give you an unqualified assurance that the questionnaire will be completely effective in accomplishing our purpose. Again that will depend on how well the program is administered. It can be observed, however, that untruthful answers will, I am convinced, be of no benefit -- but the contrary -- to the person who indulges in them.

I am looking forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

Joseph H. Ream (signed)

[Text of Cable from McClure, Tehran, Iran, April 6, 1954]

File III 4-1

Paley my deputy 1944 and 45. German press reconstitution governed by "manual for information control Germany" published by SHAEF April 1945 after months of careful work in preparation and coordination. Board to select editors and publishers included, initially, British and American senior political advisors in SHAEF. Very possible information on which to accuse stems from Congressman Dondero's attacks on reserve Major Hein Bnordeo and myself in 1946 and 47. See Congressional Record. Anticipating possible personal attack in 1951 or 1952 I had documented the background. Documentation should be in my personal files either with PSYWAR Division DA or now with G2, DA, for safe keeping. My journals likewise with G2 for safe keeping and if necessary could be opened by a discreet G2 officer and period 1945 and later scanned for Ngrden-Dondero information during Berlin period. Paley had less responsibility for selection editors than I. I operated under US policy which called for proportional representation in politics, public office, etc and was stated by General Clay to apply to press, radio, etc. Any investigation Paley will involve me, General Clay, and Ambassador Murphy. Accusations against Paley may be flank attack on army. Additional sources detailed information on this subject John Minary, my special assistant, Esther Pulis (Corcoran) WAC assistant executive and secretary, Murray Gurfein, Chief PSYWAR Intelligence and Evaluation Section, all ex-reserve Lieut Colonels. Would appreciate being kept informed.

PLEASE RETURN TO
CBS REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

JUNE 1948

Harper's MAGAZINE

beginning W. Somerset Maugham's new novel

CATALINA

A Continent Slides to Ruin
by William Vogt

Great Newspapers, If Any
by Gerald W. Johnson

The Book Club Controversy
by Merle Miller

For Other Articles and Stories See Third Page

ANC

THE GERMAN WHO SHOULD HAVE BEEN DEAD

Illustrations by
Frederick E. Banbery

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

I DON'T know whether General Clay is embarrassed when he thinks about Emil Carlebach. I know that I am, and that several others in America share my feeling—men now going about their humdrum business, who happened to be involved in the case through the vagaries of war assignments. Not that Carlebach desires our blushes or would thank us for them; but we are embarrassed because his story keeps reminding us how little prepared America was—in a political sense but more basically a moral one—to win the war against the fascist powers.

Before the Germans surrendered, a group of us were in Frankfurt-on-Main with the job of starting a German newspaper there. Carlebach's name, with the description "journalist," came up on a list of Buchenwald survivors. In May, the man himself walked into our office.

We had been interviewing the flotsam of the Third Reich since the end of April, and Carlebach's youthful virility made an immediate impression. The stamp of the KZ (Concentration Camp) was still upon him: his dark hair close-cropped, his cheeks hollow, emphasizing the high cheekbones and the powerful flashing eyes. His wit and irony deepened the impression. It was hard to get him to talk about himself; he rarely even used the first person singular. His manner toward us was that of an equal. He did not play the martyr at all, in contrast with dozens of others—anti-Nazis and "collaborators by compulsion"—who wept or wrung their hands in self-pity.

One recognized in him a man with a strong personality of his own, which he had submerged by an act of will; a man who had patiently acquired collective

Mr. Belfrage is a British author and journalist who served with the SHAEF Psychological Warfare Division and helped start the first postwar German newspapers.

thinking as a habit—as after long effort a linguist acquires the habit of thinking in a foreign tongue. Eleven years in concentration camps had pounded the last trace of sentimentality out of his mind and beaten the fat off his body. The effect, on first meeting him, was rather terrifying.

One of the Germans we had interviewed was Wilhelm Hollbach, who had been editing a Goebbels newspaper until twenty-four hours before our troops arrived and who now claimed he "never compromised in his soul." Military Government had made Hollbach Burgomaster of Frankfurt, but he wanted to return to journalism, and that was a question for us to decide. We had asked him whether he thought Germans who did not compromise in their souls should take precedence with us over those who went to KZ rather than compromise at all.

"If there are such journalists alive," Hollbach had replied, "who took an active part against the Nazis and went to KZ for it, they would be ideal for a democratic newspaper. But unfortunately such men are dead."

Unfortunately for Hollbach's professional future and for our own complacency—the occupation forces having brought from across the Atlantic a cops-and-robbers concept of Nazis and anti-Nazis, into which the case as it developed simply would not fit—Carlebach was not dead, but very much alive. He had fought from the beginning, and emerged with his fists doubled to continue the fight to the end which, he was fanatically certain, was not yet. His attitude about Buchenwald was: "All that is past, but memory of the past remains fresh for us as a spur and guide to action in the present. In the camp we could not permit ourselves the luxury of unrealistic tendencies. We had to learn how to survive and remain in the fight. Antifascists of sixteen countries and of various ideologies learned the meaning of solidarity in the struggle."

The first lesson Carlebach had to learn on emerging to freedom was that the new authority in Germany, while it praised him for fighting, condemned him at the same time because he had done it for the wrong reasons.

Carlebach was a Communist.

II

He was not a Communist in 1933. He was a youth of nineteen, with a cultured and searching mind, in a well-to-do family which had yielded four rabbis. After his first fling with the anti-Hitler underground—he was not the kind of Jew to sit hating Nazism in an armchair—he got away to France. But he soon returned, unable to tolerate the emigré life.

His road led quickly to Dachau and then to Buchenwald, where he was classified not by politics but by "race." It was in Buchenwald that he espoused the Marxist faith "because," as he said, "the Communists were kindest to the Jews, who were always worse treated than anyone else." He told us little about his KZ experience, except that he had ended up as Block Senior of the Jewish block and one of the camp underground's central group, and that after liberation his fellow-prisoners of Frankfurt had elected him to represent them in dealing with the Americans. We also knew that in the last phase at Buchenwald, when he and forty-five other leaders were marked for extermination by the SS, the camp underground saved all their lives by keeping them hidden in the ground for nine days.

The first onslaught against him from inside our forces came within a few days of his nomination for the seven-man editorial board of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*—weeks before the paper appeared. Our honeymoon with the USSR was still on, and an official pamphlet was circulating among our troops showing that the Communist Revolution had contributed in some measure toward democracy in Russia. We went ahead, under our directives, assembling editors on the principle of the utmost co-operation among active anti-Nazis of all shadings.

Since we had no authority to take into account the reasons for which an anti-Nazi opposed Nazism, the attack on Carlebach could not then be based on any standards but those of personal morality. It came from an intelligence team in our own organization, which had been making an investigation in Buchenwald. Certain ex-inmates of the camp had accused Carlebach of using his political connec-

tions to get leading or soft positions for himself, of intriguing with the SS, and of being an accessory to murder by putting his enemies' names on "shipping-out" lists—*i.e.*, lists of prisoners going to almost certain death.

When we told the other six editors (three of them Social Democrats, one a Catholic) about the charges against Carlebach, they re-affirmed their faith in him and desire to work with him; they were all desperately anxious for our working model of the *Zusammenarbeit* principle and knew a good deal more than we did about the realities of the Hitler terror. We considered this so important that we headed off final action by our headquarters pending methodical examination of Carlebach and all other ex-Buchenwalders in town. We realized how shallow our knowledge was of the problem with which we had to deal, and felt it presumptuous to set up moral standards for the conduct of KZ inmates so airily as it was done in the intelligence report. Above all, we believed it important that a decision be reached free from political bias.

The interrogation of Buchenwald graduates, most of whom held Carlebach in the highest regard, made our standards of personal morality look absurd and showed that the only relevant standard was a group one. The Buchenwald underground, which Carlebach helped organize and lead, was utterly ruthless, dominated by the Communists, and very effective in the breadth of the forces it united. It was ruthless because if it had not been so it could have achieved nothing—could not, indeed, have existed. The Communists made it effective because they were trained in underground struggle and because, in a camp eventually containing prisoners of so many warring nationalities, the German, French, Balkan, Russian, and other Communists shared a supranational faith which unified them positively.

It was certainly true, as our intelligence team reported, that Carlebach had been intriguing in the camp. He had been living in an atmosphere of total intrigue to which his every action was dedicated. The only problem for the prisoners was survival. The aim of survival, as far as the underground was concerned, was to resume the struggle against Hitlerism on the outside.

The best possibility of survival lay in organizing to capture the key positions in the prisoner-apparatus of Block Seniors and so on, which the SS had set up to help run the camp. These positions were occupied, until 1938, by the so-called "Greens" (wearers of green badges)—the professional criminals, who were deliberately chosen to complete the brutalization of the political prisoners, the "Reds." The intrigue of the "Reds," which took until 1944 to achieve complete success, was to persuade the SS that the grafting, thieving, blackmailing "Greens" were more trouble than they were worth, and that with "Reds" in these positions the SS would be able to take life more easily. The SS had to be convinced, of course, that the "Reds" could keep order not only more "honestly" but just as ruthlessly as the "Greens."

That Carlebach—a "Red" in fact, but wearing a Jewish badge—obtained the

Block Seniorship through his Communist connections was one way of saying what happened, but hardly an accurate one. The underground committee had instructed him to intrigue for that position, and from first to last he carried out its instructions; had he failed to carry them out (as even his enemies admitted) he would have been liquidated by the committee. In any event, it is perhaps not for one who has never been in a KZ to judge how soft the position was. The responsibility that went with it was grim, the demands on a man's nerves immeasurable in our terms. When the SS wanted so many men to be "shipped out" never to return, the Block Senior had to prepare the list of names.

It was murder, yes—but what a quaint word in the Buchenwald setting! Any prisoner might have to act as a murderer any day; for example, the SS might order him, for their diversion, to roll a barrel about the parade ground, containing a fellow-prisoner and lined and covered with barbed wire. Someone had to prepare the "shipping-out" list, and the designated number of prisoners had to die. Was it better that the list should be drawn up by a conscious and dedicated enemy of fascism or by a professional criminal?

By whatever set of morals we may choose to judge, there is no reasonable doubt that Carlebach took the responsibility with full understanding and the assurance that the choice was right. Naturally he made enemies among friends and relatives of prisoners "shipped out," and among those who, never wavering in their belief that Communism is as bad as Fascism, would not join in the activities of the camp underground. The selection of prisoners for the lists was made coldly and methodically, according to the committee's agreed plan.

"When he received orders to ship out so many people," said one former inmate of Carlebach's block, "he selected those least likely to be able to fight. He told me that 'if we intend to continue the fight the young people are best fitted for it.'" The informant added: "I hated Carlebach for what he did to my uncle, who was my only surviving relative. But I am grateful to him for my own life. He was kind to me and to all the younger people, and he protected me from hard labor." The version of Carlebach's motives given by this man, a twenty-two-year-old infantile paralysis cripple with no crystallized politics, was confirmed by the majority of witnesses, and was accepted as justification for Carlebach to retain his editor's license.

III

We have heard much about how the Buchenwald inmates looked to the Americans who first entered the camp; little about how the Americans looked to the inmates.

"They were," said Carlebach, "like creatures out of another world, and went about the camp with a curious air of detachment and casualness, attempting—but without the possibility of success—to

hide their emotions at what they saw. One could hardly realize how little the ordinary man in the free world knew of what had become so sickeningly familiar to us. Many Americans had no idea that the crimes of the Nazis were not simply a matter of the abuse of military prisoners and enemy populations since 1938. They were astonished to learn that Germans—not only during the war but long before—had been treated in exactly the same manner."

And Carlebach added, typically: "An analysis of how and why this fact was kept from them would be not without interest."

The Americans learned that 51,000 antifascists of nearly all European nations had perished in Buchenwald; but what most astonished them, when they heard what had been going on during the last weeks there, was that 21,000 survived. Not only had they survived, but they had already risen against the remnants of the SS some hours before our forces took charge. Buchenwald was under the orderly control of the underground cadres, armed with stolen SS weapons, and was formally handed over to the liberators by the camp Senior. A few days later, when the "German" and "Allied" survivors of the horror marched together to the parade for a "roll-call of freedom," the American officer who replied to the Senior's expression of thanks said: "We salute you and congratulate you on your liberation. Through your own achievements you have strongly supported our struggle and our common cause."

The achievements to which he paid tribute were (uncomfortable as the news may be) the achievements of the Communist-led underground committee. It had planned and carried out a patient campaign of sabotage, amazing in its impudent and self-negating heroism, against the SS attempts to evacuate the camp and destroy the witnesses of what happened there—especially the Jews. Again and again the SS had tried to break up the prisoners' mysterious solidarity by setting "Aryans" against Jews, Germans against non-Germans, and vice versa.

But in Carlebach's words, "Three thousand Jewish comrades of all nationalities whom the authorities had ordered to

be delivered up were kept hidden among the other prisoners. Not a single case of attempted treachery occurred. This is proof of the success of united resistance against the fascist racial insanity."

The final roll-call at Buchenwald ended with the taking of a solemn oath by the survivors in the Americans' presence: "We swear before the whole world, here on this parade ground, on this scene of fascist terror, that we will continue to fight until the last criminal is brought before the people's judges."

IV

THREE years have passed since the moral problem of the Carlebachs was dumped in our unready and unwilling laps. It took little more than one year for our Psychological Warfare team, which cast Carlebach as a newspaper editor, to be exposed in the American press (including the New York *Herald Tribune*) as Kremlin agents, infiltrated into the forces by orders from behind the Iron Curtain to cause confusion in the U. S. Zone. Perhaps some of us, not expecting the postwar Silly Season to reach such a peak so rapidly, may have been surprised by this.

But Carlebach lasted for two years on the *Rundschau* and became its most effective and dynamic editor. From time to time American intelligence men turned up to cross-question him on his Marxist beliefs, about which he was disconcertingly frank; but in the paper he was a faithful exponent of that *überparteilich* antifascism which was laid down, by agreement between the editors and ourselves, as its policy.

Ousted journalists and other clean-souled Germans close to Military Government sniped at him continually, with mounting effect. Not only did he assiduously rub their noses in the filth of Nazism, but he continued to prescribe the antidote.

"In the course of years of struggle in the hell of Buchenwald," he wrote in his first editorial, "it was of ever less and less consequence whether the comrade at one's side was a proletarian revolutionary or a priest, or whether he had come to the camp as a Catholic or as a Jew, as a foreign slave laborer or as a German. One thing only was decisive. He had to have backbone and courage—courage to carry out the instructions of the international underground leadership in sabotaging assignments of the SS—courage if need be to sacrifice his own life.

"To be either Catholic, Protestant, or atheist is a matter of personal conviction. But it is today's task to work for the betterment of human society. No Christian may doubt the character or political cleanliness of any Marxist who has survived the past ten years as a fighter. And no Communist may decline to co-operate with those sincere Christians who by their steadfastness have proven themselves militant fighters in the battle for human liberty."

This was the group spirit in which he and his fellow-editors wanted to carry on the struggle; but the Americans, holding fast to the individualistic code of our settled society, did not want it that way. Gerst, the Catholic chairman of the *Rundschau* board who insisted on continuing co-operation with Communists, was first to have his license revoked. Carlebach was fired by the Americans toward the end of 1947, having by that time been elected a Communist delegate in the German legislature of Hesse.

According to the American press report, he was dismissed for "unsuitable political views and traits of character." He carried his protest up to General Clay, who admitted that there was no specific charge under the terms of the editorial licence and asserted his belief in freedom of the press.

And so, while journalists who were never in jail a single day slowly creep back into the editors' chairs, Carlebach finds himself barred from his profession under a liberating regime that asserts there is nothing to choose between what he believes and what Hitler believed. He

cannot understand how, if this is correct, the Communists could have been Hitler's first political enemies and the leaders of the struggle against Nazism. He listens to all our moralistic thunder about "totalitarianism," and cannot—remembering Buchenwald—make head or tail of it. He knows that his group in Buchenwald welded together a broader front against the fascists than has ever existed anywhere, and would offer his experience as proof of the theory that resisters of tyranny must be prepared for ruthless counteraction. He believes that his reasons for fighting fascism were and are democratically valid, and regards himself as an ally, not as an agent, of the Russian Communists. In the terms he recognizes, his conduct has been highly moral. Yet between our morality and his, no bridge seems possible.

Of one thing everyone who knows him can hardly be in doubt. The more his face is slapped for his conviction that Communism is the hope of the world, the more he will be confirmed in it; and the more embarrassed some of us will become by the events following his release (with our congratulations) from Buchenwald. We shall be embarrassed by the knowledge that he has a faith stronger than ours, however much we may disapprove of it.

There is an ominous ring today in the words he wrote just before he left the place where he should have died:

"The solidarity of those on the outside has never been put to such tests as ours has been. We hope that it never will be. But our experience is something they can avoid thinking about only at the peril of a repetition of these disasters and horrors."

Let's Be Firm, But . . .

Militarism is not the profession of arms. Militarism is embodied in the "military-minded nation" whose leaders preach and practice conquest by force of arms, and relish war as something desirable in itself. Militarism inevitably leads to cynical and wicked disregard of the rights of others and of the very elements of civilization. Militarism destroys the moral character of the nation that practices it and, because it can be overthrown only by its own weapons, undermines the character of nations that are forced to combat it.

—Brigadier General Telford Taylor, *Closing Statement for United States of America on General Staff and High Command*, before the International Military Tribunal, Nürnberg, Germany.

"Public Service" Awards to CBS, CBS Radio and CBS Television

George Foster Peabody Award, March 1941:

Award to CBS for "offering a schedule of broadcasts which combined commercial and sustaining programs in such a way as to constitute a structure definitely in the public interest; for giving its listeners more than 10,000 non-commercial broadcasts in 3,500 hours of unsponsored, public service programs; for regarding its schedule as a curriculum for adults and children in which lighter entertainment served as an ingredient to make the more vital programs palatable; for covering adequately the significant news of the year; for promoting Pan-American unity and understanding through its 'School of the Air'; for aiding education with special school-room services and such programs as 'Invitation to Learning', 'The Human Adventure', 'Report to the Nation', 'The People's Platform', and 'Columbia's Country Journal'; for giving religion a major place in its public service activities and for its manifold and continuous interest in serious music and other cultural subjects."

George Foster Peabody Award, April 1948:

"The Peabody Committee wishes to congratulate the Columbia Broadcasting System for its weekly commentary, 'CBS Views the Press', a program of hard-hitting, frequently witty, and always stimulating criticism of the New York Press. Our Award signalizes the skillful commentary of Don Hollenbeck, the courage of Edward R. Murrow who conceived the program, and the CBS news staff for a consistently high performance."

"The Award in Education goes to a Network, CBS, for the real contribution it has made in its documentaries and in its program 'CBS Is There'.

"The documentaries, on subjects such as housing, health, and old age security, have been presented with thoroughness and candor, and at good broadcasting hours, not when the country is asleep.

"In 'CBS Is There', the network has invented a most effective method of making history come alive. This is one form of required listening which teachers and pupils both enjoy.

"In making the Award we wish to salute William S. Paley, Chairman of the Board of CBS, who personally conceived the documentaries; and Robert Heller, who directs them; Goodman Ace who devised 'CBS Is There'; and Robert Shayon, who produces the program."

George Foster Peabody Award, April 1949:

An Award was granted to CBS for being "Outstanding in the Promotion of International Understanding." The official citation read:

"To the Columbia Broadcasting System for its work in the promotion of international understanding, as exemplified by the objectivity of CBS news correspondents and analysts throughout the world; by United Nations broadcasts in the interests of international relief as 'Between the Dark and Daylight', and 'Crusade for Children'; and by such special programs as 'As Others See Us', and 'An American Abroad'".

George Foster Peabody Radio Award, April 1952:

To "The Nation's Nightmare", to CBS Radio and to Irving Gitlin the program's producer, the award for educational programs during 1951. "A shattering and fearless documentary series on syndicated crime in the United States. 'The Nation's Nightmare' was outstanding not alone for its wealth of research, but for the manner in which the program---dealing with traffic in narcotics, waterfront crime, the numbers racket, dishonest sports and other national maladies---permitted the sordid side to tell their own story, without benefit of artificial coloration. All in all, an extraordinary public service."

American Heritage Foundation, 1953:

To Columbia Broadcasting System a citation "in appreciation of outstanding performance in support of the National Non-partisan Register and Vote Campaign of 1952."

American Legion Award, February 1954:

To CBS Radio and CBS Television the Award for American~~ism~~ for "maintaining a high level of clean entertainment" as typified by the Jack Benny programs.

Economic Cooperation Administration Public Service Award, August 1951:

The ECA presented a public service certificate to the CBS Radio Network for loyal and patriotic services to the Marshall Plan in the accomplishment of its vital mission in the European Recovery Program. The certificate read in part:

"A history of destruction-chaos-hunger-want is now one of work-hope-faith in the Marshall Plan community of nations. Public information and education has been vital--yours has been a great service in the public interest."

Education Writers Association, May 1949:

To CBS a first award for its documentary "Report Card" which "stressed recreation, mental health, and the all-around intellectual development of American youth as responsibilities for the home, the community, and the school working together."

Encyclopedia Britannica Award of Merit, May 1953:

To CBS Television and its "Wheel of Fortune" an Award of Merit for "consistent demonstrating of good neighborliness."

Freedoms Foundation, May 1951:

To CBS for its series "One Nation Indivisible" a Gold Honor Medal Award for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American Way of life."

Freedoms Foundation Award, February 1953:

To CBS a special award for its radio and television coverage of the conventions and the election. (Same award to others.)

Freedoms Foundation Awards, February 1954:

To CBS Radio for series of "Feature Project Productions" dealing with such subjects as an appraisal of the nation's preparations against atomic attack, with Arthur Godfrey as narrator; Edward R. Murrow with experts on the problems of the refugees from behind the Iron Curtain; and studies in public problems relating to parole, traffic safety, and organized gambling.

Mid-Continental Association of Food and Drug, October 1953:

To "The Quacks" a special commendation:

"Whereas, many members of this Association have heard the CBS Radio broadcast of 'The Quacks,' and believe that such programs are very interesting and informative,

"Therefore, this Association unanimously goes on record as extending a vote of thanks to CBS Radio for its service in the interest of public health and urges CBS Radio to rebroadcast this program, make recordings available to state and local organizations, and arrange for additional programs of this type."

National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1947:

The 1946 award was given to CBS:

"Citation of distinguished merit to CBS for 'The Biggest Crime' in the series 'Assignment Home', featuring General Omar N. Bradley, for contribution to national unity and understanding and harmony among all groups of American people."

National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1949:

To CBS, Inc. for three individual broadcasts:

"The Dreyfus Case" in series "You Are There", and for two special documentary dramas, "The Friend and Peter Stuyvesant" and "For This We Live" as "outstanding contributions during the past year to mutual understanding and respect among people of diverse backgrounds through the powerful medium of radio."

National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1950:

To CBS and "The Goldbergs" a special award "for sympathetic radio and television treatment of a Jewish family group."

National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 1951:

Citation reads: "The National Conference of Christians and Jews presents this citation of distinguished merit to Horace Heidt's Youth Opportunity Program and the Columbia Broadcasting System for outstanding contributions during the past year to mutual understanding and respect among people of diverse backgrounds through the powerful medium of radio and television."

National Safety Council's Award of Honor for Distinguished Service to Safety, April 1947:

"The National Safety Council hereby presents to CBS this Award of Honor for Distinguished Service to Safety in producing, broadcasting and rebroadcasting 'Before Their Time', a tremendously potent and artistic radio argument for safe walking and driving."

National Safety Council's Public Interest Award, 1953:

To CBS Radio for "splendid evidence of meritorious public service in the vital area of accident prevention."

New York Newspaper Guild, March 1948:

Annual "Page One" citation for radio was awarded to CBS in recognition of its "CBS Views the Press" series and the productions of the CBS Documentary Unit, "for excellence in the field and social contribution."

Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, July 1953:

To CBS Radio for its program "21st Precinct" a letter of commendation and the Ribbon of Honor. The letter reads:

"Through the medium of your facilities, the public will have an opportunity to learn the numerous phases of police service, necessary to safeguard the public. They will come to learn that the job of a policemen is continuous and never-ending. I know that the policemen of this state are grateful to your organization for providing this channel of information to the public. In this endeavor, you may be assured that we feel you are rendering a great public service."

Radio-Newsreel-Television Working Press Association of New York, May 1953:

To CBS Television a "Mike and Screen Press Award" for "its outstanding contribution to the field of television journalism as exemplified by its exceptional coverage of the Missouri floods."

To CBS Radio News a press Award "for its outstanding contributions to the field of radio journalism as exemplified by its distinguished day by day coverage of the Korean War. The award was presented by Walter Winchell and was accepted by Larry LeSueur on behalf of CBS Radio News.

Sylvania Television Award, November 1951:

To CBS Television an award "for the network's enterprise and imagination in bringing the Kefauver Committee's sessions to television, a precedent of far-reaching importance."

Sylvania Television Awards, December 1952:

To CBS Television for its coverage of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. (Same award to all networks.)

United Nations Network for Peace, November 1949:

To CBS, a scroll of membership for broadcasting programs, ("United Nations in Action", "Memo from Lake Success", "U.N. in Action"), dedicated to "better understanding among the peoples of the world and to the cause of lasting peace."

Veterans of Foreign Wars, November 1950:

To CBS for its program "People's Platform" the VFW Award of Merit "in commendation of the signal contribution of this program to the public service."

Veterans of Foreign Wars, May 1953:

To CBS Radio an Award of Merit "in commendation of the present outstanding achievement of CBS Radio in amusement and public service programs. Unaffected by counter attraction in the field of television, it has continued by cohesive effort to forge ahead in the quality of radio programs presented to the listening public."

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 203

To [redacted]

From

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

March 15, 1948

RADIO AWARDS TO CBS NEWS

George Foster Peabody Radio Award:

1940. To Elmer Davis for "best reporting of the news."
1941. To Cecil Brown for "outstanding reporting of the news."
1942. To Charles Collingwood for "outstanding reporting of the news."
1943. To Edward R. Murrow for "outstanding reporting of the news."
1945. To CBS and Paul White for "outstanding reporting of the news."
1946. To CBS and William L. Shirer for "outstanding reporting and interpretation of the news."

Radio Executives Club of New York:

1942. Plaque to Paul White for "outstanding work in securing broadcasts from various war fronts."

National Headliners Club Radio Awards:

1935. To Paul White for his reporting of the Chicago Stock Yards fire.
1938. To Edward R. Murrow and William L. Shirer for their series of broadcasts from Vienna during the Hitler putsch.
1940. To William L. White for his Christmas Eve 1939 broadcast from the trenches near Helsinki.
1941. To William L. Shirer for "consistently outstanding radio reporting over a period of years."
1942. To Charles Collingwood for radio reporting from North African War Zone.
1944. To Edward R. Murrow for his report about the Berlin mission, "Orchestrated Hell."
1945. To William Downs for the "outstanding foreign exclusive broadcast of 1944-45, the eye-witness account of the surrender to Field Marshall Montgomery of all German forces in Northwestern Germany, Holland, and Denmark."
1947. To Winston Burdett for the outstanding assigned radio reporting achievement of 1946 for his broadcast from the Bilbo hearing in Jackson, Miss.
1947. To Edward R. Murrow for the best foreign on-the-spot radio reporting for his coverage of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Philip in England last fall.

Motion Picture Daily Radio Poll:

1938. CBS coverage of Czech Crisis won first place among "Special Events Coverage."
1939. CBS war news voted first place among "Special Events."
1940. CBS European roundup voted first place among "Special Events."
1941. CBS "Spirit of '41" voted first place among "Special Events."
CBS "Army Maneuvers" tied for second place among "Special Events."
CBS "Overseas Broadcasts" tied for third place among "Special Events."
1943. Best all around war coverage in 1943.
1944. Best news job by radio in 1944 by a network.
1945. Best news job in radio in 1945 - CBS for VE-Day, VJ-Day, Japanese surrender, and President Roosevelt's death.
1946. First place for "Bikini Atom Bomb Tests" under "Best 1946 News Broadcast."
1947. CBS newscasts by Edward R. Murrow voted first place of "Best 1947 News Jobs by Radio."

Overseas Press Club Award:

1947. To Edward R. Murrow on March 16, 1948, "for the best radio interpretation of foreign news", during 1947.

DuPont Radio Award:

1947. To Edward R. Murrow on March 8, 1948, "in recognition of distinguished and meritorious performance of public service by agressive, consistently excellent and accurate gathering and reporting of news by radio and the presentation of expert, informed and reliable interpretation of news and opinion for the purpose of encouraging initiative, integrity, independence and public service through the medium of radio."

Awards to CBS Documentaries:

1947. Variety Showmanagement Award to Robert P. Heller, chief of CBS's Documentary Unit, goes the accolade of 'father of the documentaries.' If for no other reason than he played the key role in helping establish the radio pattern for the most effective postwar technique in presenting vital issues, Heller rates Distinguished Merit.

"One has only to recall such programs as "The Eagle's Brood," "Fear Begins at Forty," the memorable "Empty Noose," or to realize the potentialities of the pro-

Awards to CBS Documentaries: (Continued)

1947. jected documentaries on the Henry Luce dynasty and the film industry to realize Heller's contribution to the scope and stature of radio. He has the necessary courage to face issues, and once those issues are chosen he probes deeply, honestly and intensively, then presents them in a dramatic form that is alive and understandable to all listeners."

1947. Institute for Education by Radio of Ohio State University. Made first awards to "The Eagle's Brood," and the "Empty Noose" "for special one-time broadcasts."

SMALL WORLD
VOLUME I

SHOW NO.	AIR DATE	PANEL - WHERE FILMED & BY WHOM	FILMED
1. *	10/12/58	Dewey, Gov. Thomas - Portland, Me. - Jones & Rossi Huxley, Aldous - Turin, Italy - McClure & DePoris Nehru - Delhi - Mack & Bonner	10/3/68
2.	10/19/58	Libby, Willard - AEC, Washington - Jones & Rossi Bhabha, Dr. Homi J.-Paris - DePoris & Cyril Bliss Russell, Lord Bertrand - London - McClure	10/2/58
3.	10/26/58	Bacall, Lauren - Los Angeles - Beck & Rossi Muggeridge, Malcolm - Sydney, Australia - Mack Johnston, Eric - Washington - DePoris & Barnett	April/58
4.	11/2/58	West, Rebecca - London - McClure Rickover, Adm. (Vice) Hyman G. - Washington - Mack Van Doren, Prof. Mark - Cornwall, Conn. - Jones & Rossi	10/19/58
5.	11/9/58	Hurok, Dr. Sol - San Francisco - Beck & Rossi McKeldin, Gov. Theo. R. - Baltimore - Jones & Rossi Ustinov, Peter - Toronto, Can. - DePoris & Mack	9/16/58
6.	11/16/58	Hagerty, James - Washington - Mack & DePoris Soustelle, Jacques - Paris - McClure Muggeridge, Malcolm - London - Rossi	11/6/58
7.	11/23/58	Bevan, Aneurin - London - Rossi Gruenther, Ge. Alfred - Washington - DePoris & Mack Strauss, Franz Josef - Bonn - McClure	11/4/58
8.	11/30/58	Truman, Harry - Independence, Mo. - DePoris & Mack Attlee, Clement - London - Collingwood	10/29/58
9.	12/7/58	Slonimski, Antoni - Warsaw - Schorr & Rossi Rubinstein, Artur - Paris - McClure MacLeish, Prof. Archibald - Washington - DePoris & Mack	11/26/58
10.	12/14/58	Munoz-Marin, Gov. Luis - Puerto Rico - DePoris & Mack Galo Plaza (Lasso), Dr. - Beirut, Lebanon- McClure Eisenhower, Dr. Milton - Baltimore (Johns Hopkins U.) - Jones	11/13/58
11.	12/21/58	Eastland, Sen. James O. - Jackson, Miss. - Mack Herblock - Washington - DePoris & Rossi Brogan, Denis W. Prof. - London - McClure	12/3/58
12.	12/28/58	Leigh, Vivien - London - McClure Goldwyn, Sam - Los Angeles - Beck & Rossi Tynan, Kenneth - New York - DePoris & Mack	12/12/58
13. *	1/4/59	Callas, Maria - Milan, Italy - Mack & Markman Beecham, Sir Thomas - Nice, France - McClure Borge, Victor - Southberry, Conn. - DePoris & Rossi	12/22/58
14.	1/11/59	Part II of above.	

* WITH SCRIPT

SHOW NO.	ATR DATE	PANEL - WHERE FILMED & BY WHOM	FILMED
15.	1/18/59	Martha Gellhorn - Geneva - DePoris & Mack Romain Gary - Los Angeles - Beck & Rossi Malcolm Muggeridge - London - McClure	9/22/58
16.	1/25/59	Michael Foot - London - Bliss. Willy Brandt - Bonn - McClure James Conant - San Francisco - Beck & Rossi	1/11/59
17.	2/1/59	Suzanne Blum - Paris - McClure Birkett - London - Collingwood Welch - Boston - DePoris	1/13/59
18.	2/8/59	Part II of above	1/13/59
19.	2/18/59	Carl Sandburg - Chicago - DePoris & Rossi Dirksen, Everett McKinley - Washington - Jones & Barnett Parkinson, Northcote - Alderney Island - McClure	2/5/59
20. *	2/22/59	Ward, JACKSON Barbara - Honolulu, Hawaii - Mack Stevenson, Adlai - San Francisco - Rossi & Beck Crankshaw, Edward - England - McClure	1/30/59
21.	3/1/59	Suyin, Han - Hong Kong - Mack & Delaney Alsop, Joseph - Washington - Rossi & DePoris Lord Boothby, Robert - London - McClure	2/10/59
22.	3/8/59	Bergman, Ingrid - Paris - McClure Zanuck, Darryl - New York City - Rossi & DePoris Crowther, Bosley - New York City - Jones	2/28/59
23.	3/15/59	Allen, George - Washington - DePoris & Rossi Lacson, Mayor - Manila - Mack Burdick, Eugene - California - Beck	2/3/59
24.	3/22/59	McKenna, Siobhan - Dublin - McClure Coward, Noel - Jamaica, BWI - Williams & Rossi Thurber, James - New York City - DePoris, & Mack	3/11/59
25.	3/29/59	Part II of above	3/11/59
26.	4/5/59	Part II of #1 (Thos. Dewey, Aldous Huxley, Nehru)	10/3/58

* WITH SCRIPT

[illegible] NO.	AIR DATE	PANEL - WHERE FILMED & BY WHOM	FILMED
1.	10/11/59	Frost, Robert - Cambridge, Mass. - DePoris Herbert, A.P. - Hammersmith, Eng. - McClure Vasconcelos, Dora - New York City - Jones	ERM/London
2. *	10/18/59	Lord Boothby - London - Pat Bernie & Bliss Kennedy, Sen. John - Atlantic City - DePoris Menon, Krishna - U.N. - Jones	10/12/59 ERM/London
3.	11/1/59	U Nu - Hong Kong - Mack Ben Gurion - Jerusalem - Rossi	5/26/59 ERM/NY
4.	11/8/59	Gleason, Jackie - Philadelphia - DePoris Brown, John Mason - New York City - Jones Behan, Brendan - Dublin - Pat Bernie	10/11/59 ERM/London
5.	11/15/59	Cousins, Norman - New York City - Mack Chakovsky, Alexandre - New York City - Jones Gov. Stratton - Springfield, Ill. - DePoris	Aug./59 ERM/NY
6.	11/22/59	Montgomery - London - Pat Bernie & Bliss vonSenger - Basle, Switzerland - Rossi Clark, Mark - South Carolina - Jones	10/20/59 ERM/Manchester, England
7.	11/29/59	Part II of above	10/20/59
8.	12/6/59	deMille, Agnes - New York City - Jones & Barnett Hopper, Hedda - Los Angeles - Beck Signoret, Simone - San Francisco - DePoris	11/19/59 ERM/London
	12/13/59	PREEMPTED	
9.	12/20/59	Mundt, Sen. - Rapid City, Iowa - Beck & Barnett Chagla, Amb. - The Hague - Rossi Larson, Arthur - Durham, N. C. - DePoris & Mack	10/23/59 ERM/London
10.	12/27/59	Suyin, Han - Hong Kong - Mack Blanche, Lesley - Los Angeles - Beck & Rossi Muggeridge, Malcolm - London - McClure	5/28/59 ERM/NY
11.	1/3/60	Lord Birkett - London - McClure Judge Voelker - Ishpeming - Jones & Barnett Justice Douglas - Washington - P.Williams & Mack	12/11/59 ERM/London
12.	1/10/60	Mansfield, Sen. Mike - Washington -Rossi Hughes, Emmet - New York - Garbarini & DePoris Servan-Schreiber, Jean Jacques - Paris	12/15/59 ERM/Geneva
13.	1/17/60	Luce, Clare Boothe - New York City - Rossi & Jones Bohlen, Amb. Charles - Villanova, Pa. Nicolson, Sir Harold - London - McClure	12/26/59 ERM/St. Moritz Switzerland
14.	1/24/60	Part II of above	

* WITH SCRIPT

SHOW NO.	AIR DATE	PANEL - WHERE FILMED & BY WHOM	FILMED
15.	1/31/60	Gallup, George - Princeton, N. J.- Jones & Rossi Cassandra (Wm. Connor) - London - P.Bernie & Huke Barzini, Luigi - Rome - McClure	1/10/60 ERM/Milan, Italy
16.	2/7/60	REPEAT - Sandburg, Dirksen, Parkinson	2/5/59
17.	2/14/60	Brown, Gov. Edmund (Pat) - Calif. - Beck & Barnett Crossman, Richard Howard - Oxfordshire, Eng. - McClure Wagner, Mayor Robert - New York City - Mack	1/18/60 ERM/Rome
18.	2/21/60	REPEAT 15 Min. - Eisenhower, Munoz-Marin, Dr. Galo Plaza	11/13/58
19.	2/28/60	Teller, Dr. Edward - Berkeley - Beck & Barnett	ERM/Rome 2/12/60
20.	3/6/60	Part II of above	ERM/Rome 2/12/60
21.	3/13/60	Casals, Pablo - Puerto Rico - Jones & Mack Stern, Isaac - Vancouver, B. C. Ansermet, Ernest - Geneva - McClure	2/6/60 ERM/not on D. Schorr
22.	3/20/60	Part II of above	
23.	3/27/60	Jackson, Sen. Henry (Scoop) - Washington - Mack Healey, Denis - London - McClure	2/10/60 ERM/Rome
24.	4/3/60	Wylie, Philip - Miami - Jones & Mack Toynbee, Arnold - London - McClure Graves, Robert - Washington	1/27/60 ERM/not on Sevareid
25.	4/10/60	Kerr, Deborah - Switzerland - Cyril Bliss Preminger, Otto - Rome - McClure McClafferty, John J. - Washington - Mack	3/20/60 ERM/Hong Kong
26.	4/17/60	vonBraun, Vernher - Huntsville - Westin John Davy - London - McClure Harold Urey - Washington - Jones	4/13/60 ERM/Honolulu
27.	4/24/60	West, Rebecca - London - McClure	4/20/60 ERM/Seattle, Wash.
28.	5/1/60	Dayan, Gen. Mose - Israel - McClure Taylor, Gen. Maxwell - Mexico City - Jones	2/8/60 ERM/Jerusalem
29.	5/8/60	Mishima, Yukio - Tokyo - ERM Powell, Dilys - London - McClure Williams, Tennessee - Key West - Buksbaum	4/7/60 ERM/Tokyo
30.	5/15/60	Mannes, Marya - New York City - P. Williams Fleeson, Doris - Charleston, W.Va. - Jones & Barnett Higgins, Marguerite - Washington - Rossi	5/5/60 ERM/S.F.
31.	5/22/60	Dr. Szilard, Thos. E.Murray, Edw. Teller, Gen. Medaris, Prof. Gerlad Wiesner	
32.	5/29/60	Dr. Szilard, Berthe, Strauss, Wiesner	

CBS NEWS
A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
524 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019
(212) 765-4321

Dear Peter:

Here are the lists of SEE IT NOW, PERSON TO PERSON, SMALL WORLD, and CBS REPORTS.

Although the lists don't show it, Collingwood took over for Ed on PERSON TO PERSON in 1959 when Murrow was on Sabatical leave. Ed continued to do SMALL WORLD because he could originate it in Europe and Asia. His last film was "Harvest of Shame" even though two others were later in release.

Let's talk more when you get down here.

Good luck,

Palmer Williams
Senior Producer
60 MINUTES

Mr. Peter Shaplen
22 Fairmount Street
Medford, Mass. 02155

November 15, 1973

LEND ME YOUR EARS:

Entertainments Planned On Olympics' Periphery

FOR THE BENEFIT OF VISITORS to Rome during the period of the Olympic Games, Italy's Minister of Tourism and Entertainment **Umberto Tupini** has set forth some interesting plans. The summer opera season at the Baths of Caracalla, his ministry announces, will be extended beyond its usual length to Sept. 3, and so will the outdoor symphony concert season of the Santa Cecilia Academy Orchestra in Domitian's Stadium on the Palatine.

Other extra-curricular entertainments for games guests will be ballet performances in the Nymphaeum of the Villa Giulia (home of the Etruscan Museum) and a production of Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" in the old Roman Theater at Ostia Antica.

Happy Birthday . . .

. . . today to Italian actress-painter **Titina De Filippo** . . . to ceramicist **Audrey McNeely** . . . to Nobel Prize-winning scientist **Daniele Bovet** . . . to Italian artists **Corrado Cagli** and **Beppe Guzzi** . . . to **Aldo** and **Andrea Di Bernardo**, twin sons of the Italian consul general in Nice . . . and to **Luciano Franzoni** of Esquire Tailors.

Rome Visitors' Book

American Export Line's Col. an Mrs **Mike Paul** — he is chairman of the executive committee of the board of directors, she is chairman of the board — are at the Excelsior prior to sailing from Palermo on the Independence's special Mediterranean cruise . . . in from Athens via BEA yesterday for one night at the Majestic was Mrs **Maria Alexandrakis**, whom many consider to be the No. 1 guide accredited to the Greek National Tourist Bureau. She is also Palermo-bound and will explain Greece and its islands to the Independence cruise-passengers . . . Mr and Mrs **Alfred B. Swinerton** of Woodside, Calif., and Mr and Mrs **G. Willard Miller** of Piedmont, Calif., who have been traveling together to such far-flung places as New Zealand and Kenya Colony, are at the Grand Hotel till Friday, when they will continue their safari to Vienna and the South of France . . . **Robert E. Montgomery**, TWA regional vice president (sales), arrived in Rome yesterday for a two-day visit to the airline's Rome office . . . Count **Francisco ("Baby") Pignatari** of Brazil has checked into the Excelsior . . . at the same hotel are Sir **Ronald** and Lady **Mary Wingate.**

Barberini Babble

Good news for moviegoers: the Fiammetta — after dedicating itself to "La Dolce Vita" for well over a month — is returning to its showings in original English-language version, starting today with "Never So Few" . . . present at the recent inauguration of **Raffaele Salato's** Raphael shoe shop at 149 Via Veneto were well-known tailor **Emilio Schuberth**, actor **Aldo Fabrizi** and other Roman personalities, admiring both the decor and the footwear . . . the Parioli Day School, whose concert for tonight (benefitting the eighth form's Schweitzer Fund) is already sold out, announces that there'll be a repeat . . . **Domenico Modugno**, the "howling" singer of "Volare" and "Piove" fame, has written a song as wedding present for **Princess Margaret.** It's called "Hello," and **Modugno** himself made the recording that RAI-TV will send to the royal bride.

High Honors

Notre Dame International School this week announced its honors assembly.

A partial list of high honors in the high school: **Stephen Boerner, William Davey, Charles DeBevoise, Harry Hull, Peter Jameison, Francis LeBeau, James** and **Michael Murfin, Paul Patino** and **Larry Yavorsky.** And in the grade school: **Robert Simmons, Paul Byrne, Johnathan Hine, Christopher Steg, Fielding Maddux, Michael Yavorsky, Thomas Simmonds, Walter Chow, Lawrence Peters** and **Charles Byrne.**

Show Talk

Otto Preminger, now directing the film "Exodus" in Haifa, flew to Rome Sunday to be photographed for the **Ed Murrow** CBS-TV program, "Small World." He was in town for only three hours, two of which were spent in front of the cameras. The program was about censorship and blacklisting, two subjects with which **Preminger** has had many personal experiences. Others on the program were **Ed Murrow**, talking from Hong Kong, actress **Deborah Kerr** from Klosters and a former Legion of Decency head, Msgr. **John J. McClafferty.** All four were connected by telephone and short wave circuits, and film cameras at each point photographed the participants. Later film and sound will be edited into a 30-minute discussion that gives the illusion all of them are talking together. Directing in Rome for CBS was **Bill McClure** assisted by **Joe Falletta** . . . **Betsy Blair**, famous for her portrayal opposite **Ernest Borgnine** in "Marty," has arrived in Rome to play a role in "The Dolphins" (I Delfini), which **Francesco Maselli** is directing with a cast that also includes **Claudia Cardinale, Antonella Lualdi, Gerard Blain** and **Anna Maria Ferrero** . . . famous stage-film director **Rouben Mamoulian** ("Oklahoma!" "Porgy and Bess") is in Rome at the Grand . . . French actress **Valérie La Grange** is due next week to join **Steve Reeves** and **Chelo Alonso** in the cast of "Morgan the Pirate."

PREMINGER

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WORK — This striking photograph shows ners shining the huge glass wall of the modernistic and spacious Stazione Termini, Rome's central railway station. *(UPI photo)*

ɜerman Baroness Admitted NY Bar Thru Study Alone

ORK, March 22 (AP) — r Baroness Christine von r of Germany, who fled ussians in World War II, f 180 attorneys admitted before the New York preme Court Appellate and she never attended

ner baroness now is Mrs Beshar, attractive mother whose husband is an at-

nar, who plans to do trial ned her law by working ces and getting help from nd, Robert, a 1953 Yale ol graduate.

band breathes, eats and e law," she said, "and I continue my education so uld share more fully in

g to the State Court of Appeals, one or two persons a year qualify for their bar exams by private study, and about one in ten of these is a woman.

When her family's estate in Germany was overrun by Soviet soldiers in 1945, she fled in a horse-drawn wagon.

She later worked as a field hand on a West German truck farm until friends in Hamburg sent her to school. She studied in Sweden as well as in Germany and came to Smith College in Northampton, Mass., on a scholarship. She finished there in 1953—the first Smith student to be graduated after only a single year's residence. How did she do it all?

"I was lucky," she smiled. "I had very good teachers."

n To Reenact Trip To Hague

AGUE, March 22 (AP)— of six large trucks pull- m The Hague this morn- for Istanbul. Their ancient Dutch mail horses, 17 men, 70 bags bales of straw and 160 eshoes.

n to get to Istanbul by Then the horses will turns to pull the mail to Holland. Estimated e 3,500-kilometer journey

Does U.S. Overstress Value Of Statistics?

HOLLYWOOD, March 22 (AP) — Belgian actress Monique Van Vooren, who has no cause for alarm, thinks Americans put too much stress on statistics and not enough on talent.

"When I got off the plane on my first visit to this country," she says, "the reporters asked me my measurements. When I said I didn't know, then they asked me my name."

Cinema FIAMMETTA
ROME, 3 VIA SAN NICOLO' DA TOLENTINO
MGM presents
Frank Sinatra - Gina Lollobrigida
"NEVER SO FEW"
CINEMASCOPE - METROCOLOR
Showings: 3:15 - 5:30 - 7:45 - 10 p.m.

When in Rome dance at the
Kit-Kat's CLUB
28 Via Liguria (off Via Veneto) Rome
Tel. 487.242
'I CARRARESI' Orchestra with Luciano

CINEMA ARCHIMEDE
71 VIA ARCHIMEDE - ROME - TEL. 875.567
"SUDDENLY LAST SUMMER"
Elizabeth Taylor, Katharine Hepburn
Montgomery Clift
Showings: 3:40 - 6 - 8 - 10 p.m.

OPEN GATE CLUB

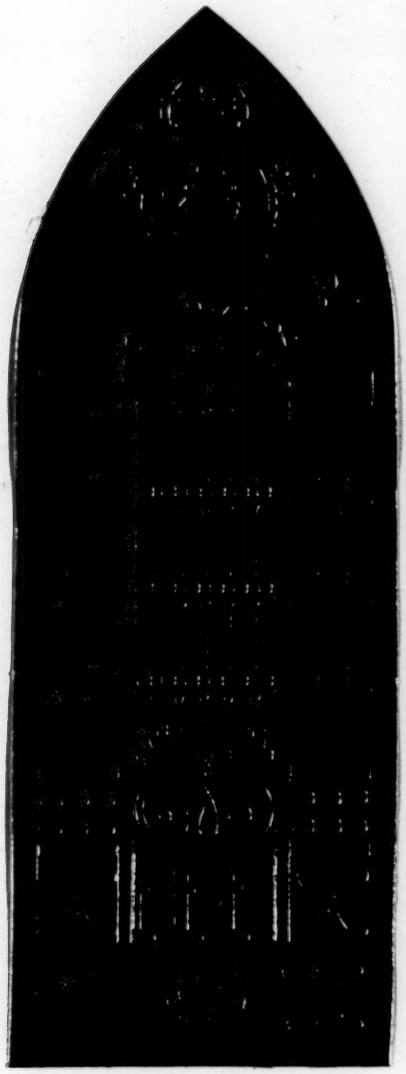
Metallic Sculpture

Hallmark

35E 251-4

© HALLMARK CARDS, INC.

At Easter Time



God Bless You

Dear Ed. Murrow:

Small World has been as instructive, interesting and alive as any Prize winning award of the year, I might add to me, more, extending Small World to greater Horizons and Personality. My Best Wishes to all, but some of my favorites are Poetess Dora Vasioncellos

Poet Robert Frost

British Writer

Music Paolo Casals

Ernest Ansement

Isaac Stern

Column-ist Hedda Hopper

Simone Signoret - Actress

Agnes de Mille - Choreographer

Senators - All - plus the Political Personalities

- David Ben Gurion

May it come to pass all his dreams.

To all - that have made Small World - Possible

A Happy Easter

S.W.Q

To
Small-World

May God be ever
near to you
And may His love impart
The holy peace of
Easter time
To dwell within
your heart,
Then, may He grant
you happiness
And always, day by day,
May His eternal
love be yours
Along life's future way.

Sofia M. Quaranta

april 17/60

February 11, 1960

Dear Mr. Mondelsen:

Thank you for your letter of January 20th and for your comments regarding to SMALL WORLD.

I regret very much that since Mr. Murrow is on a year's leave of absence and is traveling abroad, he will not be able to answer your letter personally.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Mr. G. Mondelsen
120 Wellington Drive
Washington, D. C.

120 Wellington Dr.

Washington Jan.20.1960.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I suppose that you will remember my name since we met on few occasions and I would like to inform you about the opinion of the poeple concerning your "small world"which should be of interest for you. I refer to your "small world"sof Jan.17.

1/. The "small world" you base on the fact that there is no long distance any more and that few poeple sitting in different corners of the world can talk like they would be in the some room. That is not your invention and not your merit, it is only a technical miracle you use to impress the audience despite the fact that the conversation is on film pieces pasted together.

2/. You are anxious to work only with the top personalities of the Society, Art, etc. but unfortunately you are not very lucky in your selection.

3/. You dont count that your "small world" consisting of few poeple has been heard by the "big world" consisting of millions and that you should bring something of interest to the millions.

4/. Concerning the diplomatic discussion on your "small world" on Jan.17. you selected Mrs.Luce as one of the diplomats but none of the "big world" ever heard that Mrs.Luce is a diplomat ?...as far as we know she tried to be an actres, a playwriter etc.and she tried everything where she could be a center of attraction. When she was Amer. Ambassador to Italy her diplomacy was that she threated the Italian poeple that "they will not get any money from America when they would vote for the communists" and that is all we know and what Washington did'nt like. On the "Meet the Press" she had only one stereotypical answer to all questions : " I dont know anything about that and what I do know is what I read in the newspapers". We do know more one of her diplomatic steps when she was appointed Ambassador to Brazil that dozens of trunks with hundreds of dresses she needed for parties and balls were shipped to Rio de Janeiro until Sen.Morse stopped.

5/. Mr.Nicolson is a Historian and was never a diplomat - his expression that a diplomat has to have a"confidence" and be "reliable" caused in the small part of the "big World" in my living room a tremendous laughter - since as far as we know a diplomat should be a genius-liar, otherwise he could'nt be a diplomat,he has to be skilled in diplomacy of conducting international negotiations, has to have the practice in arranging treaties, he has to be artful in meeting situations and has to have knowledge in securing advantages without arousing hostility. I never heard of a diplomat with a "confidence" and "reliability".

6/. The only diplomat on the Show was Mr.Bohlen but he was most of the time silent. As a good diplomat he knows that thinking is better tha talking.

I have to aplogize for my frankness and remain

Very truly yours

G. Mondelsen

15, Millyard Crescent,
Woodingdean, Brighton - 7.
25.1.60.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Thank you for your 'Small World' series, and especially the inter-continental conversation of Agnes de Mille, Simone Signoret and Hedda Hopper.

Should the opportunity occur we would be grateful if you could convey to Miss de Mille our thanks for her spirited and brave defence of the freedom of speech. This, we hope, is the real Voice of America. Our thanks, too, to Simone Signoret for aiding and abetting — and to Hedda Hopper for providing the contrast.

Yours sincerely
William Homer
Tom Homer.

Jan 1960.

(For the attention of Ed. R. Murrow)
(Small World programme)

Sir,

In a recent Small world programme - during a conversation piece between the Israeli P.M. and the Burmese P.M - the Burmese P. Minister Mr U. Nu was asked if he would agree to take the place of Ed. Murrow if a conversation could be arranged between Mr. Ben Gurion Israeli M.P. and Egyptian Mr Nasser. Mr U. Nu apprehensively agreed, - though obviously he did not think himself suited to the task.

I do not think a successful outcome of such a conversation between the two men - possible - because the situation is such - that only a conversation including

2

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is - There is no defence against the Atom Bomb - yet the Book of Book of the God of Gods says "The Lord is my defence" Holy Writ.

"Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else." Isiah XIV, 22.

That is the promise of the Book.

It would not be wisdom for a non-Bible believer or non practising person to mediate as it were - The person must be knowledgeable in the true principles of the Holy Law - or they would lack the strength and power and soundness of Divinity in true mediating without bias - Only Divine Truth can bring about Divine relationship - peaceful happy relationship based on the Divine Book of all Books - God of all Gods. Thus do man and nations ad-

vance and progress forward into happy prosperity and peaceful helpful co-existence - Is not that Divine promise

All Nations must eventually progress to the Holy Bible for foundation in Truth to their own religions - The principles of humane Law - means obligation to man (& God) his neighbour

Only a knowledgeable practising man can instil the fear of heaven - belief in God of all Gods - and that God gives to each his own religion. That all religious beliefs the world over harmonise and are reconcilable with each other peacefully for the betterment of the Universe - His creation. His creation is good - what is not good is mans own creation.

The mediator must be a person of wide vision - and believes not that

his own is the only religion for all the world - that his is the highest standard of human thought and life - but that the highest standard is there for all man to decide and appreciate as criterion to add to his own Faith for advancement into the space of time.

Enclosed is a Biblical cutting which which proves the mediator must be a man of strong Faith of our civilization - that he may know the answers to the problem

R. D.

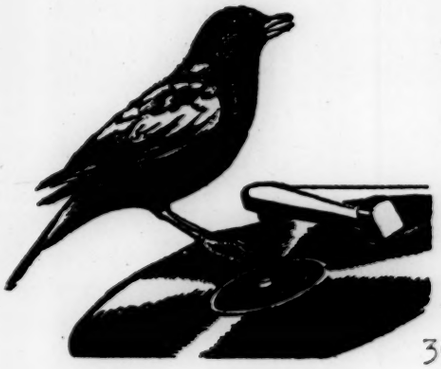
HE

LONDON

PERSONAL

"HE that saith he abideth in him ought [illegible] also so to walk, even as he walked."—I John ii. 6.

LUDWIG KOCH
AUTHOR, BROADCASTER, LECTURER
AND
RECORDER OF NATURE SOUNDS



"BIRD COTTAGE."
39, WALTON AVENUE.
SOUTH HARROW.
MIDDLESEX.
TELEPHONE: BYRON 6201.

30th. November 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow,

It is my pleasant duty to tell you how much I enjoy to view and listen to your SMALL WORLD programme. Last Saturday on 28th. November it was most interesting to see and hear the discussion between the Prime Minister of Israel and U No the former Prime Minister of Burma and last but not least their host in London Edward R. Murrow.

I do not view T.V. frequently, I still like good music on sound as my old age (78) does not permit me to go out as I did in bygone days.

Nevertheless I am still working and in December I will talk in the B B C. Home Service my first three programmes on:

"MUSICIANS I HAVE MET"

I can go back as long as 1885 when I was introduced to Franz Liszt, I then was alread playing violin and early this century I was a very well known Lieder-and Oratorio Singer, but I had to stop 1914 when the war broke out , but I will not give you my autobiagraphy, but if you are longer here I would be thrilled to meet you here or in town and I can tell you more about my very interesting life.
If you see Gerald Beadle, please remember me to him.
Your talk "AFTER THE BATTLE" on 18th. November brought back memories to me.

Looking forward to hear from you.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely,

Ludwig Koch

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,
The British Broadcasting Corporation
Television Centre
Wood Lane
W. 12

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1959 2

A Brief 'Chat' Wi

By DON FORST

And away they went:

Ed Murrow, Jackie Gleason and John Mason Brown in conversational pursuit of Irish playwright Brendan Behan.

And they never caught up with him.

Brendan got off to a two-verb lead "Small World" last night on Ch. 2 and there was no catching him.

Ed, then Jackie, then John Mason tried to ease him over to the conversational curb for the first minutes without success.

After the commercial at the mid-way mark of the 30-minute CBS show, Brendan failed to make a reappearance.

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he program resumed commercial, Murrow that due to "circum- eyond our control" ould not appear for nder of the show.

nted Brown:

's not an act of God, t."

, who sipped wine, program, added, "it's Guinness."

gram—with Murrow , Brown in New York, n Poughkeepsie, Be- ublin—was supposed th the art of conver-

it dealt, in varying degrees, with Behan.

The playwright, who disrupted London earlier this year when he cavorted drunkenly about the stage at a production of his play, "The Hostage," made merry with his conversational prisoners yesterday.

Brendan gave his views on:

¶ Americans: "They're like a broken bicycle saddle. They give you a pain in the derriere."

¶ The speech of the other three: Gleason was speaking "Irish-Gaelic," Murrow, "Scotch-Gaelic," and Brown was "defending the Choctaw Indians."

¶ The art of conversation: It ended "the hour the atomic bomb was dropped."

At one point, Gleason, seeking to assure Behan who kept asking, "how am I coming through?" — told the wildly grinning Celt:

"You're coming through 100 proof."

Behan, a huge cask of a man, had explained that he was missing "all my teeth, in the front anyway."

The show, which had been taped last month, lived up to the edict of Dr. Frank Stanton, CBS president—"no gimmick" programs.

Behan's wife, Beatrice has tried to halt his drinking. In October she had said, "he has been off the gargle a week or two."

But yesterday he was back at the medicine cabinet.

7 S.W

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

June 18, 1959

"PLAYHOUSE 90" DRAMA, "MADE IN JAPAN," WINS $5,000 FIRST PRIZE IN FOURTH ANNUAL ROBERT E. SHERWOOD AWARDS COMPETITION

"Small World" Series Receives $1,000 Award

First prize of $5,000 in the fourth annual Robert E. Sherwood Television Awards competition went to "Made In Japan," a "Playhouse 90" drama, it was announced yesterday by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at the awards luncheon in New York City's Hotel Plaza.

In presenting the award to producer Herbert Brodkin, Mrs. Roosevelt, representing the Sherwood Awards jurors, described the program as "a sensitive study of an American soldier's prejudices." "Made In Japan" was written by Joseph Stefano, directed by Herbert Hirschman, and presented on the CBS Television Network on March 5, 1959. James T. Aubrey, Executive Vice President of the CBS Television Network, accepted a plaque for the Network.

A $1,000 award was given to the "Small World" series, produced for the CBS Television Network by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, for "its unusual and international approach to topics related to the traditions of American freedom and justice." The award was accepted by Mr. Murrow. A plaque for the Network was accepted by Richard S. Salant, Vice President, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

The Sherwood Awards were established in 1955 by the Fund for the Republic in honor of the late Pulitzer Prize playwright.

* * *

 To Ed Murrow

A Conscience Quits

by WILFRED ALTMAN

ED MURROW was in strikingly good form during his brief visit recently. In the States, controversy raged over his decision to quit CBS for a year over alleged differences, but in Britain his arrival merited VIP radio and television coverage; he was the Queen's guest for dinner, and Field Marshal Montgomery gave up three days for a Murrow marathon interview.

Before starting his 'Sabbatical' year on 1 July, Murrow will spend some time in Paris and Berlin. During his leave, he said, he will still participate in *Small World*, which can originate anywhere in the world, and if his travels take him to areas in the world where news is 'breaking', he will do some reporting too.

Unquestionably, the news that Murrow has decided to take a year's leave from CBS is regarded with dismay in American broadcasting circles and by the serious-minded American public. He has long been regarded as the conscience of the networks; even the conscience of the Nation, besides being an outstanding broadcaster.

Allegedly, reports of a rift between Murrow and his CBS superiors began after his exposure of McCarthy—a denunciation hailed by most Americans. More recently, the National Association of Manufacturers, representing powerful television sponsors, resented his exposure of the 'Call Girl Racket' in business.

PARADOXICALLY, the clash coincided with his most significant series. For *Small World* is the kind of bold experiment in international togetherness, in weekly electronic round-table conferences, which proves how intelligently the medium of television can be exploited; how far it can move from the daily diet of trivialities and tranquilisers and still reman exciting.

It is questionable whether anyone else could have created such a programme, not so much in terms of combining good planning, technical skill and sound intelligence, but in persuading a galaxy of international personalities to submit to its peculiar demands.

Wherever they may be, they have to be available at the same time, even though for Mr Nehru, who has appeared in it, it may be time for dinner, for Mr Dewey, another participant, breakfast, and for Mr Aldous Huxley lunch. It required fifty-six telephone calls recently to synchronise the appearances of Mr Bevan, General Gruenther and Herr Strauss in one recent programme!

It is questionable whether anyone else could have secured so much co-operation —and admiration—from the technicians. The BBC helps with studio accommodation and outside broadcast facilities whenever a participator is located in Britain; it sets up and inter-connects the international programme links whenever two or more speakers take part on this side of the Atlantic, and it extends the output of this network to New York by means of the transatlantic telephone cable.

No wonder Murrow concedes: 'If anyone deserves bouquets for *Small World*, it is the BBC engineers and technicians.'

Last summer, CBS quietly abandoned his most fruitful programme *See It Now*, and in the autumn Murrow dared to voice his concern about television when he addressed the National Convention of Radio and Television News Directors in Chicago. 'I am frightened,' he told them, 'by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the Nation.'

TIME AND TIDE 18 APRIL 1959

SW

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Fred Friendly

from: Ed Murrow

April 6, 1959

A reminder for the future book. While in London, I spoke to David Low, R.A. Butler and Gaitskell about appearing on SMALL WORLD sometime next year. All agreed.

Monty also agreed to appear and would like Bradley and a German general.

E.R.M.

SW.

March 16, 1959

Dear Han Suyin:

The attached letter is self-explanatory. I have told the writer that I doubt it very much you could be of assistance, but that I would pass the letter on to you.

I am off to London on the weekend and wish that I might look forward to the prospect of meeting you there.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Han Suyin
39 Upper Pickering Street
Singapore No. 1

EEM/hl
att.

March 16, 1959

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your letter of March 2.

I very much doubt that Miss Han Suyin can acquire the information you require regarding your son and three other young men, but I know from experience that it is fruitful to pursue all avenues in such cases, and I shall certainly put the question to her.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. G. Everett Farmer
Signal Mountain
Tennessee

ERM/hl

March 2, 1950

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your interesting program "Small World" Sunday night with Miss Han Su Yin has brought to our minds a possible solution to a serious question.

Our son and three other young men were discharged from the naval air corps last spring in Japan. They went to Yokahama, had a 38-foot small boat built and started sailing home, stopping at Osaka, Okinawa and Formosa. On July 7, they left Keeling, Formosa (near Taipei) for Hong Kong and have not been heard from since.

The State Department and the Red Cross have been very cooperative as far as they can. We have heard from Li Teh-Chuan, the President of the Chinese Red Cross in a letter to General Gruenther, but to no avail.

Due to the fact that no wreckage has been found, and the fact that their radio was not heard, it is surmised that they may have been taken to the Chinese mainland. Do you suppose it would be advisable to ask Miss Han if she could ascertain anything concerning them?

I have purposely made this brief, and of course any further information will gladly be furnished.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

G. Everett Farmer

The missing boys are:

Allen T. Farmer	Signal Mountain, Tennessee
John L. Van Doehren	Elkhart, Indiana
Don C. Bohning	Belmond, Iowa
Duane L. Martin	Seattle, Washington

Name of boat: "TORA"

S. W.

2/24/59

RCVD CBS RADIO NWS NY

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CBS RADIO NWS NY GA PLS

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MURROW FOR KAY CAMPBELL PLEASE ADVISE

AVAILABILITY OF RECORDING AS REQUESTED MCCLURE

LETTER ON OUR BEHALF

JUNZ HANSARD SOCIETY

ACK PLS

RCVD CBS RADIO NWS NY

February 24, 1959

Dear Bill:

I would be grateful if you would advise Dr. Alfred Junz that he is authorized to make use of the interview I did with former President Harry S. Truman under the terms and conditions set forth in his letter to you under date of February 9. The project seems to me altogether worthwhile and I could wish that someone in this country had the courage and initiative to undertake a similar project.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

(signed in Mr. Murrow's absence)

Mr. William McClure
CBS News
26 Hallam Street
London W. 1.

February 24, 1959

Dear Bill:

Thanks for your letters. I have a feeling we will be working together quite considerably during the next year. By the time I come over in March for the Montgomery piece Fred and I should have made a few tentative plans at least. We reckon to originate a fair number of SMALL WORLDS out of London.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

(signed in Mr. Murrow's absence)

Mr. William McClure
CBS News
26 Hallam Street
London W. 1.

CBS NEWS
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

London Bureau

15th February, 1959.

Dear Ed:

Attached is a request from the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government to use the sound track of your interview with Harry Truman for educational purposes. I understand they want to dupe the track onto discs and distribute them to schools throughout the U.K., along with a collection of printed study materials about U.S. government. They have already received Mr. Truman's permission, as well as the BBC's.

If you are agreeable, could we have a note that could be passed on to Dr. Junz?

Best regards,

Bill

Bill McClure.

p.s. The clipping comes via Alex Kendrick!

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
CBS News,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

NEW SCIENTIST Feb. 5 '59.
"Notes & Comments"

B A announce the "Granada Lectures"

AN interesting new series of annual lectures is announced by the British Association. They will be called the Granada Lectures, for, although organised by the B A, they are being sponsored by the Granada T V Network. Their broad purpose is to explore the impact of communications in the field of the mass media—press, radio, television and film—in sociological, political and technical aspects, and their general title will be "Communication in the Modern World."

The first series of three lectures will be given in London in October this year. Sir Edward Appleton, F R S, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University and Nobel prize-winner, will give the opening lecture: his theme will be the significance for society of long-range communication and the exploration of space. The second lecturer will be Dr. Edward R. Murrow, the American television and radio commentator, who will deal with the impact of television and radio on politics and public affairs in a democracy.

Hi, Doc!

Sir Eric Ashby, the Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, who becomes Master of Clare College, Cambridge, this year, will lecture on methods of presenting scientific information to the man in the street, and the extent to which the part played by the mass media in this work might be extended or improved.

The lectures will be delivered to an invited audience, including representatives of science, industry, politics, education, local government and the mass media. A limited number of tickets will be available to the public, and the texts of the lectures will afterwards be published. A television pro-

gramme, in which it is hoped the lecturer will take part, will be linked with each lecture, dealing with its subject in appropriate form for a wide audience.

Further particulars will be made known in due course. Meanwhile, the B A deserves congratulation on its decision to launch this enterprise in conjunction with an independent television network which has been conspicuous for its intelligent and imaginative programme policy.

Submarine for undersea research

THE first submarine to be devoted only to underwater research—instead of more sinister business—is making its first research cruise, in the Barents Sea. It is a Russian vessel, the *Severyanka,* and its main work is the environmental study of fish for the Soviet Fishery Commission.

It would be difficult to say whether the Russians are the first of the maritime peoples to set aside a submarine for such work because the Soviet Union takes the harvest of the sea particularly seriously, or because she can best afford such a luxury since she possesses by far the largest submarine fleet in the world. In any case it is a sensible move. A submarine has advantages over other types of underwater observation "balloon"—such as a bathysphere or bathyscaph. It is much more manœuvrable; it can carry quite a large team of scientists aboard, and it can pursue its researches continuously for comparatively lengthy periods.

The observation of shoal movements is one of the main projects of the *Severyanka.* For this purpose she is equipped with echo-sounders that work both upwards and downwards. She also has a variety of photographic and lighting equipment to enable a thorough record of underwater life to be made. Underwater currents are closely associated with the large-scale movement of fish, and the Russians claim that their research submarine is fitted with new equipment for measuring and mapping such currents.

Measurements of the salinity and other chemical constituents of the water are also to be made, and there is apparatus for bottom sampling. Altogether it seems that the *Severyanka* and her equipment are a matter for envy to oceanographers of other countries.

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DOMESTIC February 24

12:00P
WU
GS

to:

EDWARD R. MURROW
KENILWORTH HOTEL
MIAMI
FLORIDA

MRS. MEYER'S ADDRESS 675 FIRST STREET NORTH NAPLES TELEPHONE NUMBER

MIDWAY 2-3936 REGARDS

SHEILA HOGG

514-70

NY 1-778 WU INTL CABLES GA PLS

THIS CBS NEWS NY WITH MSG

EDWARD R. MURROW

KENILWORTH HOTEL

MIAMI

FLORIDA

MRS. MEYERS ADDRESS 675 FIRST STREET NORTH NAPLES TELEPHONE NUMBER

MIDWAY 2-3936

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SW

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: E.R.Murrow

from: J. Zousmer February 24, 1959

Miss Hogg, if on one of his phone calls from Florida Mr. Murrow is interested, could you give him the following details:

Murrow, Zousmer and Irv Kahn will leave Idlewild 9:25 A.M. this Saturday, National flight #1 (Jet), arriving in Miami at 11:40 A.M.

The General's plane will take us to Melbourne, Florida, where we will stay at the Tradewinds Club, a hotel-motel. A suite has been reserved for Mr. Murrow.

The Club is twelve miles from Canaveral.

When we are ready to return, the General's plane will take Mr. Murrow back to Miami.

(Miss Hogg: This refers to prior conversations with General Medaris.)

jmi

2

S.C

February 28, 1959

Miss Han Suyin
c/o Dr. Pan
205 Gloucester Building
Hong Kong.

Dear Han Suyin:

I have now looked at the film. It is excellent. The editing will be difficult but we have high hopes.

I started to tell you on the circuit that I, too, have been in Korea and was with Morrison, Nyr and Buckley the night before they hit the landmine; was in fact scheduled to be with them but changed my mind at the last moment and went up to Pohang.

I propose to do some travelling in the course of the next year and cherish the hope that we may meet somewhere.

I enclose a small, tangible expression of our appreciation for your appearance in SMALL WORLD, as well as a check to cover your extra expenses in connection with the program.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

(signed in Mr. Murrow's absence)

Hotel Miramar

134, Nathan Rd., Kowloon

Hong Kong

UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF
MIRAMAR HOTEL & INVESTMENT CO. LTD.

HJM

CABLE ADDRESS
"MIRAMAR"
TELEPHONE
NO. 61261/9

Feb. 13, 19 59

Han Suyin

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I am writing to you personally to thank you for asking me to do a TV session on CBS; your team in Hongkong was wonderfully helpful and kind. I can assure you that anything I can do to help in the future I will do. I think the work you are doing is of outstanding importance to the world.

Thank you also for your interest in the fact that I am not allowed to visit the U.S. Why, I dont know. I have never been a member of a communist party, nor served in politics of any kind. But I have been subject to a good deal of trouble, on top and above losing the visa to the U.S. last year. I was invited to the U.S. by certain organizations but could not get permission zfter nine months of waiting and because my father had died I had to go to China in the meantime, and I was told that that "made all the difference" and after that I couldnt go. But there is more. Owing to the "cold war" it is quite possible that if I am considered too outspoken "for" China (although Heaven knows what I say is only what thousands of Englishmen and Frenchmen are saying even more forcefully than I do) I may have my American royalties frozen, in other words, be unable to get my money paid to me. This has not yet materialized, of course, but it is the kind of threat which is constantly being used by the U.S. towards businessmen and banks in Asia who are suspect of trading with China, and of course I would not like such a thing to happen to me because I certainly dont use my funds for boosting up the Chinese communist party or any other party; I live on my royalties like every other author does. Please keep this confidential as I dont want to make an issue of it unless something does happen. I am sure it wont happen now, because your name is one to conjure with. Perhaps after this the great american people will understand Asian attitudes a little better. We dont want to be communists, Mr. Murrow. It's because we dont want to be communists that we criticize America, because the things your people do only hasten the advent of communism.

Yours sincerely,

Han Suyin

MEMBER AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAVEL AGENTS ASTA

February 13, 1959

PATA Discover the Pacific

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: E.R.M.

from: K.C. February 20, 1959.

Miami flight plan as follows:

Sat. Feb. 21; Lv. Idlewild 1.55 p.m. National Airlines Flt. 5D

Arr. Miami 4.10 p.m.

You have a reservation at the Kenilworth Hotel.

Mon. Feb. 23: Mrs. Murrow arrives Miami 11.45 a.m., National Airlines Flt. 1D.

Fri. Feb. 27: Lv. Miami 10.25 a.m. National Airlines Flt. 400

Arr. Idlewild 2.15 p.m.

I have you wait-listed on the National Airlines Jet Flt. 2D leaving Miami at 1.25 p.m., Arriving Idlewild 3.45 p.m., so check with National on Thursday.

TO E.R.M.

FROM K.C. 2/20/59

Miami flight plan for second trip:

Sat. Feb. 28: Lv. Idlewild 1.55 p.m. National Flt. 5D

Arr. Miami 4.10 p.m.

Thur. Mar. 5 Lv. Miami 9.25 p.m. National Flt. 4D

Arr. Idlewild 11.40 p.m.

I will hold the tickets for the second trip here until you return next Friday.

S W.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Palmer Williams

from: Robert V. Evans

cc: Messrs. Mickelson
Murrow
Friendly
Fisher
Purcell

February 3, 1959

Re: SMALL WORLD

This will confirm our discussion in my office on January 23rd.

I understand that participants on SMALL WORLD are paid an "honorarium" of $500. but are not asked to sign any agreement or release. As the Legal Department has previously pointed out, the trouble with an oral consent is that it can be revoked at any time, thus permitting any participant to block re-use of the program in which he appeared. Further, the nature and extent of our rights is left unclear, i.e., do we have theatrical exhibition rights? For these reasons, we have strongly recommended that our rights be granted in writing.

I also understand that no copyright notice has been placed on any print or broadcast of any program in this series. You stated that, due to program time limitations, you expect to be able to put a copyright notice on only one out of three programs in the future. Permit me once again to point out that the network broadcast of a filmed program without a copyright notice places that program in the public domain. Upon the recommendation of the Legal Department, it has been CBS' policy for many years to include a copyright notice in all filmed programs. (SMALL WORLD and SEE IT NOW have been the only exceptions.)

We strongly recommend that you insert a copyright notice in all future programs. Your failure to take this simple precaution will result in the loss to CBS of the valuable assets which are represented by the copyrights in question.

RVE

RVE/rc

SW
Hagerty.

February 2, 1959

Dear Jim:

Further regarding today's telephone conversation.

Some three months ago, we started building a SMALL WORLD program with the idea that it would tie together various British Commonwealth Prime Ministers. This idea had the enthusiastic support of Prime Minister Macmillan. As of now, Macmillan, Diefenbaker and Menzies have agreed to participate.

As I told you on the 'phone, it occurred to me belatedly that we might turn this into an informal English-speaking world conversation, by including President Eisenhower. I have not raised this possibility with the three Prime Ministers mentioned above, but have reason to think they would of course agree enthusiastically. My suggestion briefly is this, that the conversation be filmed some time during the second or third week in February, that we fly the film in here, edit it and present the program for one hour at a peak viewing period, unsponsored, making it available to all networks in this country and to others in the English-speaking world.

You are of course familiar with the technique we employ in putting SMALL WORLD together and appreciate that the editing is done here in New York. If the President should be disposed to participate, I am sure there will be no difficulty in co-ordinating in advance the general areas to be discussed.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. James C. Hagerty
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Goldwyn, Sam

January 19, 1959

Dear Sam:

Thank you for sharing with me the letter from Helen Hayes and the others.

I would have you know that Fred Friendly and I spent a great deal of time last weekend looking at our outcuts and, while we are always the first to admit that any editing job in which we are engaged might have been better done, we do not see a second program in the existing material.

The B.B.C. has scheduled your conversation with Tynan and Leigh for some time in late February. If you wish me to withdraw it, I will of course do so, although I hope you won't.

For what it is worth, I remain convinced that the program, as presented, increased your stature and diminished Tynan's. Nothing could diminish my affection for you and Frances.

As ever yours,

KRM:skh

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa
Hollywood 46, California

SW
~~Natalie~~
F

January 15, 1959

Dr. Galo Plaza
Avenida 6 de Diciembre 1300
Quito
Ecuador

Dear Dr. Plaza:

The pictures and publicity in connection with your appearance on SMALL WORLD is now being prepared and should reach you shortly. We will also dispatch to you a kinescope of the half-hour. The public response was not massive, but was universally favourable.

I hope that we may have the opportunity to work together again in this area that interests both of us so much.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

AVENIDA 6 DE DICIEMBRE 1300
QUITO, ECUADOR

January 7, 1959.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I arrived in New York only a few days after the SMALL WORLD program I participated in was broadcast. I am happy to report that I have received many letters from people who saw it, which gives me the satisfaction to know that the part I played was not too poorly done.

In your kind letter of December 3 you promise to send pictures and publicity as soon as they are available, I would also like to know what reaction did you get from the show and if it is at all possible to get a recording of it.

Thanking you for the opportunity of participating in one of your truely worth while and constructive programs, I am with best wishes,

Sincerely,

Galo

Galo Plaza

GP:jb

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SW

PLEASE FORWARD TO ED MURROW QUOTE WE HAD SPEICAL SHOWING SMALL WORL STARRING BG UUU MURROW IN PMS OFFICE THIS MORNING STOP ALL THRILLED HIGH STANDARD PEXXX PRESENTATION CONTENT AND YOUR VIRTUOSITY HARNESSING AND SKILFULLY REIGNING SO UNPREDICTABLE TWOHOURSE TEAM STOP CONGRATULATIONS REGARDS AND RESPECTS TEDDY MOISH

UNQUOTE

435

SW.

January 12, 1959

His Excellency, The Ambassador of India
2107 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I should by all means have submitted the enclosed letter to you before dispatching it to Prime Minister Nehru, and I trust you will forgive my tardiness.

We have over the years done several programs with Prime Minister Nehru and I am most hopeful that he will find it possible to participate in this one. If you think the proposal has merit, perhaps you would be willing to support our request to Prime Minister Nehru. He is already familiar with the technique involved, since he appeared on the first program, together with Thomas E. Dewey and Aldous Huxley.

Sincerely yours,

KRM:skh

enc.

(Smallwood)

January 7, 1959

Dear Bill:

Belated thanks for yours of December 15. The Golunsky suggestion is admirable, but there is one difficulty. CBS has been flung out of the Soviet Union and they would not permit us to send a camera crew in to do the filming. I will try to come up with some alternate suggestions in the course of the next few weeks.

I long for some talk with you and, if you are up this way, we still shoot pheasant and duck in the country until the end of February.

As ever yours,

KRM:skh

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D.C.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

December 15, 1958

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your invitation to be on Small World. Mercedes and I both think it's your best television show yet.

Here's an idea -- Lord Denning of England (an old friend), Professor S. A. Golunsky of Moscow University; and myself.

I know Golunsky quite well. He speaks English. He was Prosecutor for Russia at the Tokyo Trials, a participant at Dumbarton Oaks and at the San Francisco U. N. meeting. He has recently been in this country as a member of a Russian delegation.

We could have a real go-around on Russian - English - American law.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

SW

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

December 24, 1958

MARIA CALLAS, VICTOR BORGE, SIR THOMAS BEECHAM, IN FIRST TWO-PART BROADCAST ON "SMALL WORLD" JAN. 4 AND JAN. 11

Maria Callas, brilliant star of the operatic world, will discuss that world with the eminent British conductor Sir Thomas Beecham and Victor Borge in a two-part broadcast on "Small World" Sunday, Jan. 4 and Sunday, Jan. 11, on the CBS Television Network (6:00-6:30 PM, EST).

(Editors note: Writers Romain Gary, Martha Gellhorn and Malcolm Muggeridge, originally scheduled to be the guests on "Small World" on Jan. 4, will be seen at a later date.)

Madame Callas, the most talked about prima donna of our day, will join the intercontinental discussion from Milan, Italy. Sir Thomas, as famed for his caustic wit as for his great service to music, participates from Nice, France. Maestro Borge, distinguished pianist, conductor, composer and entertainer, joins the conversation from his farm in Southbury, Conn. Edward R. Murrow, the host, will be seen in the "Small World" studio in New York.

Co-producers Murrow and Fred W. Friendly consider the conversation of these giants of the music world so volatile and entertaining -- an opus major, as it were -- that they have decided to present it to viewers in two consecutive broadcasts, the first in the "Small World" series.

(More)

"WHERE WE STAND II" VIS-A-VIS RUSSIA...SUNDAY, JAN. 4, 4:00-5:00 PM, EST

Among the topics to be discussed will be: the use of claques in the world of entertainment; the relationship between a performer and the audience; sharing of responsibility for the ultimate product by the singer, the conductor and the manager; the effect of hi-fi and other modern electronic methods of communication on the concert world; why there is so much tradition and so little "trail-blazing" in opera; and a discussion of the relationship between a certain diva and a certain opera impressario.

"Small World" is produced for the CBS Television Network by Murrow and Friendly. Associate producer is Palmer Williams. The series is sponsored by the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation through the D'Arcy Advertising Company.

* * *

Small World

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Sheila Hogg

December 22, 1958

Sir Harold Caccia telephoned this morning. He has received an answer from Harold Macmillan about SMALL WORLD.

The answer is "yes", subject to the following conditions:

(1) He would not be available until about the middle of January.

(2) He very much wants Mr. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, as one of the participants.

(3) With regard to an African participant, he would prefer if possible to get a Prime Minister from an emerging Commonwealth country, i.e. the Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, rather than one from an established country, such as Nkrumah of Ghana.

Sir Harold suggests you now deal directly through your London office to make arrangements. Mr. Harold Evans is the Prime Minister's publicity man. From the Foreign Office point of view, you would have to deal with Sir Paul Gore-Booth (d'Arcy Edmund's predecessor).

Sir Harold would like you to telephone if possible about 6 p.m.

SW

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

December 9, 1958

VIVIEN LEIGH TO MAKE TELEVISION DEBUT ON "SMALL WORLD";
MARIA CALLAS, SAMUEL GOLDWYN, GROUCHO MARX, KENNETH TYNAN,
AND SIR THOMAS BEECHAM SCHEDULED FOR UPCOMING BROADCASTS

Sen. James O. Eastland, Herblock, And Denis Brogan
To Discuss Filibuster Rule On Program Of Dec. 21

Six famous personalities from the world of entertainment -- an actress, an opera singer, a motion picture producer, a comedian, a drama critic, and a conductor -- all at the top of their callings, will discuss various phases of show business with Edward R. Murrow and each other in two "Small World" programs scheduled for showing on the CBS Television Network in late December or early January.

On Sunday, Dec. 21, Senator James O. Eastland (Dem. Miss.); Herblock, syndicated editorial cartoonist of the Washington Post Times Herald; and Denis W. Brogan, Professor of Political Science at Cambridge, will join Murrow in an intercontinental discussion of the workings of the U.S. Senate's controversial filibuster rule. Sen. Eastland will speak from Jackson, Mississippi, Herblock from Washington, D. C., and Professor Brogan, an eminent authority on American politics, from Cambridge, England.

Vivien Leigh, who with Sir Laurence Olivier makes up Britain's most famous acting couple, will make her television debut on "Small

(More)

World" to discuss the motion picture industry in the United States and Great Britain with Samuel Goldwyn, this country's leading independent motion picture producer, and Kenneth Tynan, former drama critic for the London Observer, now performing similar duties for the New Yorker magazine. Miss Leigh will participate from London, Mr. Goldwyn from Hollywood, and Mr. Tynan from New York.

Maria Callas, brilliant star of the operatic world, will discuss that world with foremost British conductor Sir Thomas Beecham and Groucho Marx, who lists among his most successful motion pictures that penetrating and exciting documentary of the world of the diva and the aria, "A Night At The Opera." Miss Callas will join in from Milan, Italy, Sir Thomas from Nice, France, and Groucho from Los Angeles.

"Small World" is produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. Associate Producer is Palmer Williams. The series is sponsored, alternately, by Renault, Inc., and the Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation. The agency for Renault is Needham, Louis & Brorby, Inc. The agency for Olin Mathieson is D'Arcy Advertising Company.

* * *

S.W.

Barnard College
Columbia University
New York 27

November 30th
1958

Dear Ed

Your talk with Truman and Atlee was simply wonderful. A consolation to old age to hear so much sense [so expertly arranged].

I wonder how many government listened? Bee-naist.

I am glad to hear that you are writing my obituary. I had been worried about what might be said. -- I liked your Thanksgiving radio talk too, though kinder melancholy∫

yrs

Cab

Bust

∫ Melancholy, because I don't think our boom or bust psychology will change, until we bust. And we don't believe we can, despite Pearl Harbor and sputnik and closed schools in the South and a Russian atomic plane. -- But you tell 'em, kid.

PHOTO DIVISION PRESS INFORMATION

TRUMAN AND ATTLEE WILL REMINISCE, COMPARE

GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS ON "SMALL WORLD" NOV. 30, 1958

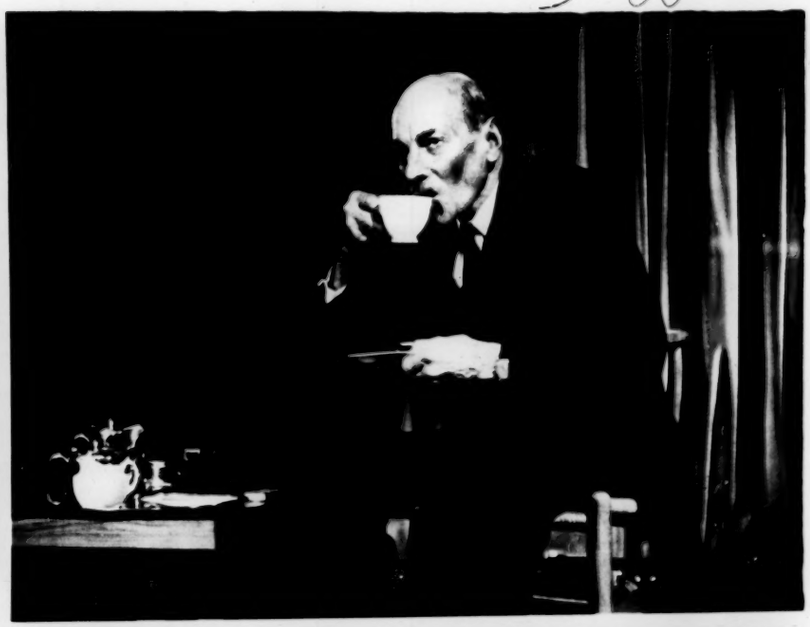
Harry S. Truman, 33rd President of the United States, and Clement Richard Attlee, 40th Prime Minister of Great Britain, will join in an unrehearsed, intercontinental conversation with Edward R. Murrow on "Small World" on the CBS Television Network, Sunday, Nov. 30 (6:00-6:30 PM, EST).

Mr. Truman will speak from his office in the Truman Memorial Library at Independence, Missouri. Earl Attlee will speak from studios in London. They will discuss differences between the U.S. and British systems of government and will also reminisce about personalities and events that shaped the world's news when they were at the heads of their respective governments.

SUBJECT: HARRY S. TRUMAN, CLEMENT ATTLEE
PROGRAM: "SMALL WORLD"
ON AIR: SUNDAY, NOV. 30
6:00-6:30 PM, EST
SPONSOR: (ALTERNATE WEEKS)
OLIN MATHIESON CHEMICAL CORP.
AGENCY: D'ARCY ADVERTISING CO.
RENAULT, INC. AGENCY: NEEDHAM, LOUIS & BRORBY, INC.
"X" 11/18/58

CBS TELEVISION *485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.*

S W



MONDAY
MISS STREETER
MRS G[illegible]

70 E. 45 John Stella

1958

From Collingwood to Friendly

Attlee agreeable even enthusiastic. He leaves for American lecture tour November 1, prefers October 26 or 27 shooting our afternoon your morning. Could do early evening here on 29th in pinch. He wants you check Colston Leigh that this won't contravene his lecture agreement.

JONES
CLEM-
TV?

Jan Werth

Small World.

M CBS NEWS NY GA

WU INTL CABLES SENDING

PARIS 30/29 13 1143

CBSINC

NYK

BURKE PROFRIENDLY IF LONG DOCUMENTARY IMPRACTICAL WHATS POSSIBILITY STARTING CONTACT WORK SMALL WORLD EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS ALSO TECHNICAL PLANS STOP WOULD LIKE TELEPHONE WHEN CONVENIENT ADVISE REGARDS

MCCLURE

705AMEST END PSE ACK

CBS NEWS NY RECD

S.W.

November 21, 1958

Dear Madam Callas:

It was a delight to chat with you on the phone the other night, and we are looking forward to the "SMALL WORLD of Maria Callas".

Friendly and I have spent the last few hours playing with various names and have some exciting suggestions. Our first recommendation is:

Maria Callas, in Italy
Sir Thomas Beecham, in London
Groucho Marx, in Los Angeles

The three of you would have much in common - a keen sense of humor, a high respect for music and culture, and are superb conversationalists. We are reasonably certain that we could coordinate a date for mid December, and will go to work on it as soon as we hear from you.

We are listing some other names which interest us, and for which you may have an appetite if the Callas-Beecham-Marx trio doesn't work out. They are: Leonard Bernstein, Jackie Gleason, Noel Coward, Victor Borge, Yehudi Menuhin. It would be our hope that at least two of the three participants would be from the musical world. We could do it in January or February. The only problem is that Beecham will be in the United States after January 1, and you will be here for January, and I have the feeling that it would be a more exciting show with Callas in Italy, and Beecham in London.

I hope this letter reaches you by Sunday, and that you will feel free to wire me or phone me with your reactions. My warmest regards to Signor Meneghini and, of course, yourself.

Cordially,

Edward R. Murrow

Madame Maria Meneghini Callas
Hotel Ambassador
Los Angeles, California

ERM/hl

S W.

November 18, 1958

Dear Rebecca:

The Admiral, who is an old and dear friend of mine, did himself no good. That camera revealed him as what he is. Those of us who know him forgive him his faults of personality because of his accomplishments, but the public reaction was not favourable.

Have no worries about what you call your screech-owling. We all have a tendency to talk louder than normal over long distances, and I was at fault in not suggesting that your voice was loud and clear and did not require quite so much volume. You will be interested to know that we have had no complaints on that score, and what we are hoping to get on this program is intelligent conversation and not necessarily mellifluous voices.

We will be making another proposal to you before long. Meanwhile, if you get any ideas, drop me a note. We live on other people's ideas and admit it freely.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Miss Rebecca West
Ibstone House
Ibstone
Nr. High Wycombe
Bucks.

TURVILLE HEATH 310

IBSTONE HOUSE,
IBSTONE,
Nr HIGH WYCOMBE,
BUCKS.

November 8,1958.

My dear Ed,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to one Mrs Tyte who sent you a long feminist effusion. I am sorry for Rickover. He made a mistake, he was tiresomely playful - I felt I had to stop him there in case we went into a Mad Hatter's Tea-party of an argument with one of the three debaters misunderstanding the position of another one - and that was all that there was to it. He is, whatever else he is, an intelligent man, he knows a lot of things the rest of us don't - I hate the disproportionate comment on this tiny dislocation which I find in my mail.

But I am sad about my voice. I know I sound like the child of a schoolmarm and an adventurous buck screech-owl. The fact is that I can't make Henry hear unless I talk at a pitch not natural to me, and my chords are always strained. When he went to America for a month recently I noticed the great change in my throat and my voice. I shall quite understand if you count me out of any future date on the ground of screech-owling.

Anyway it was great fun, and we so much liked the team.

Yours ever,

Rebecca.

My salutations to Fred.

November 8, 1958.

Dear Mrs Tyte,

Thank you very much for your letter and the copy of the letter you have sent to Mr Murrow. But really I think you take the incident too hard. I do not believe that the Admiral had the slightest intention of being offensive. He was ploughing on with his job and I suspect he genuinely did not get the drift of what I said. (he made another mistake of the same sort later in the programme, I don't know if it was cutor if it survived.) Then, when I caught him up - and I felt there was no sense going ahead with a discussion when one of the debaters didn't understand the position of another - I think he tried to be playful. I can assure you that when we were not on the air he talked to me pleasantly and gayly.

Really, I feel you are unjust to him. He is not very flexible, obviously, but I am sure he had no personal ill will against me, and he strikes me as a most intelligent man. For example, I think the emphasis he puts on our waste of essential materials,and the likelihood that quite soon there will be none to waste, is a most useful piece of work.

But I am quite in agreement with you that it is infuriating when a man is in an argument with a woman and suddenly mentions the fact that she is a woman as if this were a form of lunacy <u>and</u> prevented him from having to prove his case by ordinary logical methods. I am all with you there. But I don't think this was really a case of this sort of oebjectionable behaviour.

I think there was a mistake, and an attempt to pass it over.

I am sorry you found my voice so distressing. The truth is that I have to shout at my husband all day long, not because I do not like him (I do) b ut because he is very deaf, and I have a perpetual sore throat.

Thank you for writing to Mr Murrow, and believe, p ease, that I am all with you on general principles, but I do not think the Admiral fitted into the category where you want to place him.

Yours sincerely,

Soustelle, Jacques

S.W.

November 18, 1958

Mr. Jacques Soustelle
Minister of Information
Paris
France

Dear Mr. Minister:

Thank you for your participation in SMALL WORLD. Unfortunately, we had to eliminate the most illuminating discussion of the French Constitution, but I am hopeful that we may be able to present it at another time on another program.

I enjoyed the conversation very much, and trust that, when you see the kinescope, you will feel that our editing was at least tolerable.

Yours very truly,

ERM:skh

enc. check - $500

Schoenbrun, Dave

November 18, 1958

Dear Mr. Schoenbrun:

I understand from Mr. Friendly's office that all the contact with Mr. Soustelle concerning his participation on SMALL WORLD has been through you. I wonder, therefore, whether you would be kind enough to do one last thing - pass on to him the enclosed letter from Mr. Murrow. I am sending you a copy of it, for your information.

Thank you so much for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. David Schoenbrun
CBS
33 Champs Elysees
Paris 8
France

Columbia TV: Let Egocentric Egbert Morrow add this to the so-called Peabody awards ?! etc.

11-13-58

Harry Hathaway, Long Beach, Cali

ical Arena

Board Proves McCarthy Right in Probe Charge

By Fulton Lewis Jr.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12.

ANOTHER chapter in that period of American history characterized by liberal historians as the "Reign of Terror" has come to a close. And once again it ends with the conclusion that the late Senator Joe McCarthy was correct, and those who screamed "witch-hunt" and "smear" were wrong.

In February and March of 1954, Senator McCarthy's investigating committee conducted hearings in Washington and Fort Monmouth, N.J. on subversion in the Army Signal Corps. It was a sensational investigation, complete with the Fifth Amendment witnesses who clammed up when asked whether or not they were committing espionage for the Soviet Union.

FULTON LEWIS JR.

In Washington, the Committee questioned a frail Negro woman by the name of Annie Lee Moss. She was a Pentagon employee, decoding and transmitting classified messages from the State Department, the CIA, the Army Security Agency and the General Staff regularly.

When Senate investigators began checking Mrs. Moss' background they noticed she had had more than her share of loyalty screenings and hearings.

Mrs. Moss passed her loyalty checks, however, despite numerous warnings from FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover. He told the security agencies in question that a former FBI undercover agent, Mrs. Helen Markward, knew Annie Lee Moss to be a card-carrying Communist while Mrs. Markward was a high-ranking Party official in Washington.

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Mrs. Moss passed her loyalty checks, however, despite numerous warnings from FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover. He told the security agencies in question that a former FBI undercover agent, Mrs. Helen Markward, knew Annie Lee Moss to be a card-carrying Communist while Mrs. Markward was a high-ranking Party official in Washington.

McCarthy's Committee called Mrs. Markward, and she named Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, under oath, as a dues-paying Communist.

Liberals Open Fire

When Mrs. Moss denied that she was a Red, that was enough for America's liberals. Obviously, they declared, she wasn't a Communist. That she had denied, and that was enough proof for them.

Edward R. Murrow devoted a whole TV show to Annie Lee Moss, proving that she was a simple woman being "destroyed by McCarthyism." The New York Post jumped into the fray by running a feature story on McCarthy's "latest victim," depicting her as a very religious woman with Bibles all over her home and a "God Bless Our Home" sign on the wall.

The Daily Worker picked up the ball by denouncing Mrs. Markward as a "perjurer" and a "paid informer."

Vindication in Report

But McCarthy has now been vindicated. Based on official Communist Party membership rolls, the Subversive Activities Control Board has issued a report which declares that Annie Lee Moss was a card-carrying dues-paying member of the Communist conspiracy.

In March of 1954 Wayne Morse and Stuart Symington and Hubert Humphrey ranted and raved in unison about McCarthyism and Annie Lee Moss. But following the Subversive Activities Control Board's report they are strangely silent. They all refuse comment.

(Copyright, 1958, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

(Listen to Fulton Lewis Jr. daily at 4 p. m. and 7 p. m. on KHJ Don Lee.)

cc: Kay

SMALL WORLD - Shooting instructions:

x PARTICIPANT NOT MR MURROW

Reel 1	CLOSE-UP	
Reel 2	MEDIUM	.... then alternate for the rest of the show.

AFTER THE SHOW:

Repeat OPENING and CLOSING shots but OPPOSITE to the way originally done.

Repeat a THIRD time on LONG SHOT.

Plus, LONG SHOTS of subject LISTENING (including nodding his head, smiling, lighting cigarette if smoked during show...)

VERY IMPORTANT: Really tight CLOSE-UP and WIDE SHOT of participant saying "This is .... in .....)
e.g. "This is Brendan Behan in Dublin"

Re MR. MURROW --- IN ADDITION, New York want
ONE MEDIUM
and ONE WIDE shot
of Mr. Murrow saying "This is Ed Murrow in London, and this is Small World".

NOTE: Mr. Murrow must not be shot in close-up - only medium-close and medium shots during the show.

Telefax WESTERN UNION Telefax

NEWYORK NY 9 1129A

ML 3

EDWARD R MURROW
CONNAUGHT HOTEL CARLOS PLACE
LONDON W1

FAX 2

WAS SHOCKED DISAPPOINTED AND EMBARRASSED BY THE BAD TASTE OF THE SMALL WORLD PROGRAM INVOLVING BRENDAN BEHAN STOP WOULD APPRECIATE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPLETE DISCUSSION ON YOUR RETURN

STANLEY DE J OSBORNE

REPT W1

1270 (1-81)

VIA COMMERCIAL CABLES

November 10, 1959.

As you know I regard taste in television more important than judgment and regret that we appear to differ on taste of including Behan sequence stop Delighted as always to converse on whole matter upon my return stop Regards

Ed Murrow

RADIO-SCHWEIZ AG. **RADIOGRAMM-RADIOGRAMME** RADIO-SUISSE S.A.

63

Erhalten - Reçu **„VIA RADIOSUISSE"** Befördert - Transmis

von - de	Stunde - Heure	NAME - NOM	nach - à	Stunde - Heure	NAME - NOM
02 XI	59 20	00			

4063
ROMA 1365 24/23 2/12 1800 VIA IMP
1207 2 20:20

EDWARD R MURROW
HOTEL BEAURIVAGE
GENEVE

Winston wants to talk to you after 3

New York — 6 - circuit from studio -

CORRECTED COPY OF IRAN SCRIPT AIR FREIGHTED TO YOU TONIGHT
VIA TWA 801 WAYBILL 899658 REGARDS
BURDETT

Bill McClure is at the Hôtel du Rhône — will be stopping in between 12 and 1 — will pick up copy from Winston at the airport -

Nr. 20 7300 X 100 2/59

f SW.

November 10, 1958

Miss Martha Gellhorn
20 Chester Square
London S.W. 1.

Dear Miss Gellhorn:

I thought I would drop you a line to reassure you about the print of your SMALL WORLD.

As soon as it is aired here, a print will be sent over to Bill McClure of CBS at 26 Hallam Street, London W. 1. It will be there for you to take at any time.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

20, CHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1
SLOANE 3137

Dearest Ed;

I am sending you under separate cover the galleys of "The Face of War." We all know that it is hell to read anything in galleys. On top of that, I am asking you to read with lightning speed, as if you didn't have more to do than anyone.

Reason for the hopeless speed element is this:

Though I have not got my visa, I am supposed to leave for Poland on Nov 2. (I think there's a new freeze there -- due maybe to Hlasko, Pasternak, Gomulka's hamage visit to the Kings of the East?) I must mail my corrected galleys to Simon and Schuster before I go. I must also get any last minute corrections in to them, before page proofing.

So I hope you will read like a streak of light and send me any corrections, simply by snipping out the bit that is wrong, with a note in the margin, and marked on it what the galley page is. If you airmail that here, either I will get it (no visa) or Tom will forward it at once and I'll still get it in time to wire, if need be, changes to S. and S. or even airmail them from Warsaw.

What I beg you to look for is: 1) any inaccuracies in fact 2) any moments -- this would be in my new introductory stuff - where I seem to you illogical or incomprehensible or just plain deadly.

This book, unlike any other I've ever done, matters to me

immensely. I feel, in a way, like a dime story David against the dime store Goliaths of horrors like Teller and maniacs like Kissinger. And even against my sweet halfwitted chum, General James M. Gavin. It cannot therefore be a wholly bad or silly book; too much (not me) is at stake; and every voice raised on the side of life, and against the side of insanity and death, must be convincing. See? That's why I ask you to do this. I wouldn't ordinarily trouble you.

Charles tells me that BBC will take only the "Small Worlds" that they choose and that they loathe M. Muggeridge. I would be delighted never to be on BBC, but do remind Friendly that it was said a film of "our" show could be had here, for private showing. To Tom, no less. Who really seems to care about this in a way which I find flattering if dotty. I told him I would remind you. I have. Thank you kindly.

In a way, I suppose I am getting too old to care so much about the follies that afflict mankind. I wish I could get such a long term view that I could relax. But not on nuclear weapons; if those nuclear boobs can't be stopped there won't be any long term view, for anyone. However.

Love,

Martha

Oct 27

S. W.

November 7, 1958

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so very much for participating in the SMALL WORLD program with Lord Attlee. Everything went well, and I am sure you will be happy with the result when you see the program. I will let you know when it is to be on the air.

In the meantime, here is a very small but tangible expression of our appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable Harry S. Truman
Independence, Missouri

mcc

Truman
C

February 4, 1958

Dear Mr. President:

The initial reactions to yesterday's program have been excellent. The British Broadcasting Corporation will be presenting it in England sometime during the next couple of weeks.

I am proud to have had a small part in presenting it, and I am looking forward to studying the film collected by the Library and with a view toward doing it at some future date as it is the first literal and authentic film of a president's tenure in office.

Respectfully,

The Honorable Harry S. Truman
Independence, Missouri

fc

HARRY S. TRUMAN
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

January 18, 1958

Dear Ed:

Thank you very much for your letter of the tenth. I am looking forward with interest to the broadcast on February second and am hoping that it will cause you no loss of face or money.

I do not believe I enjoyed anything more than our meeting in Florida, and, of course, I want this to work out all right for everyone concerned.

I cannot help but say again how very much I appreciated being with you and your friends and colleagues in New York at the Overseas Press Club.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

~~Attlee, Lord~~
S. W. guests.

November 7, 1958

Dear Lord Attlee:

Thank you so very much for participating in the SMALL WORLD program with President Truman. Everything went well, and I am sure you will be happy with the result when you see the program. I will let you know when it is to be on the air.

In the meantime, here is a very small but tangible expression of our appreciation.

I look forward to seeing you when you come to the States. With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

The Right Honorable The Earl Attlee, K.G., O.M., C.H.
Cherry Cottage
Prestwood
Great Missenden
Bucks
England

mcc

S.W.

October 31, 1958

Dear Prime Minister:

I write to inform you that the public reaction to your television appearance with Governor Dewey and Aldous Huxley was most gratifying. We have received numerous requests that it be repeated or expanded, and, fortunately, we have sufficient material to present another half-hour of the conversation, which we shall do in due course.

We are much in your debt for participating in the initial SMALL WORLD program and hope that, at some future date, you will permit us to visit you again.

I am enclosing a terribly small but tangible expression of our appreciation.

Respectfully yours,

EEM:skh

Prime Minister Nehru
New Delhi
India

S.W

October 31, 1958

Mr. Robert Valode
Renault, Inc.
425 Park Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Valode:

First of all, let me congratulate you upon your commercials. They are sophisticated and altogether delightful. They are in impeccable taste, and I don't remember working under such agreeable sponsorship. I hope we sell lots of Renaults.

Yours very truly,

ERM:skh

RENAULT of France
RENAULT, INC.
425 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 1 - 6200

October 13, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have just returned from Paris where, as you know, I spent a week in the company of 160 Renault Distributors and Dealers.

We projected last year's SMALL WORLD program in a Paris theater, and believe me, their reception was enormously enthusiastic.

SMALL WORLD is certainly of the highest quality, and our Distributors and Dealers were unanimous in their approval of our choice of programs.

I, personally, am very pleased to have your name associated with that of Renault, and it was particularly exciting to see you on television yesterday moderating the first program of this year. I am sure this will be a mutually successful endeavor.

As soon as our friends from Needham, Louis and Brorby return from Paris, I will be in touch with you. I look forward with great pleasure to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Robert Valode
Vice President and
General Manager

RV/fs

Sales — Service — Parts 70-65 QUEENS BOULEVARD, WOODSIDE 77, L.I., N.Y. • DEFENDER 5-0520
Factory Parts Depot BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

S.W.

upc

October 30, 1958

Dear Harold:

The idea is roughly this. Some time in late December or early January, I would like to do an hour-long television program for distribution in this country and throughout the Commonwealth. This would involve a conversation between Prime Minister Macmillan and perhaps Diefenbaker, Nehru and Nkrumah. The four men would be linked together with telephone and shortwave circuits, and synchronous cameras would film the conversation at all four points. We would then fly the film into New York and edit it.

As I see it, the conversation would deal primarily with the accomplishments of the Commonwealth during the past year and the aspirations for the future. I would participate only to the extent of asking an occasional question, but this would be in no sense an interrogation or a debate. Each participant could converse with the others from his home, his office or a studio. No travelling would be involved. The total time required would be approximately two hours.

My suggestion of participants is of course wholly tentative, but it would seem to me advisable to have someone from Asia, Africa and, of course, Canada.

The key to unlock this Commonwealth door is obviously Prime Minister Macmillan and, if he were willing to give it even passing consideration, I would be delighted to fly to London to discuss it with him. If, in his view, the idea has merit, I am confident that we would encounter no difficulty in securing other participants who would be acceptable to him.

I really believe we could make television history with this program and we could teach people in this country something about the British Commonwealth.

Sincerely yours,

over....

P.S. I am delighted you can join us on the weekend of December 13, and I will be in touch with your office about your travel plans in due course. Janet and I hope you will arrive as early as possible and stay as long as you possibly can.

Sir Harold Caccia, K.C.M.G.
British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

TELEVISION PROGRAM

Planned and Produced Under the Direction of

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY

430 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

OLIN MATHIESON CHEMICAL CORPORATION

PRESENTS

EDWARD R. MURROW

"S M A L L W O R L D"

CBS-TV Network
New York, New York

Sunday, October 19, 1958

RADIO AND TELEVISION DEPARTMENT

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY
430 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sponsor: Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.
Product: Corporate
Copy No.: 1st comm'l
Program: SMALL WORLD
Station:
Time:
Date: 10/19/58
Length:

VIDEO	AUDIO
BACKLIT LONGSHOT. ANNOUNCER IN FOREGROUND IN DARK.	Welcome to all of you from Olin Mathieson.
LIGHTS HIT ANNOUNCER HE MOVES TOWARD GLOBE. ON WORD "FASCINATING" GLOBE ILLUMINATES TO OLIN MATHIESON	I'm Byron Carlson. This week and on subsequent weeks, it will be my pleasure to introduce to you the fascinating world of Olin Mathieson.
HE GESTURES TOWARD GLOBE, THEN MOVES TOWARD 1st LOUVRE	And quite a world it is. 368 offices and plants in 91 countries - plants that are busy making products for your every-day living.
AT FIRST LOUVRE	Products such as Squibb Pharmaceuticals and Squibb Vitamins -- a trusted name for 100 years ..and dozens of other Squibb products familiar to all of you.
AT SECOND LOUVRE	Busy making chemicals -under such names as Mathieson and Blockson. 13 million pounds of chemicals each day to help industry and agriculture produce the things you need.
AT THIRD LOUVRE	In metals, Olin Mathieson brings you quality Olin Aluminum and tailor-made Western Brass--for countless uses.

RADIO AND TELEVISION DEPARTMENT

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY
430 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sponsor Olin Mathieson | Station
Product | Time
Copy No. 1st comm'l | Date 10/19/58
Program SMALL WORLD | Length page 2

VIDEO	AUDIO
AT FOURTH LOUVRE	And for your recreation: Winchester and Western Sporting Arms and Ammunition -- recognized by sportsmen everywhere as The Symbols of Shooting Supremacy.
AT FIFTH LOUVRE	To serve you in the modern field of packaging, there are Olin Cellophane, Frostkraft containers and other paper products -- and fine Ecusta Cigarette and Lightweight papers.
AT SIXTH LOUVRE	And finally, in the field of energy, Olin Mathieson pioneers in Nuclear and High Energy Fuels for defense and in commercial explosives vital to industry.
HE MOVES TO FOREGROUND	That's the world of Olin Mathieson As you get to know more about it, we believe you'll find it an active and fascinating one. But for now, back to Edward R. Murrow and "Small World".

RADIO AND TELEVISION DEPARTMENT

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY
430 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sponsor Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp. Station
Product Winchester-Western Time
Copy No. 2nd comm'l Date 10/19/58
Program SMALL WORLD Length

VIDEO	AUDIO
ANNOUNCER	Let's talk about a division of Olin Mathieson that's mighty important right now to the 21 million hunters in the United States - the Winchester-Western Division.
POINTS TO STILL OF HUNTER AND SON	Throughout most of the country, scenes like this are coming to life as boys and their dads reach for their Winchesters and head for the upland fields. And when they get there, they'll point more naturally and bring home a lot more to brag about than the fellow who doesn't shoot a Winchester.
POINTS TO MODEL 50	Take this new and improved Winchester featherweight automatic shotgun, for example. Besides pride of ownership and superb craftsmanship, the Model 50 brings you a unique design that reduces recoil effect up to 20%.
POINTS TO 4 BOXES OF AMMO PROMINENTLY DISPLAYED	When you team this or any Winchester shotgun with Western or Winchester Shot Shells you get the finest combination

RADIO AND TELEVISION DEPARTMENT

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY
430 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sponsor | Station
Product | Time
Copy No. Winchester-Western | Date 10/19/58
2nd comm;1
Program | Length page 2

VIDEO	AUDIO
	money can buy.
PIC STARTS TO MOVE. PHEASANT, QUAIL AND GROUSE FROM RED LETTER DAYS	Then, when Pheasant burst from cover like feathered bombs, or wily Quail and Grouse start to put distance and trees between you and them, you're all set for some real red letter hunting days.

RADIO AND TELEVISION DEPARTMENT

D'ARCY ADVERTISING COMPANY
430 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Sponsor: Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp
Station:
Product: Corporate
Time:
Copy No.: 3rd comm'l
Date: 10/19/58
Program: SMALL WORLD
Length:

VIDEO	AUDIO
ANNOUNCER IN FOREGROUND. ON WORD, "MANY" THE LOUVRES CASCADE ON DIMLY.	On "Small World" this week, we've introduced you to the fascinating world of Olin Mathieson - a world where the knowledge and experience gained in many fields helps make each individual product in each field better for you.
HE EXITS AT END OF AUDIO AS WE MOVE IN ON LIT OLIN MATHIESON SYMBOL AND SUPER OLIN MATHIESON.	We'll be looking forward to seeing you again in future weeks. Until then, this is Byron Carlson speaking for Olin Mathieson and saying thanks for being with us.

KAY: "Small World" check list for SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11th.

On air 1600 GMT.

Brendan Behan	Ardmore Studios, Bray, nr Dublin.
Jackie Gleason	Philadelphia
John Mason Brown	NYC
Mr. Murrow	London

LOCATION: Mr. Murrow in Studio 3.A, Broadcasting House.

LINES: Incoming & Outgoing Music lines, plus Control line between B.H. and Dublin will open at 1530 GMT.

Atlantic circuit will open at 1545 GMT.

CAMERA: From Zenith Film Studios, Flat Six, 2 Cleveland Gdns., W.2. Tel: AMB 9742.

The man in charge is Bob Huke; he will be setting up from 1 PM onwards.

It's a Mitchell BNC camera, and this crew have already been on three Small Worlds (Michael Foot, Lord Birkett and Lord Boyd-Orr).

SOUND: 35mm Westrex 1135 Channel from Location Sound Facilities, Lancaster Mews, Richmond Hill, Surrey. Tel: RIChmond 6625

~~His~~
The man in charge is John Hales. Home phone: MOLesey 3898 (Hampton Court)

LIGHTING: 2 electricians, plus lighting equipment, from Mole-Richardsons; ELGar 7205.

MAKEUP: ~~John~~ Sid Turner; home phone KEN 9970. He will be at the studio at 3 PM.

*** ----------

Re. DUBLIN: Cyril Bliss and Frank Binney fly to Dublin on Saturday morning; I follow on Saturday afternoon.

All staying at the Gresham Hotel; DUBLIN 46881.

Behan will be filmed at Ardmore Studios; BRAY 2971. Our chief contact there is Capt. Justin Collins.

*** SHIPPING: Peter Mackintosh (or one of his men from the Airport) will call at the studio around 5 PM and will take away the exposed film and sound track as soon as possible after the show ends. He will ship the material Sunday night (we too will ship the Behan material Sunday night from Dublin via Shannon to NY) and I will cable NY re both shipments.

TÉLÉGRAPHE 4.XII.1959 GENÈVE

RADIO-SCHWEIZ AG. **RADIOGRAMM-RADIOGRAMME** RADIO-SUISSE S.A.

41

Erhalten - Reçu **„VIA RADIOSUISSE"** Befördert - Transmis

von - de	Stunde - Heure	NAME - NOM		nach - à	Stunde - Heure	NAME - NOM
04 XII 59 21	49		RO			

Concerne le télégramme No 2532
du 4/12 de Newyork
Nous recevons la rectification suivante, dont vous voudrez bien prendre bonne note.

Télégraphe Genève

Edward R. Murrow No. 0230 a
Beaurivage Hôtel
Genève

A GENEVE DE NEWYORK A54 4/12

SDZ1530/4 URGENT PRESS EDWARD R MURROW BEAU RIVAGE HOTEL
PAGE1 LISEZ FIN ALONG THESE LINES STOP ~~CODUN~~ 252 mots admis)

(GRS LOC 4693 4/12 1918)

Nr. 20 7300 × 100 2/59

Small World

September 19, 1958

Dear Neighbor:

Herewith one or two bits of information on Nehru which may have escaped your attention. Although some of it is rather ancient, it may give you a line on his attitude. Also enclosed, a rather poor interview with Aldous Huxley, the other participant.

I am looking forward to this venture very much and the word from Delhi is that Nehru is actually excited about it. I have the feeling that, if our circuits stand up, we may get two good half-hours out of this rather than one.

As ever yours,

encs.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey
Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood
40 Wall Street
New York

Nehru -
"Space World"

September 19, 1958

My dear Prime Minister:

I retain the most pleasant memories of our television interview in London several years ago and am looking forward with eager anticipation to the conversation between you, Governor Thomas E. Dewey and Aldous Huxley. This, as you know, will be in no sense either an interview or a debate, but rather an informal conversation, and I trust that you will feel free to lead the conversation in any direction that may interest you.

This is a wholly new venture in American television. We hope to not only expand the horizon of this instrument in a technical sense, but also to demonstrate that intelligent conversation over great distances can be achieved, and that the television audience over here and in Britain will be responsive to such a program.

The cameraman we are sending out, Mr. Charles Mack, has had more experience and acquired more skill in this type of filming than anyone in this country. I am hopeful that you will enjoy the experience and that the final result will merit your approval.

Respectfully yours,

Prime Minister Nehru
New Delhi
India

Small World

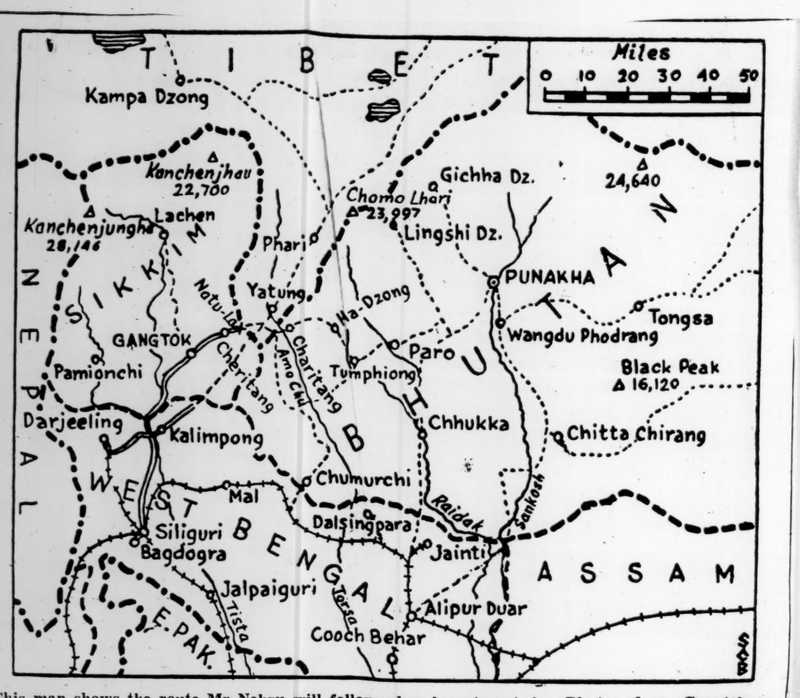
September 18, 1958

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN, INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

HAVE ARRANGED "SMALL WORLD" CONVERSATION BETWEEN YOU, FORMER PREMIER LORD ATTLEE AND JOSEPH WELCH IT WILL BE GENERAL CONVERSATION ABOUT WORLD CONDITIONS AND IN NO SENSE A DEBATE STOP WOULD LIKE TO FILM THIS ON OCTOBER 27 AND CAN DO IT FROM YOUR OFFICE STOP IT WILL REQUIRE ABOUT AN HOUR AND A HALF OR TWO HOURS OF YOUR TIME AND I THINK YOU WILL ENJOY IT STOP SOME TIME AROUND MIDDLEWEEK ON THE 27TH WOULD BE MOST CONVENIENT TO ATTLEE IS THAT POSSIBLE FOR YOU STOP PLEASE CONVEY MY WARMEST REGARDS TO MRS. TRUMAN

ED MURROW

514-75



This map shows the route Mr Nehru will follow when he sets out for Bhutan from Gangtok tomorrow The first night will be spent at Cheritang; the day following he will cross the Natu-la into Tibet, spending the night at Yatung. The next day will see the Prime Minister in Bhutan and two days later he will arrive at Paro, his destination, where the Bhutanese court is at present in residence

Mr. Nehru Leaves For Bhutan

BEGINNING OF A 7-DAY JOURNEY

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, September 16: The Prime Minister accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi left for Bagdogra this morning in the Illushin aircraft, "Meghdoot", on the first lap of their journey to Bhutan.

Mr. Nehru was seen off at Palam airport by his Cabinet colleagues, the Chinese Ambassador and senior officials of the External Affairs Ministry.

Mr. Nehru and party are scheduled to reach Paro in Bhutan on September 21 after covering the arduous journey, part of which will be through Tibet by car, jeep and pony.

The Prime Minister's party have Chinese "visas" for the part of their journey through Tibet.

The Prime Minister will present to the Maharaja of Bhutan a telephone exchange with 50 telephone connections during his stay in Paro.

Among the presents Mr. Nehru has taken to Bhutan on behalf of this country are believed to be carpets, shawls and ivory and silver articles.

"P.T.I." adds:

Representatives of both the Dalai Lama and the Panchan Lama as well as of the Chinese Government will meet Mr. Nehru when he arrives at Yatung in Tibet on Thursday afternoon on his way to Bhutan.

As soon as he reaches Yatung, he will be received by Gen. Tan Kwan-san, on behalf of Gen. Chang Ching-we, who is the representative of the Chinese Government in the region. Soon afterwards Mr. Surkhang Shate, the seniormost representative of the Dalai Lama's entourage, and a representative of the Panchan Lama will call on Mr. Nehru. On Thursday night Mr. Nehru will be the guest of honour at a dinner in his honour given by General Tan Kwan-san.

Mr. Nehru's Visit To Bhutan

DEPARTURE ON TUESDAY

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, September 14: Mr. Nehru leaves Delhi on Tuesday on a visit to Bhutan which is probably the most sequestered, inaccessible and little-known principality in the world.

India enjoys a special treaty relationship with Bhutan, under which the Bhutanese Government agrees to be guided by the Government of India in regard to its external relations and the Government of India on its part has undertaken not to interfere in the internal administration of Bhutan.

The Indo-Bhutanese Treaty of 1949 continues the relationship established by the British Indian Government under the 1865 Treaty as amended in 1910.

Mr. Nehru will fly to Bogdogra with Mrs. Indira Gandhi and will motor to Gangtok, the Sikkimese capital from where he will cross the Natu-la Pass into Tibet.

After an overnight halt on September 18 in Yatung in the fertile Chumba Valley where India formerly stationed a small garrison to guard the trade route to Lhasa, (but evacuated under the 1954 Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet), Mr. Nehru will cross into Bhutan.

From Yatung to Paro, which Mr. Nehru will visit, is a journey of over two days. Mr. Nehru will motor the first six miles to Rinchend-Gang and then continue by pony to Chari-Thang in Bhutan, where he spends the night of September 19.

On the following day, the party will cross a 15,500-foot pass to Ha and will enter Paro on September 21.

5 DAYS IN PARO

The Prime Minister will spend about five days in Paro as the guest of the Maharaja whom he met when the latter visited Delhi a few years ago.

The programme in Paro will include talks with the Maharaja and the Prime Minister of Bhutan, who incidentally resides at Kalimpong in his other capacity as his country's Agent to India. The Maharaja will entertain Mr. Nehru to dinner and Mr. Nehru will give a dinner and an evening reception.

A photographic exhibition depicting the progress of India's Five-Year Plan is being arranged at Paro during Mr. Nehru's visit.

Bhutan has a population of about 600,000 of whom nearly 40 per cent. are of Nepalese origin. The State has an area of 18,000 square miles and is very mountainous. The population is predominantly Buddhist and owes spiritual allegiance to Lhasa.

The Bhutanese territories of Cooch-Behar and the Doors were ceded to British India nearly a hundred years ago.

STRATEGIC POSITION

Bhutan occupies a very strategic position on the Himalayan saddle, dividing India from Chinese Tibet. The State is backward but economically self-sufficient and its commercial and other relations with the outside world have been and are extraordinarily limited. Very little is known of the place and the people as Bhutan has been a forbidden land and a very few foreigners have ever penetrated its mountain frontier.

The Prime Minister will leave Paro on September 27 and will be in Yatung on September 29 and back in Delhi on October 2, Gandhi Jayanti.

During his brief two-day stay in Yatung the Prime Minister will have an opportunity of seeing a little of Tibet, which he was to have visited this autumn. The visit was, however, postponed indefinitely.

The Prime Minister's party will include Mr. J. S. Mehta, Deputy Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, and will be joined by Mr. Apa Pant who is the Indian Political Officer for Sikkim and Bhutan but resident at Gangtok.

The Statesman

Vol. CXXXIV 26517

DELHI, SEPTEMBER 16, 1958

BHUTAN VISIT

MR Nehru's visit to Bhutan, in response to the Maharaja's invitation, takes him to a friendly neighbour situated in the Eastern Himalayas with Tibet on its northern border. Only by arduous travel can it be reached; in the present century (unlike in the last) it has not often impinged on the main current of Indian events; these facts, coupled with a desire to keep to itself, have given it something of the mysterious atmosphere that has long attached to States in the Himalayan region and notably to Tibet. The books of reference suggest that it is a naturalist's wonderland; its climate is described as "the cold of Siberia, the heat of Africa and the pleasant warmth of Italy all experienced in a single day's journey". Even now no sound of car or machine is said to spoil its mountainous charm. Bhutan has no cinemas. Archery an absorbing sport, horsemanship a pleasing necessity. Schools that teach in Bhutanese, Hindi and English attract eager students.

The Sinchula Treaty of 1865, the Treaty of Friendship of 1910 and that which independent India concluded with it in August 1949 are the main instruments governing India's relations with Bhutan. The people are of Tibetan and Nepali stock and have a young and progressive Maharaja. Trade has been largely with Tibet and entry is still mainly through that country, by way of the Chumbi Valley. In this context Mr Nehru's visit is welcome and important, consolidating the good relations which have long existed and which were marked by the Maharaja's visit to India some time ago. Travelling by jeep and then chiefly on horseback through scenery at once picturesque and magnificent, India's Prime Minister will also have a well deserved respite from the labours of office in New Delhi.

THE POLITICAL SCENE

A JOURNEY TO BHUTAN THROUGH SOUTHERN TIBET

By PREM BHATIA

WHY the Prime Minister has chosen this particular time to make a long and uncomfortable trip to Bhutan has aroused a certain amount of interest not only in this country but also in several other parts of the world, notably in the West.

In New Delhi's alert diplomatic quarters the international significance of anything Mr Nehru does with regard to India's connexions with China assumes an importance which is not always warranted by facts. The present interest in the Prime Minister's long journey is, however, not unreasonable. In fact it is unlikely that the true meaning of the visit has even now been completely appreciated. In the eyes of most Indians anyhow the obvious reason for the Prime Minister's absence from the country for a fortnight is his love for hazardous travel and possibly the need for keeping alive our somewhat remote connexions with the mountain Kingdom.

Part of the reason for an inadequate appreciation of the present event is the absence of a preparatory build-up through official publicity. This is understandable as, quite clearly, the Government is anxious not to draw excessive attention to what is, after all, a normal expression of relations with a friendly neighbour, especially since Mr Nehru is opposed, as a rule, to loud publicity over anything connected with India's foreign policy. This writer, for instance, can recall the Prime Minister's surprise over the number of Press correspondents who accompanied Mr Nehru to West Germany two years ago. And yet that visit turned out to be a memorable one both in respect of an improved Indian understanding of Bonn's attitude to Eastern Europe and West Germany's new economic relations with India.

• • • •

India has inherited her present relations with Bhutan from the days of the British rule in our country, down to the Indo-Bhutanese Treaty of 1949 which follows the lines of the British Treaty of 1910. Despite the 1949 Treaty, however, India's contact with Bhutan has remained conspicuously remote, partly because of Bhutan's physical inaccessibility and partly because of that country's clear desire to to be left alone. In the past 11 years of independence the only Indian of any consequence to visit Bhutan was the present Ambassador in Cairo, Mr R. K. Nehru, who made the journey in his capacity as Foreign Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry.

Article 2 of the Treaty of 1949 reads as follows: "The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan. On its part, the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations." That India has not interfered in Bhutan's internal affairs is fairly obvious to anyone who looks back on the history of the past 11 years. But whether New Delhi has been able to give any advice to Bhutan in the conduct of the latter's external relations is extremely doubtful. Apart from the physical inaccessibility of Bhutan, India is not represented in that country, although it is not common knowledge that the Prime Minister of Bhutan lives in Kalimpong. The Indian Political Officer in Sikkim, who is accompanying Mr Nehru on the present visit, has been to Bhutan once or twice but such rare official contacts cannot be described as even remotely adequate.

• • • •

While this state of affairs was never satisfactory, it has become increasingly less so since the extension of Chinese sovereignty to Tibet eight years ago. Although an indpendent Kingdom in the formal sense of the word, Bhutan constitutes a part of India's northern frontier with China. What happens in Bhutan vis-a-vis Tibet is, therefore, of the greatest importance to India, especially in view of the fact that the people of Bhutan are somewhat divided in their racial and spiritual connexions between Tibet and Nepal. It is not long ago that Nepal herself showed interest in getting closer to Bhutan and Sikkim.

Nothing has happened yet in concrete terms to have caused India any anxiety about Bhutan's external relations, but there is a growing awareness in New Delhi of the need for closer connexions with Punakha or Paro or wherever the peripatetic State capital may happen to be for the time being. The task of expressing this awareness is a delicate one in view of the fact that the Government of Bhutan is extremely sensitive to any approach, even from a friendly country like India, which may have the appearance of pressure. No such pressure is intended by India nor would it be possible except at the risk of estrangement, especially when access to the neighbour State lies through Chinese territory. Nevertheless, Mr Nehru's visit is of great significance as the first major overt expression of a new and increasing awareness of India's friendship and obligations.

• • • •

Had the Prime Minister gone to Bhutan in the course of his then intended visit to Lhasa, as was first arranged, the event would not have attracted the attention that it has drawn now. The fact that although his visit to Lhasa fell through, Mr Nehru is persevering with his journey to Paro, in conditions which are far from comfortable, is some indication of the importance which he himself attaches to the trip, particularly since the visit to Bhutan involves a journey through Southern Tibet. It is possible that his inability to go to Lhasa helped the Prime Minister to decide that his schedule with regard to Bhutan should not be altered. In fact he will now stay at Paro longer than he first intended.

Some will see in the Prime Minister's determination to go to Bhutan a trace of defiance as it is known that he was anxious to fulfil his engagement in Lhasa and that the reason given by Peking for postponing the engagement was considerations of his "personal security". Be that as it may, the truth is that Mr Nehru's journey to Bhutan is an indirect assertion of India's independent connexions with that country. In view of the fact that certain official Chinese maps have often shown an unawareness of Indian sensitiveness about our frontiers, the visit may also be regarded perhaps as an oblique reminder to Peking that, so far as we are concerned, we are not prepared to ignore the border issue as readily as might be imagined. A formal reminder of this will arise also at the Chinese check-post on the other side of Sikkim where the passports of the Indian party will be stamped by the Chinese authorities.

• • • •

There is no point in concealing the fact that New Delhi is now taking a little more notice of the waywardness of official Chinese maps where they concern Indian frontiers. India's past attitude, generally, was to ignore such discrepancies on the ground that we knew where our frontiers with China stood and it was unnecessary to provoke a controversy. That attitude has undergone a slight but significant change, and now India makes her views more directly heard in Peking. China's previous reason for reprinting maps which did not conform to the accepted patterns of our frontiers, namely that new maps had not yet been prepared, sounds less convincing now than it used to. A certain amount of confusion over difficult land frontiers is, of course, inevitable, but if the recent report that China has settled such confusion in respect of the Soviet Union over Sinkiang is correct, there is reason to expect that the continuing misunderstanding over the Chinese frontiers with India will be eliminated without further cause for grievance in New Delhi.

Despite irritation and some suspicion in New Delhi over China's continued disregard of our feelings on the frontier issue, India has shown no signs of relaxing in her consistent support of Peking's rightful claim to be admitted to the U.N. nor over China's factual claim to the offshore islands and Formosa. That India is prepared to support China in these matters at a time when we are in the midst of delicate negotiations for economic aid from the West makes our stand the more laudable. It is from such integrity of purpose that Indian foreign policy derives a great deal of its present strength.

0 5 1 6 446

Fogel + DeOrsey. Small World

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

JAMES M. SEWARD
Executive Vice President

July 25, 1958

Dear Ed and Fred:

Ed Fogel, Fred's lawyer, and I had lunch today to talk about the corporation which has been set up to own SMALL WORLD, with particular reference to the means available to us to retain as much as possible of its gross income. Our discussion brought out the possibility that the corporation might engage in the production of filmed TV commercials. Engaging in an activity of this kind would eliminate certain limitations which go with personal holding corporations. Needless to say, Messrs. Fogel, DeOrsey and Seward will keep their eyes open for opportunities to get some of this business but we thought that the both of you ought to bear the matter in mind in respect of any SMALL WORLD, PERSON TO PERSON or other sponsors.

Cordially yours,

Jim

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Glen Arden Farm
Pawling, New York

Mr. Fred Friendly
Fallet Cottage
Tanglewood Bowl
Box 484
Stockbridge, Mass.

cc: Messrs. Fogel & DeOrsey

July 21, 1958

Mr. Sam Berman
Geo-Physical Maps Inc.
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Sam:

"Small World" is a reality, but the sponsor ain't. I will leave you know what develops.

As ever yours,

[redacted]M:skh

July 16, 1958

Mr. Sam Berman
Geo-Physical Maps Inc.
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Berman:

Thank you for your letter of July 15 to Mr. Murrow. This is to let you know that he is away on vacation at present. However, I shall ask him to let you have a reply about the globe at the first opportunity.

Very truly yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

skh

GEO-PHYSICAL MAPS INC.

521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
OXFORD 7-6222

July 15, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

I understand Small World is a reality. If you have also solved the space problem, do you want to think about the globe for your theme piece? Perhaps the sponsor would be interested, too.

Cordially,

Sam

Sam Berman

SB/j

July 9, 1958

Mr. Julius Schatz
Community Service Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schatz:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 3, which I am acknowledging in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation.

It is very kind of you to offer your help in lining up personalities for SMALL WORLD and we shall certainly remember this when we are making our arrangements.

Very truly yours,

Secretary to Mr. Murrow

skh

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

July 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have read with great interest about the forthcoming new program, "Small World," which you plan to produce and to present on the CBS Television Network. It sounds like a very exciting project and I want to wish you the greatest success in this undertaking.

Since you plan to march throughout the world in the search for interesting personalities, situations, and events, may I make a suggestion.

Through our World Jewish Congress which has a widespread affiliation in every major and remote community in the world, we are in a position to make available some very exciting personalities and interesting expressions of opinion.

We could, if you would want us to be helpful, put these ideas and proposals in a concrete form for your consideration.

Please do favor us with a reaction to the idea and thank you for every consideration. With regards, I am.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

JS:dak

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ISIDOR TEITELBAUM

65

Smallwood Kennedy

July 8, 1958

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
The United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am acknowledging your letter of July 2 in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation. We expect him back in September and I will give him your letter immediately upon his return.

Very truly yours

Secretary to Mr. Murrow

ekh

"Small World"

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 2, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Your new project sounds fascinating indeed. Let me know any time I can be of help, and we can get together on a date.

Meanwhile, if you are ever in Washington and have a free moment, come by for a chat.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Jack Kennedy

John F. Kennedy

JFK:gl

Small World.

June 20, 1958

Dear Jack:

The new project is something called SMALL WORLD which will go on the air in the autumn. It is an effort to expand the range of television by tying together three interesting people in three remote parts of the world via old-fashioned radio links, running cameras at all three points simultaneously during an informal conversation, then flying the film in here, editing it and putting it on the air.

I think it has real possibilities, and when you have finished with the rigors of campaigning, I have designs on you to participate in one or two.

Whatever you hear about my entering the political arena ain't true. I remember Alben Barkley once saying to me "if you are going to be a good political reporter, you have got to be agin everybody - some." I'm not sure how good I am, but I propose to keep trying.

As ever yours,

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

fc

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 10, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your letter of June 3.

I understand perfectly about the postponement of this year's project; and I look forward to hearing from you about the new program which you have in mind.

What is this I hear about your entering the political arena?

As always, I am grateful for your interest and friendship.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Jack

John F. Kennedy

JFK:gl

Pending

June 3, 1958

Dear Jack:

I am sorry I have delayed writing you about our project for the fall. The fact is that only a few days ago it was decided that the format and nature of SEE IT NOW will be drastically altered in the fall, and this means there is no possibility of undertaking our project this year.

My enthusiasm for it remains unabated, and I hope we can do it later. Meanwhile, I have designs upon you for a totally different type of program which involves the use of television for really long-range communication for the first time.

I will write you about it in detail when the plans are completed.

As ever yours,

The Honorable John F. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

fc

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 28, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Inasmuch as I am now under some pressure to firm up my schedule for this fall, I am writing to inquire whether you have set any tentative dates for the overseas project we earlier discussed. Being fully aware of the vicissitudes of your profession as well as mine, I would understand completely if you have found it necessary to postpone this project until some other year. If, however, you are still interested in going ahead, it might be desirable to agree on a time schedule now and for members of our respective staffs to meet during the summer.

As one who continues to admire greatly your craftsmanship as well as your news analysis, I am grateful to you for your cooperation and understanding.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Jack Kennedy

John F. Kennedy

JFK:gl

MR. ED MURROW
485/17

Press Information
485 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

June 30, 1958

"SMALL WORLD," NEW SERIES STARRING INTERNATIONAL CELEBRITIES AND WORLD LEADERS, TO DEBUT ON CBS TELEVISION NETWORK IN SEPTEMBER

Guests From All Parts Of The Globe To Join In Four-Way Conversation On New Edward R. Murrow-Fred W. Friendly Venture In Communications

"Small World," a new weekly television series combining news and entertainment by enabling the great and the near-great of the world to meet and chat face-to-face in the living rooms of the nation, will have its premiere broadcast on the CBS Television Network in September, it was announced today.

With "Small World," Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, co-producers of television's most distinguished series, "See It Now," again join forces to demonstrate, electronically, that our world is, indeed, small and getting smaller. In theme and format, "Small World" contributes significantly to this process. According to the producers, the series will work toward this goal each week by narrowing the distance between the minds of men and women from the various continents, and by uniting them in direct, unrehearsed, adult and frequently humorous conversation on a limitless variety of topics.

Although no personalities have as yet been scheduled, producers Murrow and Friendly point out that a representative broadcast might join actress Lauren Bacall, speaking from her home in Beverly Hills;

(More)

Malcolm Muggeridge, former acerbic editor of Punch, speaking from Sydney, Australia; and Eric A. Johnston, President of the Motion Picture Association of America, speaking from his office in the nation's capital, in a wide-ranging discussion that could cover such points as the merits of Hollywood movies as overseas ambassadors, and whether suffrage for women is really a good idea.

Other possible "Small World" programs might consist of a discussion of religion among a prominent Hollywood figure, a noted New York cleric and the Prime Minister of a Middle European nation, or it might be a critique of a particular school of acting technique by a popular Broadway actor and the heads of the Comedie Francaise and the Moscow Art Theater. On other broadcasts, the new series will provide viewers with an unusual glimpse behind the scenes of the major news stories by bringing together men and women from various countries to discuss the events of the day from their respective points of view.

Each week, three such diverse personalities, no matter where on earth they may be, will be linked electronically so as to be able to hear and speak with each other and with Edward R. Murrow in New York. Four "Small World" camera crews will record the multiple conversation at each of the four locations. The conversations will be unrehearsed and, accordingly, unpredictable.

"Small World" is produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly. Associate Producer is Palmer Williams.

* * *

TO Mr. Murrow June 30, 1958

FROM Sheila Hogg

Lauren Bacall telephoned to let you know she was going to be in Los Angeles on July 4th, in case you plan to be out there at any time. If you have time on 14th July, please call her as she would like to hear more about SMALL WORLD.

① — 6.
② [illegible]

June 26, 1958

Dear Betty:

I have just had a note from Jack Beck that you are arriving in this miserable city of steam, scurry and scamper on the 29th.

Unhappily I am leaving for the West Coast tomorrow and will miss you. I am sorry.

SMALL WORLD appears to be in the schedule for the fall, whether sponsored or unsponsored. I don't know as yet.

How long are you staying? I will be back here on the 13th of July.

As ever yours,

Hold for arrival

Miss Lauren Bacall
St. Regis Hotel
New York, New York

fc

KNX
COLUMBIA PACIFIC NETWORK

CBS Radio - A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

COLUMBIA SQUARE, LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA · HOLLYWOOD 9-1212

June 23, 1958

Dear Ed:

Fred called the other day to say that Small World is on the fall calendar, win, lose or draw. I talked at some length subsequently with Betty Bacall who has evinced a continuing interest in the program's fortunes since her participation in the pilot.

She asked that I pass along word that she very likely will be in New York for a few days starting June 29th, staying at the St. Regis, I believe. I gather that she would enjoy the opportunity to do a post-mortem and a review of future prospects for Small World with the producers in person.

How are you, anyway?

As ever,

Jack

REPRESENTED BY CBS RADIO SPOT SALES · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · SAN FRANCISCO · DETROIT · MEMPHIS · LOS ANGELES

A78

ADVANCE FOR PMS MONDAY, JUNE 30, FROM AP NEWSFEATURES "Small World"

F41

MCERCER'S COLUMN (48[illegible])

MURROW'S SMALL WORLD

BY SAUL PETT

AP NEWS~~FEATURES~~ WRITER

(ADVANCE) NEW YORK, JUNE 30 (AP)-IF A MAN NAMED ED MURROW WERE JUST STARTING IN TELEVISION TODAY HE'D BE UNLIKELY TO FIND A NETWORK WILLING TO TAKE ON A SHOW CALLED "SEE IT NOW."

WHO SAYS THIS? ED MURROW SAYS THIS.

"THE INDUSTRY TODAY HAS A GREAT FEAR OF EXPERIMENT, OF CONTROVERSY AND, OF COURSE, GREAT EXPENSE," HE SAYS. "THE COST OF FAILURE IS GREATER THAN EVER AND TODAY TELEVISION IS MUCH MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN IT WAS IN ITS YOUTH.

"TODAY A NEW IDEA, A BOLD IDEA, WOULD HAVE TO BE FOUGHT THROUGH FIVE ECHELONS OF A BIG CORPORATION. THE INDUSTRY SUFFERS FROM A RIGID PATTERN. YOU GET A NEW IDEA ON THE AIR, YOU GET SPONSORED, YOU BECOME MODERATELY SUCCESSFUL, YOU GET IMITATED AND GOD HELP ANY ONE WHO WANTS TO CHANGE ANYTHING."

MURROW DIDN'T VOLUNTEER THE OPINION. IT WAS ELICITED BY THE QUESTION, "WHAT'S WRONG WITH TV TODAY?" CHAIN-SMOKING, AS USUAL, IN HIS IMPRESSIVELY SMALL OFFICE AT CBS, MURROW THOUGHT A MOMENT, WREATHED HIS FACE IN A CHARACTERISTIC PATTERN OF FROWNS, FURROWS AND FILLAGREES OF SMOKE, AND SAID:

"IN MY OWN FIELD--NEWS AND DOCUMENTARIES--THERE IS AN UNWILLINGNESS TO EXPERIMENT, TO TRY NEW TECHNIQUES, NEW DEVICES. JUST EXAMINE THE PROGRAM LISTINGS FOR THE PRIME EVENING VIEWING HOURS AND YOU HAVE TO CONCLUDE THAT TV IS INSULATING PEOPLE FROM THE REALITIES, FROM THE CRISES OF THE WORLD.

"EXCEPT FOR SUNDAY AFTERNOONS, TELEVISION OFFERS ALMOST NOTHING BUT ESCAPISM. BUT THIS, I'M AFRAID, REFLECTS A NATIONAL CHARACTERISTIC OF OURS, AN UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE UNPLEASANT."

A79

BUT MURROW BEING MURROW--A MAN OF RENOWN AND PRESTIGE, WHOSE DOCUMENTARIES RUN OFF WITH MOST OF THE AWARDS YEAR AFTER YEAR--HE WILL BE COMING UP WITH A NEW SHOW IN THE FALL CALLED "SMALL WORLD." IT IS

BUT MURROW BEING MURROW--A MAN OF RENOWN AND PRESTIGE, WHOSE DOCUMENTARIES RUN OFF WITH MOST OF THE AWARDS YEAR AFTER YEAR--HE WILL ~~BE COMING UP WITH A NEW SHOW IN THE FALL CALLED "SMALL WORLD."~~ IT IS NOT AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT HE REFERRED TO EARLIER AS A BOLD NEW IDEA. THIS ONE, HE SAYS, IS "RATHER OBVIOUS AND SIMPLE."

THE NEW SHOW WILL INVOLVE A THREE-WAY CONVERSATION BETWEEN THREE DIVERGENT PERSONALITIES AT WIDELY SEPARATED POINTS AROUND THE GLOBE. MURROW WILL SIMPLY BE THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE WHO STARTS AND HELPS THE CONVERSATION ROLLING. IT IS HOPED THE DIALOGUE WILL BE AS VARIED AND AS SPONTANEOUS AS POSSIBLE.

THE THREE PERSONALITIES ACTUALLY WILL CONVERSE BY RADIO, BE RECORDED AND FILMED SIMULTANEOUSLY AND THEN EDITED FOR A HALF-HOUR SHOW.

"IF THE IDEA HAS ANY VIRTUE AT ALL," MURROW SAYS, "THAT LIES IN ITS UNPREDICTABILITY. FOR EXAMPLE, IN OUR PILOT FILM, WE HAVE LAUREN BACALL TALKING FROM HOLLYWOOD, MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE, RETIRED EDITOR OF 'PUNCH' FROM AUSTRALIA, AND ERIC JOUHNSTON, HEAD OF THE MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, FROM WASHINGTON.

"THEIR CONVERSATION RANGED ALL THE WAY FROM POLITICS TO BOOKS TO FASHIONS TO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS IN COVERING MOVIE MORALS. THEY WERE WONDERFULLY SPONTANEOUS AND THE CAMERAS GOT MANY FANTASTIC REACTION SHOTS."

MURROW AND HIS CO-PRODUCER, FRED FRIENDLY, HOPE TO HAVE THREE SHOWS "IN THE CAN" BEFORE THEY GO ON THE AIR AS BACKSTOPS. BUT THEIR PRIME HOPE IS THAT MOST OF THE PROGRAMS CAN BE RECORDED NO MORE THAN FOUR DAYS BEFORE AIR TIME AND BE TIED CLOSELY TO THE NEWS. WHOM ELSE WOULD THEY LIKE TO GET ON "SVALL WORLD"?

"WELL," SAYS MURROW WITH THE NONCHALANCE OF A MAN NOT AWED BY THE IMPROBABLE, "IT WOULD BE NICE TO HAVE NASSER OF EGYPT AND BEN-GURION OF ISRAEL AND, PERHAPS, PRIME MINISTER U NU OF BURMA. DULLES AND ACHESON DISCUSSING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE A NICE COMBINATION WITH A KIBITZER FROM ABROAD, WOULDN'T THEY?"

END ADVANCE FOR PMS MONDAY, JUNE 30; MOVED JUNE 28

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

--DASH--

2ND GRAF FROM END, ~~REXXXXXXX~~ READ AT END...X X X TO GET ON "SMALL WORLD."

"WELL," ETC.

SJ758AED

Small World

June 12, 1958

Dear Judge Hand:

I was more than delighted when you expressed your willingness the other night to spend a few hours in conversation before the microphone.

If you would be good enough to indicate the time and place that would be convenient to you, I shall turn up with the necessary technical gadgets.

You would, of course, have complete editorial control of the finished document, and I would so arrange things that neither you nor Mrs. Hand would be in any way inconvenienced by the adjacency or should I say physical propinquity of my crew or myself.

I should think a couple of hours of conversation for two days ought to give us a stimulating and historic document.

Please convey my warmest greetings to Mrs. Hand.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Learned Hand
Judge of the United States Circuit Court
United States Court House
New York, New York

fc

JUDGE LEARNED HAND'S CHAMBERS

~~UNITED STATES COURT HOUSE~~

~~NEW YORK~~ Windsor,
Vermont,
June 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow

I should have answered your letter of the 12th long since, except for the fact that I felt so tired that I wished to see here a few days up here might buck me up. I shall need all of July to feel like doing anything. You were kind enough several years ago to suggest that you would like to put me on television and then I said that I preferred not to do it. Since then one or two others have asked me and I have always answered that, having said "no" to you, I should

certainly be unwilling to accept, when you spoke to me the other night at the Angells', it struck me differently, chiefly because of the chance it offered of seeing you and your wife, so that we could renew an acquaintance that had begun so pleasantly to us.

I have a great reluctance to the public exhibition of anything I have, or might have, to say, and, for the moment anyway, I am going to ask you to let me withdraw my agreement of the other night. Will it not be equally, if not more, convenient to you, assuming that I then finally feel like "going on the air" at all, to put

it off until I get back to New York ~~in~~ in October? I shall be much more accessible and you will not have to bring the "necessary & clinical ~~gadgets~~ gadgets" all the way up here. I can go anywhere you say in the city and I may feel more vitality than I do at present. August would be not be available to my in any event and I should not suppose that there would be much, if any difference between September and October.

What my wife and I most want is an ~~opportunity~~ opportunity of meeting you and your wife, one ~~that~~ that is apparently necessarily bound to be elusive at best. I hope that there will be some openings after the summer has passed, though I know how of ardent your duties always are. I am not any longer so continuously engaged in judicial work that I could not go to your office or workshop during the day if all your evenings are taken up.

Sincerely yours,

Learned Hand.

Small World

WILLIAM O. MAXWELL
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO ONE, ILLINOIS

June 10, 1958

Dear Ed:

It was certainly thoughtful of you to send that special message to our guests, Marty, and me the other evening when 18 of us sat down and enjoyed "Small World."

If that group are any kind of sample of the audience you reach starting this fall over the CBS network, the program is going to be a tremendous success.

Through the good offices of Bill Wilson, we have your recorded greetings on a platter which we certainly appreciate adding to our collection.

We've delayed several of the projects we discussed, but I expect to be over within the month and hope to see you to discuss them.

Cordially,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Incorporated
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

P. Bus. Small World

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Friendly

October 8, 1957

Ed:

A copy of your note to Mr. Paley about syndication of SMALL WORLD is on my desk. I don't know what Mr. Paley's reaction will be, but mine is that if SMALL WORLD isn't good enough for the network, it ain't good enough for me. I work for CBS, and I'm proud of it, and I want our work to be on CBS air, not a hundred assorted stations tied together by four unassociated deodorants, a brewery and a loan company. I would think that our position is that we want CBS to run our product with pride or not at all. Certainly we got better things to do than to program for stations we don't work for, and if SMALL WORLD isn't a good idea, let it "rest in peace".

Small World

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. William S. Paley cc: Messrs. Jones & Friendly

from: Mr. Murrow

October 2, 1958

The syndication boys, with Merle Jones' blessing, want to distribute SMALL WORLD through their organization. Since you are "principal parent" of this program, perhaps you would instruct us on the matter.

hlt

Smooth one

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Friendly and Murrow

from: Mr. Seward

April 10, 1957

As you suggested, I told Arthur Godfrey about SMALL WORLD. He would be glad to be a member of the panel pretty much whenever you wanted to use him. In view of the number of products involved in Arthur's own programs, however, we would have to look out for possible conflicts in scheduling his appearances.

Jim

J.M.S.

Small World

CBS TELEVISIO

Office Communic

to: Messrs. Paley, Stanton, Jones, Robinson, Mickelson, Hylan, Cowan, Harris

from: Mr. Murrow

Accept R
Appropriate a
Background?
FYI File
Note & return
Phone FS
Reply direct
Return to sen
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or
recommend
Copy to FS
URGENT

March 13, 1957

ED:
TNX BUT
I AM TIED
UP BEYOND
THE POINT
OF NO RETURN
AT THE HOUR
OF 4
FS 3/15

We are screening "Small World" the three-way transatlantic pilot film for Mr. Paley at 4:30 pm Wednesday, March 20th at the Cutting Room, Fourth Floor at 630 Ninth Avenue. I hope you will be able to look at it.

E.R.M.

rh

565

Notes for revised script.

World Bank. "It is now being negotiated".

14 Dams, not 3 as Lilienthal said,

$114 million for the whole project.

Variation of the ending.

Page M (or N) of Land Reform,

"American tractors" <u>not</u> American trucks

Do plenty switches, on camera.

13. M- arrowed

Tape. Roll I

Main Script. p. I — p. 13. The Kurds are members of one big four-million member family in Iran, Turkey & Iraq, who believe in no boundaries and smuggle only "little things"

Reel II Master Script p. 13 —

Iran's border with Turkey is 215 miles long beneath the shadow of Mt. Ararat - - - - - - - - - - - to Page N
In the Khan's village - only 32 boys out of more than 100 do their learning in one classroom from one ~~Reel III~~ teacher - - - -

Reel III Page N. "In the remote village - - - to Page F.F
- - - -

REEL IV Page F.F. Actually the word Iran means Aryan & they make a point.

~~End of~~ Insert 9 s.

Wild Track. Middle breaks etc.

Retake of Dam portion.

14 Dams - 3 Lilienthal

~~14000~~

#114

Iran

Page 11 of 11 Land Reform

American

"

Harriman - Emmett Hughes

Schreiber

Switches on camera

Next week's Small World will be pre-empted for a special broadcast of the Wizard of Oz, with Red Skelton as host.

Two weeks from tonight on Small World Senator Karl Mundt from South Dakota, Indian Ambassador Judge Mohammadali Chagla from The Hague, and Dr. Arthur Larson from Duke University discussing American participation in the ~~the possibility of a~~ World Court.

This is Ed Murrow in London.

Geneva, Dec. 3, 1959.

S.W.

Wiesand

R.S. host

Karl Mundt

6-13-1

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Paley, Van Volkenburg, Robinson.

from: Edward R. Murrow. May 18, 1954.

MID-ATLANTIC PARLIAMENT
(Working Title)

In 1938, at the time of the Anschluss, a man named Paley conceived the idea of multiple consecutive radio pick-ups from foreign countries in a single news broadcast. This technique was effective and, I assume, profitable.

It is here proposed that we apply a modification of this technique to television in a half-hour weekly program. The entire production would be on film. Three individuals would be linked together by transatlantic circuits. The pivot man, or moderator, would be in New York and never shown on film. Cameras would be running simultaneously at all three remote points, for example: London, Washington and Paris. This would not be a question and answer session, but rather a three-way conversation in which the moderator would participate but little. The discussion would normally deal with the issue, or question of the week regarded as being of the most vital concern to the free world. In general, and in order to maintain balance, politicians of the two major Parties in each country would be rotated. Over the weeks these men would become established as real personalities; they would feel out each other's minds, become personally acquainted; and the entire program would increasingly take on the atmosphere of an informal and live conversation.

The program would not be exclusively political. It would range from trade with Russia to an international agreement on "driving on the same side of the road", to a conversation between Mrs. Roosevelt, Mrs. Churchill and Mme. Pandit, to a conversation between trades union leaders in three countries, to three famous actors or actresses discussing differences in audiences. It would be flexible and wholly unpredictable. It might even do some good. It might even attract an acceptable institutional sponsor operating in the international field.

The time lag between the filming of the conversation and the presentation on the air would, in normal circumstances, not exceed 48 hours.

The secondary rights might be found to be of some value in the rest of the English-speaking world.

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Paley, Van Volkenburg, Robinson.

from: Edward R. Murrow. May 18, 1954.

We have made careful and detailed cost estimates, based on considerable experience, and reckon that the actual cost of producing this program would not be in excess of $15,000.00 per week.

A kinescope of a 19-minute version of this technique, involving originations in Washington, London and Paris, is available.

Murrow and Friendly would like to package and produce this program, and are even prepared to suggest possible sponsors.

E.R.M.

— MID-OCEAN PARLIMENT —
(Working title)

It has been said that a good program can be defined in a single paragraph.

"Mid-Ocean Parliment" is a three way transoceanic debate, which originates in Washington, London and Paris. (Occasionally it might include Rome, Bonn, New Delhi, Tokyo.) In each Capitol would be a Senator, or a Member of Parliment, or a Member of the Chamber of Deputies. Example: Senator William Knowland in Washington, M.P. Clement Atlee in London, Paul Reynaud in Paris. All three participants would be connected via short wave radio to Murrow or some other anchor man in Studio 41 in New York. Film cameras would be running simultaneously in each place. The half hour period would be devoted to a discussion of a current issue - anything from the Indo-China War to trade with Russia to protective tariffs to motion pictures to an international agreement on "driving on the same side of the road." At the same time, there would be a question period with just plain citizens in each country asking questions across the water. For example: a Normandy farmer would ask Senator Knowland a question while a Pittsburgh steel worker would ask something of the British M.P., etc. The product of all three cameras would be flown to New York and edited by Murrow and Friendly into a thirty minute Town Meeting of the world which would appear to be taking place as it is viewed. It was done on "See It Now" on May 11, 1954, and may be seen on a kinescope.

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City
PLaza 1-2345

SMALL WORLD

Guests: Senator John Kennedy, from Atlantic City
Minister V. K. Krishna Menon, from the United Nations
Lord Boothby, from London

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

October 18, 1959 ---------- 6:00 to 6:30 pm EDT

SMALL WORLD

Volume 2
Show 2

October 18, 1959

JOHN KENNEDY:

This is Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts, speaking from Atlantic City, New Jersey.

V. K. KRISHNA MENON:

This is V. K. Krishna Menon, speaking from New York, from the United Nations.

ROBERT BOOTHBY:

This is Lord Boothby in London.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. This is SMALL WORLD, and this is Ed Murrow in London.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight on SMALL WORLD, three politicians from three continents. From Atlantic City, Senator John Kennedy, the only member of the Senate to win a Pulitzer Prize. Senator Kennedy is a Democrat, of course, and while the rules forbid us from saying that he is running, it is perhaps safe to say that he has a considerable political ~~figure~~ future ahead of him.

And from New York City, Minister V. K. Krishna Menon, one of the most brilliant and controversial figures at the United Nations. He is also the Defense Minister of India.

And here in London, Lord Boothby, who sat for thirty-four years in the House of Commons, as a Conservative Member -- is now a Lord -- a political commentator, and also the Rector of St. Andrews University.

Senator, let's talk a little about Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States. I have seen you quoted as saying over here that you have the feeling that perhaps we were over-persuaded, that we had let down our guard a little, or

become involved in a little psychological disarmament. Is that right?

KENNEDY:

Well, I think there's a danger of our misreading the significance of Mr. Khrushchev's visit. It seems to me it was most useful, and when both sides have the chance to destroy each other, and perhaps the world, I do think these conversations should take place, but I do think it's also important for us to realize that there were no real agreements made at Camp David. There was no concessions made on either Berlin, except to continue talking about it, and also no real concessions made on disarmament, so the situation remains quite similar to what it was before. I therefore feel that we are in for a prolonged and very strained period with both the Soviet Union and the Chinese, and that it's important that we do not regard a visit. as an excuse to relax our efforts to show that a free society is going to be the successful one in the future.

BOOTHBY:

But I think that the exchange between him and the President, at the end, may lead to very valuable results, because I really do believe that they got to know each other's point of view very much better than they had done before, and I think it also will pave theway for a summit conference, which otherwise was out of the question. And I believe that something may be achieved at that summit conference.

KENNEDY:

The past is prologue, and we have been to the summit several times before -- most recently in 1955. It seems to me that there is a basic conflict in systems. Really the question is -- that whatever talks may take place at Camp David, or even at the summit, this competition between our systems for the future is going to go on, and I merely say that Mr. Khrushchev's visit should serve in a sense as an alarm bell, to remind us of how confident he is for

the future, and how necessary it is for us to act, but I am hopeful that it will be read accurately and realized that it serves as a stimulus rather than a narcotic.

MENON:

I do not think it's a good way of opening a negotiation, however difficult, by saying we mustn't be caught, or other fellow might be doing wrong -- things of that kind, but I think the world has come to a state when direct negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union is the beginning of the answer, and I have no doubt that right approach is to -- is to grasp this opportunity and difficulties -- both sides will try to overcome them and other people assist them.

MURROW:

But isn't it true that the only tangible result from Camp David was that Mr. Khrushchev withdrew the threat to Berlin - a threat which he had no right to make in the first place?

BOOTHBY:

I quite agree, but I think the fact that he withdrew it is of the greatest significance and importance. I think that, and I think that the speech he afterwards made at Peking -- the statement he made about not using force against the democratic world, was of even greater importance.

KENNEDY:

I think when he went to Peping he said the capitalist system was a sick and dying and faltering horse, which was doomed to collapse into the ground. What I am hopeful will be -- that Mr. Khrushchev's visit will show us that while war may be a useless means of settling disputes, that the whole system which we believe in, is on trial, and that the next twenty-five or thirty years is going to determine which way the world's going perhaps for centuries. So I

think that what it should -- we should realize is that this problem is going to be settled by us really more than it's going to be settled between the Russians and the Americans. It's a question of whether the Americans and the British and the Indians, and others, can demonstrate that their system represents the wave of the future -- not that in Peping or Moscow, so the challenge is our own, and this is something I think we can do something about.

BOOTHBY:

I quite agree.

MENON:

My country does not subscribe to this doctrine that the world is divided between two ideologies.

BOOTHBY:

Well, Mr. Menon, if I may say so, I deeply disagree with you on that. I think there is a tremendous and profound ideological conflict in the world today -- an ideological conflict.

MENON:

As a student of political philosophy, I do not recognize this conflict in the world as merely a conflict of ideologies. Ideology is a convenient political instrument. I do not think it's merely a conquest of ideologies, but of course, it's very difficult to lecture to anybody about that now, because we are all so moved by prejudices and passion. It reminds me of what Gandhiji always said to the Indian people -- that if you want something -- say a particular end, that end cannot be approached by means that are contrary opposite to it. Therefore, to reach peace by methods of war would be what -- like what is credited to an old American President. I don't think it's true but it's a good story. He said: I am a man of peace at any price. The present price is war. You cannot approach it that way.

BOOTHY

I would compare our present situation with the religious wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe was at -- at daggers drawn, and ultimately we reached a reconciliation. I think the present ideological conflict between Communism and what we call democracy, it is just as deep as that religious conflict was. I'm sure, or pretty nearly sure, that it will not have to be resolved as that was, by a long period of war, followed by reconciliation, but I think we only blind ourselves if we don't face up to the fact that the ideological conflict does exist.

MENON:

I do not for a moment say there are not ideological differences -- that some people are not fired more by ideology than anything else, but there is no reason to think that one or the other ideology is liable to survive, or one will get over the other, entirely different set of circumstances might emerge by the -- by the proximity of the two, or by the clash between the two, if you like, or the immediate reconciliation. What I did say was -- we cannot regard this as two opposing forces mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. That is the position. That is a divided world -- a world of black and white which we cannot accept.

KENNEDY:

I will say, Mr. Menon, that I don't believe that there's some synthesis is going to come out of these -- this thesis, and anti-thesis -- that between the free and the communist world, and that by the end of this century, there'll be some accomodation which holds the best of both. I think that there's quite likely that the economic systems which will develop in many countries of the world, may be in some sense, certainly in many areas, would be socialistic, but I do believe that you can't get a synthesis between freedom and the political organization of the Communist State. You can get an accom-

modation between the two systems, but I doubt if you can get a synthesis.

MENON:

I don't -- I don't necessarily disagree with everything that Senator Kennedy has said just now. Progress, as such, is greater than any ideology that may exist at any time, and I think it would be a great mistake for us, in 1959, to argue that 1969, the whole way of human thinking would not have changed, or institutions would not have altered, or the circumstances of the world may not have changed.

BOOTHBY:

But Mr. Menon, isn't it true to say that in this actual year of 1959, whatever may happen in the future, your country, India, has definitely and decisively come down on the side of democracy and against Communism, and isn't that extremely important?

MENON:

I think that's a very wrong way of putting it. I think there is one thing that always was admitted -- that we were on the side - if there was a side - on the side of democracy always. That is, our own democracy.

MURROW:

Mister Minister, do you still favor the admission of China to the United Nations in spite of her incursions on the Indians?

MENON:

The very fact that China's behavior to us in recent times has not been what it should have been -- it has cost us inconvenience. It has cost us a lot of resentment, and we think it's a very bad thing to have done, but in spite of that, we have stood for the proposition that China should be properly represented here. We are not here for a bargain; say if China will treat us well, we will support her. We didn't come here as her henchmen. We have not

been asked by China to put forward her propositions. It is not an Indian question. It is not an American question. It s not even a Chinese question. It's a world question, and I think this year, more than ever, I think it was right for us to argue for this. I think the support in the United Nations, even apart from the votes, was greater than in previous years.

MURROW:

I saw you also quoted as saying that the question of Tibet should not be discussed by the United Nations, Was that report ...

MENON:

For an entirely different reason. What Prime Minister has said in regard to Tibet was -- if China were here, it would have been easier to discuss it.

BOOTHBY:

I disagree that the aggression against Tibet should not be raised in the United Nations. That's what the United Nations is for. May I ask Mr. Menon one hypo -- one hypothetical question?

MENON:

Pardon?

BOOTHBY:

May I ask Mr. Menon one hypothetical question? He said it would be much easier ...

MENON:

Un-hypothetical question?

BOOTHBY:

One hypothetical question.

MENON:

Non-hypothetical questions from you are difficult enough and now you make it hypothetical only to add to my difficulties.

BOOTHBY:

You said, you see, that it would be much easier to deal with China if she was a member of the United Nations. Now, I think that's true. If China was a member of the United Nations, would you then be prepared to raise the question of her aggression against the people of Tibet and against yourselves?

MENON:

There we will decide that question as we decide every other question. If -- for example, we have, shall we say, the question of the Portuguese occupation of part of our country. We don't raise it before the United Nations, not because it is not raisable, but because we -- we judge this purely pragmatically, and if we think the aggression is considerable ...

BOOTHBY:

Yes.

MENON:

..the aggression is provable, the aggression can be best resisted, we try to solve that problem by negotiation.

BOOTHBY:

I am not suggesting that anybody is going to war with China over Tibet, partly for the reason that nobody can, but at the same time, I was in the business when we turned a blind eye to Hitler's successive aggressions before the war, and I saw what resulted from that, and if you close your eyes to aggression -- pay no attention to it -- don't raise it -- don't protest against it, then I think we are progressing steadily towards greater and greater danger.

Where aggression takes place, at least the -- the attention of the United Nations Organization should be called to it, and if necessary, condemnation of it, expressed.

MENON:

The Tibetan question has not been raised here as far as we know -- is not being raised here from the point of view of aggression or anything of that character. The Irish, so far as you know, are bringing up this question on what they call human rights, and the reason why we are not supporting the raising of this question here, is because we know that it is not going to help the Dalai Lama; it is not going to help the Tibetans; it is not going to help reconciliation. It is simply going to feed the fat -- fan the flames of the cold war, which is the wrong expression to use, but there it is. And our position with regard to China -- the Prime Minister has been asked so many times. On the one hand, we will be firm about the integrity of our own territory. We will not be intimidated by China, and China more than anybody else knows it very well. Equally we will not be pushed from things on which we ought to be firm. The whole of us are certainly more important than a few of us, and I feel that if China as a member of the United Nations, did continue to commit aggression, she'll be more answerable; she'll be more vulnerable, and what is more, she is more likely to know what is happening in the world. And this idea of encirclement which has been proven in the case of Russia, a great mistake, will again prove to be a great mistake in the case of China.

BOOTHBY:

Mr. Menon ...

MENON:

We don't bring up the China question here in order to create a controversy every year, and you know a great part of even this country thinks it's only a question of time. You cannot discuss -- for example, you cannot really

settle disarmament problems without China being part of an agreement.

KENNEDY:

It may be a question of time before the Chinese are admitted to the U.N., but I think, also, it should be a question of a change in their attitude and their desire to expand their power through all of Asia. The fact of the matter is that there is no country that's maintained more cordial relations with China than India, but I don't think the response has been particularly one of good will. These men are extremely serious, I don't think that they're going to be diverted from their objectives by being either in or out of the U.N.

BOOTHBY:

Well, I am in the happy and not unusual position of being in disagreement with everybody. I disagree with Senator Kennedy that -- about the admission of China to the United Nations. China is, whether we like it or not, one of the world's great powers, and it doesn't seem to me that anything is to be gained by pretending that the government of China is in Formosa, which it isn't, and having some gentlemen from Formosa sitting in the United Nations, pretending to represent China, which they don't. I don't see how anybody is going to get on any further that way.

KENNEDY:

May I just say, Lord Boothby, it doesn't seem to me that that's the grounds -- the question of where the power lies. The question is whether you're ready to live up to the United Nations Charter. Isn't that the grounds for admission?

BOOTHBY:

Not all countries have observed the letter and the spirit of the United Charter -- United Nations Charter who are members of the organization, and I personally, would include the Soviet Union.

MENON:

The Soviet Union will probably have its own views. I repeatedly said that if at the United Nations only countries could be present, approved by every other country, probably there'd be nobody there.

KENNEDY:

I should think people would hope ...

MENON:

We have repeatedly said here that the representation of China by its legitimate and proper government does not mean the recognition by the United States or of any other government or country of China. We have never asked other countries to recognize them, and I don't think internatent recognition, as between nations, is necessary for a country to be admitted here, and ..

KENNEDY:

But I must say, Mr. Menon, that is a judgment. The United States votes against the admission and votes against the recognition because of our very serious concern about the direction which the Chinese Communist government is taking.

MENON:

I think that's all right. We haven't quarreled with it.

KENNEDY:

It seems to me the Indians can follow a different policy with the hope that their policy will reap a more favorable harvest, but I must say the experience which India has had with its policy, and the actions of the Chinese recently don't give me much encouragement that there would be a shift in emphasis by the Chinese Communists if recognition and admission were extended.

MURROW:

Excuse me, gentlemen, I must interrupt now for a word from Olin Mathieson.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Is there anything in the public record so far that Khrushchev succeeded, in any sense, in persuading the Chinese not to use force?

KENNEDY:

No. I think it's a great mistake to think that even a visit from as formidable a personality as Mr. Khrushchev is going to change the Chinese who have been revolutionary since '27, and who adopted a national policy with -- and really don't seem to be as concerned about the dangers of war as many of us in other parts of the world.

MENON:

Well, I don't know. I do not think either Khrushchev gives orders to China or China takes it, but there must be a certain amount of give and take between them, and it may be wishful thinking, but I have no doubt, in my own mind, that after Khrushchev's visit to China, there is perhaps a little more realistic approach to our problems.

KENNEDY:

May I just say, Mr. Menon, that the real question is whether the Chinese are going to be able to first demonstrate that their system works best for their people, and it, therefore, seems to me of particular importance to all of us who believe in freedom -- it seems to me particularly important that India also succeed in its efforts, and that if India can succeed, it would make more difference to this whole conflict between ideologies, not material or conflict -- military conflicts, but conflicts between ideologies and ...

MENON:

Senator, a good Democrat both ways ...

KENNEDY:

Then it would seem to me that, as a good Democrat, that we can all be heartened. So I would say the real struggle is perhaps not the United Nations, between the free world and the totalitarian world. The conflict is taking place in small villages in India and Africa and Latin America, as to whether they can solve their problems. I would say that's the problems of the sixties that's going to affect us all most directly.

MENON:

I wouldn't wish you to think that I was not being -- not responding to you in the same spirit you speak to us, but as a Democrat both ways -- both with a small "d" and a big "D", I hope you will agree that India might sort out her own problems her own way, and that ....

KENNEDY:

Well, I hope you won't mind at least if we extend good will.

MENON:

No - no, I hope you don't either.

BOOTHBY:

Speaking as a neutral ...

MENON:

Not only extending to you good will, but we try to transmit our humility as a number of our experience, and we say it is far better to allow these under-developed countries to deal with themselves best as they can without outside help, and seeking it, to develop their own people, but that is not the issue at the present time. You were saying ....

BOOTHBY:

First of all, I would like to say to Mr. Menon that I think it is absolute

obligation on the part of the rich and the prosperous countries in the world, and for all I know, the Soviet Union may be one of them before the end of the day, to help economically to the best of their abilities. I think a great many of the countries of Western Europe, including Britain and the United States, have been too selfish economically at the present time, and are rolling in great prosperity while a great deal of the rest of the world is suffering great poverty, and I think it's one -- going to be one of the tests of our free society as to whether we meet -- meet it or not.

MENON:

The development of the under-developed part of the world is more or less a collary to warless world. That is, you could not attain world stability in a world of imbalance of this kind. Take my own country. The per capita income in India, with all the efforts we have made to date is fifty-eight dollars per head, as against over a thousand dollars in other countries. I'm not saying this as a matter of invidious comparisons. This imbalance has to be restored and has, to be -- has to be got rid of. You cannot do it merely by the exportation of goods; the giving of aid, as it is called. It requires a planned world -- a world that must plan for five thousand millions at the end of this century.

BOOTHBY:

I believe that the increase of population, the reckless increase of population the world over, that it is now going on, the unplanned increase-- is a greater danger to mankind than the H bomb, for the simple reason that I think it's very unlikely that the H bomb will ever be used. And I do most sincerely believe that sooner or later the human race will have to make up its mind to plan population as well as industry if it's to feed itself, because what I'm really frightened of is that in another fifty or sixty years, that increase in the world population will be so great that whatever methods we use, we shan't

be able to produce enough food to feed ourselves. There must be a limit.

MENON:

Ours is the only government in the world, I believe, which makes it a part of government policy in regard to Family Planning, but all that would not limit population to below five thousand millions in the world, and therefore, we have to increase its production.

BOOTHBY:

I would like to say to Mr. Menon ...

MENON:

Neither the increaseof population nor the problem is limited to the under-developed world. This is one of these fallacies that go around. The increase of population is greater in some of the developed areas like the United States and the Soviet Union and Japan, than in India, for example. The increase of population the figures I have given, are the conservative estimate of statisticians all over the world, but over and above that, the whole problem of under-development is not confined to us.

KENNEDY:

I wouldn't think that there's any doubt that certainly for the next fifty years that we are going to have the resources available to feed and clothe and give the population of the world an increasing standard of living. What really is the problem is how those resources are going to be stimulated ....

BOOTHBY:

Yes.

KENNEDY:

..so that I must say that for those of us who live in prosperous countries, relatively, and for those of us who live in the United States, which, after all

was an under-developed country in the world once, and was aided in its development by the British and others, who, I must say, were adequately rewarded -- I hope we can play our role, because I think that our reward in long-range terms will be even greater than that of the Europeans in developing United States -- not in the private sense but certainly in the public sense.

BOOTHBY:

I m entirely in agreement with you.

MURROW:

Bob.

BOOTHBY:

Yes.

MURROW:

What do you think the results in the area of foreign policy will be of the recent election here in Britain? Do you think Britain is likely to become more generous to these rapidly developing countries?

BOOTHBY:

Yes, I would have thought so.

MURROW:

Well, nothing was said about it in the course of the campaign, was it?

BOOTBHY:

No, not on either side, but then it was a rather selfish campaign. I can say so as one who took no part in it whatsoever. I think both sides were thinking a good deal of what they were going to get out of it, and not enough people were thinking of what they ought to do for the rest of the world.

MURROW:

What do you think will be the effect on British Foreign policy of this sweeping Conservative victory?

BOOTHBY:

It will strengthen the policy, of course, because it will strengthen the power of the nation. The government -- the government has great authority behind it now -- far greater authority than it had. It's a clear decision of the electorate and therefore, Macmillan's foreign policy, which is fairly well known will, of course, have great weight added to it. His policy with regard, for example, to a summit conference -- his policy, may add to some kind of phase of disarmament in Central Europe. That will come up again undoubtedly, and will have to be paid considerable attention to, and all the other policies which he's taken up, and which originally aroused considerable hostility amongst the western allies, will now come right to the forefront, and he will be able to advocate them with far greater authority and foresight. I have no doubt whatsoever he will do so.

KENNEDY:

May I just ask Lord Boothby if the political parties are going to merely bargain as to who can promise the softer future; how he feels that a free society could meet the very hard problems which those free societies are going to face over the next forty years, if Mr. Khrushchev's prophesies about our imminent collapse are not going to be realized. If the electorate does not respond and the political parties do not give the leadership, how are we going to point out that the road is rather hard ahead and will require self-sacrifice? Do you feel that these free societies therefore can compete?

BOOTHBY:

Yes. I think it's one of the greatest difficulties and perhaps dangers that confront both our societies, just that very thing, and I think it's up to the

leaders of all Parties to combat it instead of pander to it. I think it's really necessary that the leadership, both in the United States and in Britain, should say to their people, quite frankly, we are going to do this and you are going to have to "lump" it and like it, because it's your duty to do so, and if the leaders have the guts to do it, we shall be saved, and if they haven't, we'll gradually go downhill.

MURROW:

Bob, are you saying that no nation has ever been great unless greatness has been demanded of it by its leaders?

BOOTHBY:

I would have thought so. Take us in nineteen hundred and forty. You were here, Ed.

MURROW:

Yes.

BOOTHBY:

You know what happened. And that was just exactly what did happen. At the last moment, after ten years of what I would call moral decadence, greatness was demanded of this nation by Mr. Churchill, in the face of desperate danger, and accorded, and if necessary it should happen again.

KENNEDY:

I think we have the same problem in the United States. Can a free society do better than Athens did in its struggle with Sparta, a totalitarian society, particularly when we've seen this extraordinary progress which totalitarian societies are able to make in both the Russian and Chinese experience in the material way? And I would say that that is the basic problem. Do we have sufficient self-discipline, or must it be imposed by the State? I hope we

do, but I would say the responsibility of all of us, who hold any position of public note, is particularly great now, and I would say that it's the responsibility of the electorate that we have to do voluntarily what the Soviet State and the Chinese State are able to do by national force.

BOOTHBY:

I think you've got to the heart of the matter.

MURROW:

Thank you all very much, gentlemen. We'll tell you about next week's guests in just a moment.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Next week SMALL WORLD will be pre-empted by Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic, but we'll be back two weeks from tonight with a conversation between Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel, on the eve of an election there, and former Premier U Nu of Burma, from Hong Kong.
Good night and good luck.

ANNOUNCER:

Remember, next week SMALL WORLD will be pre-empted by Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic, but two weeks from tonight, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion of Israel, from Jerusalem, and former Prime Minister U Nu, from Hong Kong, on SMALL WORLD, brought to you by Olin Mathieson.

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue
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New York
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SMALL WORLD

Guests: Edward Crankshaw, from Sandhurst, England
Barbara Ward Jackson, from Honolulu, Hawaii
Adlai Stevenson, from San Francisco, California

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
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2.

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ANOTHER MURROW-FRIENDLY PRODUCTION WAS "SMALL WORLD", A HALF-HOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WHICH ~~DISTINGUISHED WRITERS, POLITICIANS AND DIPLOMATS~~ NOTABLES IN VARIOUS ~~COUNTRIES~~ PARTS OF THE WORLD EXCHANGED VIEWS BY SHORT-WAVE. SINCE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES DID NOT EXIST, PARTICIPANTS IN THESE LIVE INTERNATIONAL ~~DISCUSSIONS~~ CONVERSATIONS WERE FILMED SEPARATELY. LATER THE FILM SEGMENTS WERE JOINED AND BROADCAST FROM NEW YORK.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE OF THE TWENTIETH BROADCAST IN ~~THIS~~ THE WEEKLY SERIES WERE EDWARD CRANKSHAW, FILMED IN SANDHURST, ENGLAND; BARBARA WARD JACKSON IN HONOLULU, ADLAI STEVENSON IN SAN FRANCISCO AND MURROW IN ANCHOR POSITION IN NEW YORK.

MURROW: Good evening. Tonight on SMALL WORLD, from the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco, former Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. His credentials need no reaffirming to the American people, but I think I might mention that in a recent poll conducted by a London newspaper to determine what kind of world leadership they would prefer if Earth is ever invaded by a space army, they decided that Governor Stevenson should be the foreign secretary.

STEVENSON: Happily, I don't think that's likely to come to pass. Therefore, perhaps my prowess isn't to be tested, and this is better for all of us. Moreover, you forgot to tell them, Ed, that London has also selected Mr. Khrushchev as prime minister.

MURROW:

That's true, and General DeGaulle as Defense Minister. Do you think you could work happily with such a team?

STEVENSON:

I am just relieved, for my own sake as well as for mankind's, that this is not likely to be tested.

MURROW:

Well, this by necessity is going to be a rather geographical introduction. Barbara Ward was the youngest, and certainly the most beautiful, Governor the BBC or any broadcasting company ever had. She was an editor of The Economist, now lives in Ghana with her husband, Sir Robert Jackson, and we are originating Lady Jackson in Honolulu, having commandeered her off a ship inbound from Australia. Have you had a good trip so far, Barbara?

WARD:

Well, the Tasman Sea did what it always did, which is to put most of us to our berths. But otherwise it was a splendid crossing.

MURROW:

And from another side of the world, and out of the fog, Edward Crankshaw, Britain's, and one of the free world's, greatest authorities on the Soviet Union -- a soldier of distinction, a reporter for The Observer and author of many books on Russia. Mr. Crankshaw returned to London from the Soviet Union only two days ago. Mr. Crankshaw, how did Mikoyan's trip to America do in the Soviet Union?

CRANKSHAW:

Well, they made a good deal of fuss about him going to Macy's. The Russians watched where he was going, read what he had been looking at and said, "Goodness me, in a year or two we'll get some of that." They haven't been told, I think,

fully yet that they probably won't.

MURROW:

Well, Lady Jackson and gentlemen, I'd like to start with a question on trade. Can a free enterprise system compete with a trade monopoly? More specifically, can we compete with the Russians who can afford to sell goods at a loss in order to gain a political advantage, while our corporations must make a profit in order to stay in business. Barbara Ward?

WARD:

Well, I think there are a great many answers to that particular question - no short one. I think I would stress first of all that we are making too much of a distinction here between the free enterprise and the Communist system, because in the long run, I don't think the Russian system can afford to be constantly selling abroad at less than true profit, and that the more they have to provide consumer goods à la Macy for their own people, the more they are going to be compelled to consider real cost. You can't avoid that, I think, in the long run. And my second point would be that I think the good old free enterprise system has got many, many ways of strengthening itself with government assistance, which it uses frequently. For example, big subsidies for the production of ships or big contracts going to firms for arms programs.

STEVENSON:

Well, while I agree with Barbara Ward, in the long run, it seems to me that for the short run the Russians and any state trading monopoly have a great advantage over free enterprise countries like the Western democracies. We have seen in the last few years the Russians invade Western markets in aluminum and tin and various metals, and by cutting the price they can quickly

demoralize our market and force general price-cutting the world around. They can buy [illegible] where the raw commodities of various countries. They can quickly buy Iceland's fish. They can buy Uruguayan wool, and they can barter for it. They can trade them oil at a cut price, and little by little through these and other devices, they can win markets. They can get footholds, economic footholds in various sections of the world, and put us at a [illegible] disadvantage. It seems to me, however, that we might have to begin to consider the possibility of adopting state trading methods ourselves, in the West, and perhaps if we can do this in concert, one with another, we can be even more effective. I hope very much that we won't [illegible] that we won't reject the consideration of the possibility of adopting some of the techniques of state trading in our efforts to compete effectively with the Russian economic offensive.

MURROW:

Mr. Crankshaw?

CRANKSHAW:

There is far less of a difference between what we call free enterprise and what we call Communism than most people think nowadays. There isn't any more really classical cut-throat free enterprise. At the moment, we are moving in a rather untidy way from the Nineteenth Century idea of total competition towards a much more organized society, whether we like it or not. And certainly the Russian variant of Communism is moving away all the time from a sort of monolithic will to control by a central dictator, and is having to pay attention to the demands of all sorts of people wanting all sorts of different things.

STEVENSON:

I think there is something to this, and I think there is a great deal to it in the political dimension as well as the economic one, and little by little, as conditions change there, and they become more responsive to the

consumer, as conditions change here and we become more centralized, one can look forwar to the time, perhaps far distant, when we may be drawn together in the center.

WARD: I also think, governor, that you have great varieties of state enterprise and free enterprise all mixed up together, and although I do agree that the Soviet incursions in the way of cheap tin and cheap aluminum, and so forth, can have a very disturbing effect in the market, they have a very much more disturbing effect when the market is already deranged by our own recession, our own raw materials price policy, and by a collapse of the market already produced by us. If we were genuinely working over a long period for an expanding world economy, then I think we could take the Russian thrust in our stride, and indeed in some areas, we could welcome it, because I think we are going to be short of quite a lot of things as the population of the world develops, and demand grows, and bigger markets open up.

CRANKSHAW:

But the Russians say we ...

WARD:

So I think we ought to think of this positively.

CRANKSHAW:

The Russians say we can't work for an expanding world economy because it's against our nature.

STEVENSON:

Isn't there another point? It's not just an expanding world economy. It's that in our free system we not only have these imbalances, these ups and downs, but that the point I think that Lady Jackson is making, is that the raw producing countries, the underdeveloped countries are extremely vulnerable, and if we leave them in this state of vulnerability, they can be exploited, of course, to our disadvantage. So that the problem isn't just expansion. Before you can expand, I'm afraid, we have to first stabilize, don't we? We have to first create some system of stabilization of [redacted] commodity prices, and this is something we haven't achieved, let alone expansion, Barbara, isn't that correct?

WARD:

Well, I would prefer, Governor, to put the emphasis on expansion, because I think that if you have got the idea, for example, that was faintly, faintly hinted at in the old Paley Report, and that is that you should try and look at your needs in about twenty-five to thirty years' time, and try to have a consistent free world policy for achieving those goals, then your stabilization would fall into place, because you would have an expanding demand for these raw materials. In fact, you might find the opposite and that was that you had to prevent the prices from going straight through the roof, which of course, is one of the troubles of the last ten years after the war, is that they did go through the roof.

CRANKSHAW:

It seems to me, Governor, that you have got a defensive attitude there instead of an offensive one.

WARD:

Yes.

CRANKSHAW:

If it were a real free-for-all, if we were really putting ourselves out to expand, to mop up purchasing power all over the world, the Russians themselves would find themselves on the defensive, because their capacity just isn't there to supply. At the moment, they can put in a little point here, a little point there, just where we don't want it and make it difficult for us, but on a really broad front for quite a long time, they'd be flummoxed if we started taking the wind out of their sails.

STEVENSON:

Surely we can't have a quarrel about that because this is precisely what I think, too - that we mustn't leave ourselves vulnerable, as we have in the past, to these -- to these pressures from the Soviet, either economic or political, or by propaganda, and all the devices of penetration that they use. My point is that -- that while all of us would agree that economic expansion is indispensable to the survival of the free world, and certainly to our free economies, still at the same time we have various aspects of this thing that we have to think about, and the stabilization of commodity prices, which is something that has eluded us so far, seems to me something that we ought to be able to do. These aren't exclusive things to do, nor did I think that they were defensive.

WARD:

Now Governor, it seems to me you've come back to the point that Edward Crankshaw was making, and that is the Russians say "that's all jolly fine, but under your system, you can't," and I do think that this is a very, very serious problem for us to consider, because it does involve a great deal of cooperation between independent nations, and if we have, as I fear we do have to some extent in the United States, a sort of almost ideological prejudice against government action, I think it's nonsense, but I do think this is one of the great political debates of our age.

CRANKSHAW:

One aspect of that debate which has been striking me lately - actually when I was in Russia the other day where there is not at the moment a personal dictatorship whatever it looks like, but there is a totalitarian state. One of the things we've got to sort out is exactly what we do mean by free enterprise, by freedom, and by state control, because the Russians do have, at the moment, a totalitarian state, and we confuse that with a dictatorship. We're all moving, it seems to me, in the direction of totalitarianism which means harnessing as I understand it.

WARD:

Oh, dear, I do disagree with that.

CRANKSHAW:

A nation's resources, or group of nations' resources if it comes to that, to a given over-all plan - how are we going to -- to move in that direction which is ncesessary, up to a point, without losing our political freedom? We are going to have to lose some of our economic freedom; quite obviously, we've lost a lot already - certainly in Great Britain, and I imagine in America, too.

STEVENSON:

I think you're ...

WARD:

I think we are confusing the problem terribly if we call a reasonable degree of planning and forethought the equivalent of totalitarianism, because to my mind it just isn't. I mean the Marshall Plan, to come back to it, was not a totalitarian act - it was a free act of governments working together, and that's a pretty big distinction between that, say, and the forced economic planning of the Warsaw Pact.

CRANKSHAW:

Yes, but there is a trend toward totalitarian idea in, I think, almost every country at the moment, and it's one we are not properly recognizing, and it's going to take us by surprise if we go on not recognizing it.

STEVENSON:

Do you mean that in the domestic thinking of all the countries in the West, we are becoming totalitarian ourselves, or do you mean if we talk about more -- a better concert of our resources and our efforts, that that in itself is totalitarian?

WARD:

That's what worries me.

CRANKSHAW:

No. I think we are moving towards it without knowing it.

WARD:

I do disagree.

CRANKSHAW:

You do disagree.

WARD:

I do disagree most profoundly, because it seems to me it is precisely in working out what are the free techniques of -- I'll call it foresight and planning, because that's an intelligible thing to do, and if we just go and say that that's totalitarianism, then we will never get our thinking straight, and we will never....

CRANKSHAW:

No.

WARD:

...work out how you do it in freedom.

CRANKSHAW:

I'm not saying it in that tone of voice at all, and I'm using totalitarianism as a convenient word to cover a situation in which ...

WARD:

I think it's a horribly inconvenient word if you don't mind my saying so.

CRANKSHAW:

Why -- why do you think it's so inconvenient? It has certain associations which we don't like. It's been associated, was invented, wasn't it, for the benefit of Nazi Germany, and we apply it now to Soviet Russia, and we equate it with political dictatorships.

WARD:

Yes.

CRANKSHAW:

And it seems to me that there is no reason for it to be equated with political dictatorship.

WARD:

Oh, I do disagree. Dear Governor, do join in. I mean, you can't possibly say that working out freedom with responsible planning is the same as totalitarianism. If we do, we'll never get anywhere.

STEVENSON:

I don't think semantic debate as to the meaning of totalitarianism is perhaps very fruitful. What I think we are talking about is - does seem to me, however, to be -- to draw very close to perhaps the basic problem that we will all

confront. If you will assume that one-third of the world is now under Communist discipline, and its productivity is rising, its economic development is spectacular; that another third of the world, recently freed from the old empires, is actually getting poor while the rich are getting richer; that the standard of living actually is falling, then the problem becomes one something like this -- if I can attempt to reduce it to two simple terms, and that is whether the other third of the world -- free world can so organize its resources, so as to compete for the allegiance, for the balance of power with these recently liberated and new peoples. What I think is a problem, especially for this country, is whether or not we can compete in our system of government with the central planning of the authoritarian or totalitarian state to which Mr. Crankshaw refers; whether we can so mobilize our resources without the very controls that we are trying to avoid. That is, without yielding the very thing that we are trying to prevent, and then I think there is a third question, and that is whether we in the United States, especially, can -- whether our free institutions lend themselves to the conduct of an effective foreign policy; whether we, in competition with the secrecy, the certainty and the celerity of the -- of Russian or totalitarian state, for example. I think these are very basic questions -- whether free peoples can so mobilize themselves as to effectively compete, not only nationally but internationally with the authoritarian systems to which Mr. Crankshaw was referring.

MURROW:

Governor, Barbara Ward in Honolulu, and Ed Crankshaw in Sandhurst, may I suggest that we move on to talk about Berlin and about Red China immediately after this word from Olin Mathieson.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Governor Stevenson, both you and Mr. Crankshaw have been in Russia recently. What do you think prompted the Soviet note on Berlin?

STEVENSON:

Well, I think there are probably several contributing factors. Certainly, one was the awful hemmorhage, the exodus of irreplaceable people from East Germany to West Germany - the college profressors, the skilled, the scientists, and the people with important indispensable skills. I think the East German state came to the conclusion that it had to staunch this wound. In addition to that, undoubtedly the snuffing off East Berlin, both as an escape route and as an island of freedom in this -- in the Communist sea, was an important consideration. I think they're very anxious about the situation in the satellite states. Certainly they have had good reason to be, and after the revolution in Hungary and the troubles in Poland, and the troubles in East Germany before, and East Germany is undoubtedly the most -- one of the most vulnerable of all.

CRANKSHAW:

And I am not even sure, to go back just a tiny bit farther, that Mr. Khrushchev is quite so sure at home as he appears to be. He is still not really popular among the Russian people, although he is very much in the driving seat just now, and before he can really freely address himself to the people at home, he has got to make quite sure that the satellite empire is in order, and it is not.

WARD:

It's a wonder I always had if there isn't any sane and sensible way in which we could help him to get rid of his empire, We're now putting our finger on what is the most pregnant, the most difficult and indeed the most dangerous problem, I think, in the entire world, and that is how on earth do you ease Russia off her exposed limb in such a way that you don't, in fact, just leave the limb with Russia.

MURROW:

Well, just a couple of weeks ago, in his speech to the All-Party Congress, Khrushchev suggested an atom-free zone in the Far East . Chou en-Lai, speaking just the next day, didn't even mention it. Any conclusions from that, Mr. Crankshaw?

CRANKSHAW:

I don't see in Khrushchev's remarks anything more than has already been seen. I mean, he could be said to have been flying a kite. He could also be said to be indicating to the Chinese that he is capable of having ideas independent of them, and Chou en-Lai, in not making any reference to this, could be seen to be rather gently snubbing Mr. Khrushchev, but I don't think it shows anything more than the fact that these two very, very powerful nations are not yoked together in the sort of frozen posture that we tend to imagine over here.

MURROW:

Well, if they aren't yoked together, do any of you see any possibility of an ultimate conflict between the Chinese and the Russians?

WARD:

I think all that one can say is that on present showing there will be a billion Chinese by 1980, and untold more by the year two thousand, and that the significant amount of empty space nearabout all lies in the Soviet Union. Now that might, under uncontrolled conditions of anarchy and of the continued habit of conquest and infiltration, that could be thought to be a likely cause of future trouble.

STEVENSON:

I think it would be a great mistake, if I may intervene here, Ed, for us to underestimate the solidarity of Moscow and Peiping of the Russian and the Chinese Communist states at this time. I think it would be a mistake for us to

rely too heavily on the possibility of dividing them. Short term - long term, I share emphatically Barbara Ward's view that the proximity of the vast empty spaces of the Soviet Union, especially of Eastern Siberia, to what will be the most populous state in the world very soon, can only invite Soviet anxiety, and I think this reason, I should be interested to hear Mr. Crankshaw's view, is one of the explanations for the extraordinary effort that the Soviet are making in the development of Siberia now. If they don't fill it up, if they don't develop it, if they don't populate it, the Chinese may.

CRANKSHAW:

Oh, I absolutely agree about that. It's right in front of their thinking, and China has always been an occupational nightmare on the part of Russian Foreign Secretaries. It still is. They are even beginning to speak about it a little bit now, of those vast spaces close to China which the Tsar tried to populate, which Khrushchev is now trying to populate, which is still largely unpopulated, and which I think sooner or later are going to have to receive immigrants from China, either as guests or as invaders. I think, first of all, they will come as guests. That won't lead to the easiest of relations with the Chinese, but I agree so much with Governor Stevenson that to count on any break occurring in the immediate future, or any calculable future, is really to put ourselves into a fool's paradise, even if such a break was actually good for us. We can count, I think, very much, and my guess, my hunch for the future is that Russia will be drawn closer to America.

STEVENSON:

I remember on a couple of occasions this last autumn when I was in the Soviet Union that I commented on the fact that one of the Demographic Commissions of the United Nations, estimated that the probable populations of China in the year two thousand would be one billion, six hundred million people; whereupon my Russian host jumped to his feet and lifted his vodka glass and said: "All the more reason for better Russian-American relations."

WARD:

If our diplomacy were subtle enough, and at times quiet enough, is it possible that we might ask Mr. Khrushchev or the Russian government whether it isn't in the Russians' interest to get some ground rules of world behavior agreed now while the Chinese are weak, against the day when the Chinese are going to be so very, very strong? Is there not some common interest here that we might very quietly explore? What do you think?

CRANKSHAW:

I think it is. I think Mr. Khrushchev was very quietly exploring that, this is only a hunch, in his remark about the Pacific zone the other day. I think that should be taken up, and even if it was taken up quietly and peacefully and was rebuffed, I think we should go on taking these things up.

WARD:

Oh, how I agree with you.

CRANKSHAW:

We should go on pressing. The Russians like to be pressed. They always say "no" the first time and probably the first twenty times, but one should try for twenty-one times, in a slightly different langauge. That's what we haven't been very good at doing, I think.

WARD:

We get impatient after one or two rebuffs. For example, all this fuss about a summit metting. I can't see why we shouldn't propose to have a summit meeting regularly once a year, because the concern of humanity and the future of the human race is worth a meeting once a year, and we might find a great deal to talk about, not under great pressure, but with a certain degree of leisureness and of exchange. We -- we always seem to do it once only. This is absurd surely, isn't it, in the whole life, the developing of mankind?

STEVENSON:

I have expressed the view of -- from time to time in this country, what I thought it was -- something along the line of what Barbara Ward just said -- that I thought we attach much too much attention, importance to the summit meeting, therefore magnifying its consequences out of all proportion; that a much better approach would be to have meetings, if not at the summit, at the ministerial levels in which we had no agenda; in which we announced in advance that there wouldn't be any agenda; in which we announced in advance that there wouldn't be any communique; that we were not going to reach any agreements. The important thing seems to me to, as the French say, prendre contacte, to get together, to talk. The Russians want to talk. Why we shouldn't be willing to talk at any level, I don't know.

CRANKSHAW:

I absolutely agree, and if we can't trust our statesmen to meet Russians without being done down, then we should change our statesmen.

MURROW:

We must end our little electronic conference at this point. Thank you all very much, Mr. Crankshaw, Barbara Ward, and Governor Stevenson. Next week's guests in just a moment.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Next week, East meets West. From Hong Kong, Han Suyin; from Washington, Joseph Alsop, and from London, Lord Boothby. Good night and good luck.

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ANNOUNCER:

SMALL WORLD is edited and produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly.

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SMALL WORLD

Guests: Sir Thomas Beecham, Nice, France
Victor Borge, Southbury, Connecticut
Maria Callas, Milan, Italy

Producers: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

as broadcast over the
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PRIVATE FILE

SMALL WORLD

Volume 1
Show 13

January 4, 1959

ANNOUNCER:

Tonight, on SMALL WORLD, Maria Callas from Milan, Sir Thomas Beecham from Nice, and Victor Borge from Connecticut, edited and produced by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. Tonight on SMALL WORLD, three titans from the world of music, each currently transplanted from their native land. From Milan, Italy, Madame Maria Callas, soprano, and a more exciting actress than any singer has a right to be; once described by Howard Taubman of The New York Times as having restored the ancient luster to the title of prima donna, a tribute which neither her friends nor her critics would contradict. Madame Callas is speaking from her town house in Milan, Italy. Good evening, Madame Callas.

MARIA CALLAS:

Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW:

Maria, have you ever sung for Sir Thomas Beecham?

CALLAS:

No, I have never had the honor of singing with -- with and for Sir Thomas Beecham, but I hope that will take place very soon.

MURROW:

And from Nice, on the French Riviera, Sir Thomas Beecham, the eminent conductor, once described by a critic as having done more for British music than any man

of this age - or any age. It has also been said that Sir Winston Churchill and Beecham were the two greatest speakers in England, and Sir Thomas is willing to admit that he was the author of this comparison. Good evening, Sir Thomas.

THOMAS BEECHAM:

Good evening. Look here, I protest against that last statement of yours. It wasn't I who said it. It was Winston.

MURROW:

Tell me, Sir Thomas, how is the intellectual climate on the Riviera these days?

BEECHAM:

There never was one and there isn't one now.

MURROW:

And also from the United States, a transplanted Dane, the distinguished pianist, composer and conductor, Maestro Victor Borge, who has grown solvent by taking neither Mozart nor Strauss nor himself, too seriously, and may, I trust, approach his confreres of this evening with similar awe. Mr. Borge is talking from a chicken farm in Southbury, Connecticut, Victor, you're on a hot circuit to Milan and Nice.

VICTOR BORGE:

Well, I am certainly delighted. Ed you said Southbury, Connecticut. You didn't tell me where Nice and Milan is.

BEECHAM:

Does Mr. Borge make anything out of his farm except chicken feed?

BORGE:

Yes - five children.

BEECHAM:

Things are looking up agriculturally.

BORGE:

Yes - it's a healthy home life.

BEECHAM:

Can I ask Madame Callas a most important question?

MURROW:

Please do.

BEECHAM:

It's agitating all the social circles of London, and rumors -- and rumors are flying around about it. It concerns the little disagreement that is supposed to have taken place between Madame Callas and a misguided director of opera in New York.

CALLAS:

Oh.

BEECHAM:

Now, one of the most startling rumors is ...

CALLAS:

Yes.

BEECHAM:

..that this Madame Callas is supposed to have hit the gentleman on the head with a bottle of brandy, and I want to know if that's true or not.

CALLAS:

Sir Thomas Beecham, the newspapers have written so much and so much - God only knows. I would advise whoever reads those newspapers not to believe the half or the half, and I don't believe anything, because when I read it, I have the shocks of my life.

BEECHAM:

Or was it a bottle of something else, Madame?

CALLAS:

But I never threw anything at any one. Unfortunately; I wish I did.

BEECHAM:

You never did? Oh, what a lost opportunity.

CALLAS:

Isn't it terrible? Well, you know, there are -- yes, you are very right. There may be a next time.

BORGE:

Be careful, Maria.

CALLAS:

Yes that's just it. Well, you see, we remember to be ladies, and we can't do that, and then it would be a shame for the bottle, you know - really. I would never ruin a bottle of wine on the head of a person that is deserving the bottle on his head. Don't you think so, Sir Thomas Beecham?

BEECHAM:

Spirits, not wine.

CALLAS:

Well, Mr. Murrow, you know, they say so many things because, because they are trying so hard in one way or another to get me down, and so they just invent the most interesting and intriguing things. What can I do? I just sit and listen to them, and there you are.

MURROW:

I think this might be a good time to change the subject....

BEECHAM:

Yes.

MURROW:

I wonder if I might raise the question of the relationship between the performer and the audience. Sir Thomas Beecham has, on occasion, lectured his patrons on audience deportment, and he once, by the way, called my home state of Washington an intellectual dust bin, and he referred to British audiences as barbarians. Miss Callas, on occasion, has let audiences know how she feels. What is the relationship of a performer to an audience? Who serves whom? Borge, would you start?

BORGE:

Well, it is -- it is a very difficult question to answer for me in -- in company with Madame Callas and Sir Thomas, because our audiences and their reaction are entirely different. My relation with an audience is the same as my relation to guests and friends in a drawing room. The reaction from the audience must be spontaneous as must my reaction toward the audience be, or at least -- at least it must seem -- it must seem like that. A performer, a singer or a conductor must not feel the audience at all, but must perform for themselves and let the audience be present.

BEECHAM:

It's very simple, Mr. Murrow. A performer, whether he's a conductor or a singer, must hypnotize the audience into believeing that he or she is the only person in the world who knows that piece and how to sing or conduct it or play it, and if he doesn't succeed, he's no good.

BORGE:

I must just say, if I may say this remark -- that for me, I must be the only person in the world so long as my audience is there, because I do a one-man show.

CALLAS:

Well I can't say what Sir Thomas Beecham said, though I -- I'm -- it's made a wonderful impression on me, but it is true you must convince the public that what you do is right, and maybe sometimes you make a mistake -- sometimes you mix things up, but so long as the public doesn't catch on. Now, the real relation -- relationship, according to me, between public and the performer is that the performer is convinced of what he does no matter even if he isn't, because in shop -- that is when he works -- when he studies, he is not at all convinced; sometimes he is desperately miserable over some works, but his job is - whatever he does - to convince the public that it's the most beautiful thing in the world, the most easiest thing in the world, which many times is not the case. It's extremely difficult when great art should be given with the extreme ease and maybe somtimes it's so difficult that you really can't stand it. Am I right, Sir Thomas?

BEECHAM:

You're talking sense. Yes, damn good sense.

CALLAS:

And the public should, of course, respect this fatigue of the artist because the artist in that moment gives everything he has at that moment. His whole being is in this purpose. The least that the public can do is try to understand and appreciate. So it's all, you see, one. The artist at that moment dedicates himself, and the person that listens is trying to capture and to get whatever he can out of this. That is, it should be a mutual understanding. Some times, for instance, when you finished a certain beautiful piece or beautiful bit of phrasing or of act or something like that, and the public is just in ecstacy - the so-called trance or so-called hypnotizing that Sir Thomas Beecham said before, then you know you've done it.

BEECHAM:

Yes, I -- I go farther. I think the supreme demonstration of art and accomplishment on the part of the performer, whatever he is doing, is to leave the audience under the impression that that performance could never be bettered in this world.

CALLAS:

Yes, you are very right.

BEECHAM:

And they will leave the Hall under that impression.

CALLAS:

Yes, you are very right.

BEECHAM:

Now that is the thing that the artist must aim at.

BORGE:

And in this case the claque comes in handy sometimes.

CALLAS:

Ah, yes, you are very right, Sir Thomas Beecham.

BORGE:

Well, I was Victor Borge.

CALLAS:

You see, he is right also. You see the public sometimes needs encouragement because they are afraid. You see, they cannot know, Mr. Murrow, when to applaud and they do not know, of course, the words and the work; all they -- the details; all the hard work they go through; all the sacrifice, that by the time we go on that stage we ought to know what we are about, or at least, the serious artist -- of course, I am only speaking about serious artists -- not about the artist that -- and I am not accusing any one in particular, so please don't accuse me of it, but there are artists that, of course, love to do their good old routine, you know, and just go ahead and take their money and just yell their heads off, and that's fine. Now, I am talking about art if you know what I mean. Art, of course, means lots of sacrifice. It means studying music which music is a whole world -- a world that yet nobody really has understood, because each individual finds a new way of expressing himself, and of course, the voice they say must always be beautiful, but you see we do not only sing - we perform -- we say -- we -- we hypnotize. Sir Thomas Beecham calls it hypnotism. I call it atmosphere, and it's mysticism, or whatever it is, then all of a sudden some one yells his head off "Brava", you know, intending to do so much good, and irritates the one who wants peace and quiet to enjoy or to stay in that atmosphere.

BORGE:

Also, wasn't a performance intended to be accepted and understood while it was on, and therefore, when the person, all of a sudden, screams "Bravo", isn't

it because he has been hypnotized?

CALLAS:

That is fine, but not during the piece or not at the end of a piece when immediately another beautiful piece comes along.

BORGE:

But then ...

CALLAS:

Then you have to really work up to another hypnotisim, shall we call it?

BORGE:

Isn't then ... isn't it therefore ...

CALLAS:

So there you are.. It's - it's the nervous tension of creating again all this thing that you have been working for. I feel that applause should really not exist though it is a compliment...

BORGE:

But Madame Callas ...

CALLAS:

..to an artist truthfully. So you don't know what you should have - what you shouldn't have.

BORGE:

Maria ...

CALLAS:

I feel that you should really do like in the prose - in the drama.

BORGE:

But ...

CALLAS:

At the end, they applaud. Also in that way -- you see, you have very educated publics in America, and in England, and in France, and ..

BORGE:

In Denmark also we have.

BORGE:

I'm not saying particularly where, where they just walk out at the end ...

BORGE:

But ...

CALLAS:

They don't even bother to applaud you because they're in a great hurry to leave and get their coats and get their cars.

BORGE:

Madame Callas, wouldn't it be right then if the composer had made slight pause for applause?

CALLAS:

They did, in fact, Mr. Borge. There are the old operas where a piece is called pezzo chiuso which means that the aria is finished, and there is a space for applause.

BORGE:

That's where the claques come in.

CALLAS:

Well, there you are. Now, if the claque exists then it's not an applause.

BORGE:

Madame Callas.

CALLAS:

Pardon me?

BORGE:

So far as the hired applause or claques is concerned, it has by now contaminated television and radio -- this which originally started in the opera house and in the concert hall. It is devastating for a humorist, for instance, or any kind of performer of quality, to prove any more that it is spontaneity that counts and witticism that counts versus ninety-five per cent of the shows which are supposed to be comedy which are underlined every five seconds with enormous laughter which is taken from tapes or cans, or whatever you call it, and the audience have learned to react to an announcer who comes in and raises his hands and does this -- now applaud - now dont; now applaud, now don't, as if there were the greatest performer who had just performed. Where is the individual spontaneity? It is lost with this and this form for performance; it is devastating for the original and for the great performer.

CALLAS:

Yes, you're very right.

BEECHAM:

We don't want any applause anyway. In London, after my concerts -- after I played the program, they want encores, and they want speeches from me, and then they won't go, and I have to threaten them with a fire hose, and then they go.

CALLAS:

You're wonderful. You're very fortunate, Sir Thomas Beecham, because ...

BORGE:

If it weren't for the applause my shows would only be half as long, I am sorry to say.

BEECHAM:

Well, I will tell you another little incident about claques. Well, many years ago, the audience at Covent Garden insisted on applauding in the wrong place ...

CALLAS:

Ah!

BEECHAM:

So I turned around and told them to shut up, and they shut up, and for three weeks there was no applause in that theatre at all. The Italian singers who expected applause occasionally, generally after each song, were very depressed and wanted to go home, and one wag said: "The silence was so profound that he distinctly heard an H dropped."

CALLAS:

Oh, my!

BEECHAM:

And this went on and went on, so one evening I had to dispel this awful condition so I allowed three pieces of a concert to go by in silence, and then I turned around and addressed the public, and I said: "Ladies and gentlemen, we will now pray," and that broke the spell."

BORGE:

And then you had applause.

BEECHAM:

No, they just giggled a little, you know, but recovered their normal act ,... outlook toward such things.

BORGE:

Yes.

BEECHAM:

From that moment on, they applauded again.

CALLAS:

Terribly annoying.

BORGE:

Well, I would be awfully sorry if I had to avoid applause. However, I am of the opinion that the great singers of all times always had claques. Maybe not always for themselves but to destroy other singers in the same opera.

CALLAS:

I've had a hard experience about that. You see, sometimes there is claque against even an artist paid by organizations, by individual artists, by goodness knows whom -- to bother an artist -- maybe applaud him -- maybe hiss-- maybe, you know, bother or cough or insult or things like that. I would avoid completely, anyway, the claque.

BEECHAM:

Hear, hear. You are right!

CALLAS:

I have had no claque and I have been suffering the consequences of it, because also the one that doesn't -- that do not pay, goes to hiss you, and the artist that is annoyed atyou goes to hiss you or maybe applaud you, so as to bother

the other artists. Ah, these are all things that have nothing to do with art, I feel. Am I right?

BEECHAM:

Now I don't know much about claques, because nearly thirty years ago that I abolished them at Covent Garden.

MURROW:

Madame Callas and gentlemen, at this point on our score there is indicated a small pause for Olin Mathieson. We'll be back in about a minute.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas.

BEECHAM:

Hello.

MURROW:

Sir Thomas.

BEECHAM:

Yes.

MURROW:

You've conducted all over the world. Where do you find the best audiences and the worst?

BEECHAM:

The best opera --- concert audiences in the world are in London, easily.

MURROW:

And the worst?

BEECHAM:

The worst -- I wouldn't like to say what are the worst audiences, because I play in a great many countries, and I don't want, on the next occasion I go to a particular country, to have either bottles or brickbats thrown at me.

MURROW:

Madame Callas?

BEECHAM:

I like something soft and squashy like a tomato or an onion.

MURROW:

Madame Callas -- Maria, where do you find the best opera audiences?

CALLAS:

It's hard to say that, because as Sir Thomas Beecham said before, it is really not nice to try, I mean, to say something and you might go against the public, that actually we do live with the publics, because you see if there was no public there would be no artists, but there are some publics that understand. There are some publics that think they understand which are the worst publics, when they are presumptuous, and they think they know everything, and, they, of course, do not know anything. Then when we come along, or somebody else comes along that really is doing his job conscientiously, and is trying to bring back music to its real place, well then, and they say, oh, he is terrible, or he is cold, or he doesn't know his job, or for instance, a trill. It's rather difficult to sing a trill - and I am bringing this up because it's comical really, and it happened also in America, and it happened also here with some friends of mine -- people nearby -- critics even said so in America. Now, the wobbly voice - it just so happened to be a trill. I don't blame them, of course, because trills are very difficult to do, so you all of a sudden hear

a voice singing on two tones, and there you go - when you -- they say you have a wobbly or a shaky voice.

MURROW:

Borge.

BORGE:

Yes, Ed.

MURROW:

Where -- where do you find the best and the worst audiences?

BORGE:

Well, the worst audiences in my career have been the ones who didn't show up.

CALLAS:

Ah, my goodness. You are very right. We never thought of that.

BORGE:

I would like to ask Sir Thomas in reference to what Madame Callas said before - about the composers would not welcome applause or not welcome interruption in their operas. Sir Thomas, do you not think that Mozart was an enormously gifted showman and built his operas up for the public, and his climaxes - his ending of his acts were so definitely done for the audiences. Don't you think that Mozart welcomed applause and welcomed interruptions?

BEECHAM:

I don't know what was in Mozart's mind at all, and the point is nobody else does, and all conjecture is worthless, but I should certainly, if I were conducting an act of an opera of Mozart, I should stop the public applauding until the end of the act if it was the last stop of my life, and I wouldn't go on 'til they stopped.

MURROW:

I'd like to put a question to all of you. Why is it that there is so little pioneering of new music, and for that matter, even old music? Why is it, for example, that in classical opera there is a basic repertory which persists year after year? After all, Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams are constantly contributing to the living theatre, and an Olivier or a Lunt is constantly doing new things. The question then is: why do we have so much tradition -- so much repetition, and so little trail-blazing in opera?

BEECHAM:

An opera like TROVATORE was written a hundred years ago, and it's still whistled and sung and hummed by taxi men, cab men, and all sorts of people. Rossini once asked a young composer of his work this: "Will it grind, my boy?" meaning will it work on the hand organ. AIDA was written eighty years ago. It's performed every week all over the world. Why? Because it has good tunes in it. So have the operas of Puccini, and so have some of the operas, or portions of some of the operas of Richard Wagner. The old operas that you have mentioned and those which are holding the repertoire today have all got good tunes in them, and the great difficulty that confronts composers of the present day is finding one good tune among the whole boiling lot, and they can't do it.

MURROW:

Madame Callas, how do you feel about this matter of too much tradition in opera -- too little trail-blazing?

CALLAS:

Too much what?

BEECHAM:

I wouldn't call it tradition, Mr. Murrow.

CALLAS:

Yes, you are very right, Sir Thomas Beecham.

BEECHAM:

It's a matter of recognition by the public of lasting work and what they want to hear and go on hearing. It's not tradition, any more than Shakespeare's a tradition.

BORGE:

But isn't it so that they have had more chances to hear the traditional operas, and therefore have made them traditional?

BEECHAM:

They're not traditional at all. They're simply good operas.

BORGE:

But they have been made traditional by repetition constantly whereas the newer operas haven't got a chance to be heard, because no ...

BEECHAM:

New operas are played all the time, sir. They are played all the time in London. They are played all the time in Paris and in Milan or Rome and in New York, or Chicago, San Francisco. They've got plenty of opportunities of entering the repertoire. It's a mistake to think that operas like AIDA or LOHENGRIN or BOHEME were not greeted the first or the second night with wild applause and entered the international repertoire at once. The composers haven't got to wait for a generation or two to pass by. All the great composers of the world from Handel downward have been recognized in their lives and at once.

BORGE:

But Sir Thomas, there was not so much variation in those days. They didn't

have gramaphone records. There was not so much music to be chosen from.

BEECHAM:

Well, there was a damn sight more than there is today, my boy.

BORGE:

It might have been better.

BEECHAM:

Twas a damn sight better. You're right.

BORGE:

But there wasn't as much. Nowadays, we have music wherever we go -- in every drug store, in every saloon.

MURROW:

Madame Callas, we still haven't gotten your thoughts on this matter of tradition in opera -- too little trail-blazing.

CALLAS:

Well, this is a subject that has been brought up to me quite a few times. In fact, more than quite a few times, because you see, I am considered an actress, and these are for actresses, but I --you see, am a very romantic singer. I sing the old music, where, as Sir Thomas Beecham said, the melody is good -- he said good tune. In fact that is the way it starts. The public has to have a tune to hold on. Now, if the public cannot keep a tune in its head after they heard an opera, it means the opera is a flop, because...

BEECHAM:

No piece of music is worth tuppence without a tune in it, but that isn't quite the point I was going to make. I have already made that. Now, you used the words "blaze the trail."

MURROW:

Yes sir.

BEECHAM:

Right. Now, a long time ago, a great English essayist called Hazlett asked this question: "What is a new book? Every one wants new books. Well now, he said, a new book is one you haven't read whether it's a thousand years old or not." Now at the present time, I who know about three hundred operas am aware of about a hundred and fifty or more that should be performed and are not performed.

CALLAS:

You are very right, Sir Thomas Beecham.'

BEECHAM:

Old and new. Why don't the managers of the theatres blaze the trail of those works? The managers of theatres are responsible for the repertoire today being limited to about a dozen or twenty pieces. They have no imagination. They are not musical. They are clerks -- they are accountants, and they are so-called business men.

BORGE:

And they don't have enough money to do it.

BEECHAM:

What?

CALLAS:

You are right, Sir Thomas Beecham. For instance, the MEDEA that I took up, for instance, is a new role, but it's a very old role.

BEECHAM:

They know nothing about music at all. There isn't an opera house in the country that is run by a musician. The contrary was the fact fifty years ago. Let's have old operas that are also new, and let's stop talking about blazing the trail of new operas which are given to every one all the time, and they are not successful and don't remain in the repertoire.

BORGE:

Sir Thomas just stated so wonderfully that the so-called traditional operas were famous, and -- and so beautiful because the people understood the music tune after tune, aria after aria. Now, Madame Callas, how many people do you think ever understand one word of what is being sung from the stage unless, of course, you are the performer in an opera -- whether it is in French, German or Italian? I don't think that the audiences, in general, understand the words being sung, except, of course, as I said, in your case.

CALLAS:

Now Mr. Borge is paying me a wonderful compliment, but it's -- it's not the case.

BORGE:

So what difference does it make whether it's French, German or Italian?

BEECHAM:

Makes all the difference in the world, sir, and if you think otherwise, you are not a musician.

BORGE:

I was speaking from an audience point of view according to what we said a half hour ago.

BEECHAM:

You try and translate ...

MURROW:

This conversation lasted for the best part of two hours. We have neither the desire, or, in fact, the ability to terminate it. So we're just doing to interrupt it for one week.

BEECHAM:

...it cannot be done. The music is allied to the sound of the words.

MURROW:

The trio of Callas, Beecham and Borge will present an encore at this same time next week.

COMMERCIAL

MURROW:

You have just met next week's guests. At this time next week, the trio of Callas, Beecham and Borge, will present a wholly new production.
Good night and good luck..

October 12, 1958

ANOTHER MURROW-FRIENDLY PRODUCTION WAS "SMALL WORLD", A HALF-HOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WHICH ~~NOTABLES~~ PROMINENT PERSONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES EXCHANGED VIEWS BY SHORT-WAVE. SINCE COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES DID NOT EXIST, PARTICIPANTS IN THESE INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS WERE FILMED SEPARATELY. LATER THE SEGMENTS -- RECORDED VOICE AND FILM -- WERE COMBINED AND BROADCAST FROM NEW YORK.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE OF THE FIRST BROADCAST IN THIS WEEKLY SERIES, BESIDES MURROW, WERE PRIME MINISTER NEHRU OF INDIA, [redacted] GOVERNOR DEWEY OF NEW YORK AND ALDOUS HUXLEY.

SMALL WORLD

Volume 1
Show 1

October 12, 1958

ANNOUNCER:

London BBC Tech Ops calling SMALL WORLD, New York. Your Turin leg for Huxley is up and clear on a two-way land line. We are reading Nehru in Delhi on 22.5 megacycles, and have a clean A-T-&-T feed from Dewey at WCAN and Murrow at CBS Radio. Stand by, please....

In the United States, SMALL WORLD is sponsored this week by Renault.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Good evening. SMALL WORLD is a four-way intercontinental conversation dedicated to the proposition that talking over each other's back fences is a good idea, electronic or otherwise. We have linked together three continents with some twenty-four thousand miles of short-wave circuits and telephone links, and have recorded the conversation at those points.

From New Delhi, India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Prime Minister Nehru has just returned from some of the world's most inaccessible areas - Bhutan and Tibet. How were those fifteen-thousand-foot passes on a pony, Mr. Prime Minister?

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU:

I am afraid my voice is not very sweet, because I brought back a sore throat from Bhutan.

MURROW:

Well, we read you loud and clear from New Delhi. There's a little carrier signal in the background, but I'm sure if Mr. Dewey or Mr. Huxley have difficulty in hearing you, they'll let us know. Mr. Prime Minister, I'm sure you've met our Governor, Thomas E. Dewey.

NEHRU:

Yes, he was good enough to come to India.

~~GOVERNOR THOMAS~~ DEWEY:

I hope that Mrs. Dewey and I will have the pleasure of seeing you again in New Delhi and enjoying your gracious hospitality.

~~MURROW:~~

~~Governor, what are you doing in Portland? I thought the elections were over up there.~~

~~DEWEY:~~

~~They are, unfortunately. I was struck by the time factor. I have just finished a very early breakfast, and Mr. Huxley, I assume, has probably had his lunch, and the Prime Minister is getting very hungry for dinner. We are spanning about ten and a half hours, aren't we?~~

MURROW: Mr. Dewey is in Portland, Maine.

~~That is correct.~~ And from Turin, Italy, Britain's illustrious man of letters, Aldous Huxley, whose shocking predictions in BRAVE NEW WORLD some twenty-three years ago have turned out to be, in so many ways, prophetic understatements. Good evening, Mr. Huxley.

~~ALDOUS~~ HUXLEY:

Good evening.

~~MURROW:~~

~~There is an open line both to New Delhi and Portland, Maine, if you would care to greet the Prime Minister and the Governor.~~

HUXLEY:

~~Good evening, Prime Minister, it's a long time since we met, and Governor Dewey, I have never met, and I am delighted to hear his voice now.~~

MURROW:

Well, what about this modern communication in both time and space. Is it a good thing that a whisper from New Delhi can be heard in a matter of seconds in Formosa or in Washington?

NEHRU:

That surely depends on what the whisper contains. It may have a peaceful effect, or it may have the opposite effect [redacted] if something wrong is said.

HUXLEY:

After all, there is a phrase in the Gospel, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." May it not be also true, "Sufficient unto the place is the evil thereof?" [redacted] Communications are so good that a relatively small evil anywhere is immediately propagated like the waves in a pond, when you throw a stone, to the utmost ends of the earth, and causes very often excitements quite beyond what the immediate, small crisis warrants. I mean ....

DEWEY:

The trouble is that people forget the background against which other people speak, and we get irritated with what somebody says, and then they get irritated with what we say. For example, if I were sitting in New Delhi, I would be pretty careful about what I said about nations who had four - five million men under arms and a thousand miles of common border with them, as India has with Russia and China. They are there; they are very real. They are an aggressive threat, and I think I'd be both polite to them, and

and I would try to get along with them.

MURROW:

Prime Minister Nehru, arising out of what Governor Dewey just said, I wonder if we might talk for a moment about neutralism and non-alignment. It will come as no surprise to you that you are frequently criticized in this country for that policy.

NEHRU:

Yes. Well, Governor Dewey just said something which is partly an answer. That is, the world looks different from different standpoints. If we look at it from the North Pole, it will look very different. If you look at it from Washington, it will not be quite the same as from Paris or ~~Berlin, and so, that is, between the two~~ Peking. Or Delhi. Not only does the world look different, but the problems look different - and are different, in fact. Now I don't like the word "neutralism," and I don't like it being said that India is neutral, but I do say that India is not aligned because we have no military alliance, and we do not wish to be associated with any military grouping. We think that thereby we do not serve the cause of peace or, indeed, any cause. Thereby, we merely add to the tensions, and that does not mean, of course, that we want to remain helpless and invite an invader to come to our country. Naturally, we have to take our own precautions. But we do feel that military alliances have added to tension - added to fears, added to armaments, and not led to any real security anywhere. In fact, it rather lessened security.

HUXLEY:

I sympathize very much with the Prime Minister's point of view. I feel that it's very valuable to have a great country like India outside the system of alliances, standing for a position of mediation. It seems to me that the more there is in the world which can exercise a mediating influence,

the better for all concerned.

DEWEY:

What would happen if the United States took that position?

HUXLEY:

Well, I mean, the United States after all, is trying, doing its best to negotiate. I mean, I think....

DEWEY:

The reason I asked the question, of course, is supposing we went neutralist, too, who would protect the rest of the world from immediate conquest by the Soviet? They say they are going to do it, and the trouble is they might be speaking the truth, and probably are. They intend to take the rest of the world.

NEHRU:

Well, I don't think they are quite as inflexible as all that except in the language of statesmen, which appears inflexible often enough. I think it is realized on both sides that rigidity doesn't take one very far, but statesmen have got a habit of speaking in rather rigid terms. I don't think, if I may say so, that a military alliance adds to security.

DEWEY:

Well, if there is no alliance ....

NEHRU:

Where does it lead to? If it leads to a world war, it's all wrong. If it leads to constant tension, it's also wrong. So, by protecting ones self and what one holds dear, if we can reduce tensions, by various processes, it's all to the good.

DEWEY:

South Korea couldn't protect herself when the Communists launched their attack, and it took a whale of a lot of help from other people to keep them from being engulfed and murdered and enslaved. That's the simple meaning of alliance. If the Communists attack you, we will come to your defense. If we don't do that, they'll take us one piece at a time, as they did at the end of World War II when they took Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and all the way down to Albania, and a hundred million people. We wouldn't like to see that continue and .....

NEHRU:

Well, you wouldn't like me to contradict Governor Dewey, would you?

MURROW:

I am sure he would. I would.

DEWEY:

I would. I certainly would.

NEHRU:

I do not think history points that way at all. Modern history, if I may say so, has seen the failure of this military alliance system in Western Asia - the complete failure. In fact, the very thing that was sought to be avoided has happened there because of those military alliances. If in Western Asia you deal with the ruling authority, and that ruling authority is not thoroughly representative of the people, then the alliance is not much good, as happened in the recent case.

MURROW:

That brings us to the question of Formosa. One of the principal points in your foreign policy, Mr. Prime Minister, has been non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. In the Formosa Strait, who is interfering with whom?

NEHRU:

Well, you have put me a question about which I have no doubt. We have recognized only one government in China, and that is the People's Government of China. We do not recognize the other government which may exist in Formosa. Apart from that, I cannot understand insofar as these islands of Matsu and Quemoy are concerned, which are about ten or twelve miles from off the Mainland, how any government can tolerate having a hostile force ten miles from its Mainland, and be bombarded by it. It is a position which no government would like to face. ~~In many -- in many ways, I have no doubt that the government of the Mainland in China has acted in a way which might be called sometimes aggressive in their talk or anything. But I really cannot understand how it can be defended even that these islands should remain on the threshold of their native ports ten miles away, and be in hostile occupation.~~

DEWEY:

I think the World Court is the proper place to determine whose real estate those little islands are, and if the Communists won't agree to the World Court, then the United Nations could ask for an advisory opinion. I am sure that the United States would abide by the World Court, and I can't imagine that the Nationalists on Formosa would refuse to abide by it. It may well be that those islands are properly part of the Mainland, and if so, the World Court, I am sure, would say so.

~~and I am sure we would abide by it.~~

NEHRU:

It's a very odd situation. The People's Government of China on the Mainland is not recognized by the United Nations. If it is not recognized, how can you ask them to recognize any organ of the United Nations? One can't have it both ways. Either they must have a place in the United Nations, or else they will simply ignore the United Nations, as they have been doing.

DEWEY:

The United Nations ~~can, by resolution, call on the World Court for an advisory opinion as to who owns the~~ off-shore islands; whether they are part of cont~~inental China, or whether they are an island ...~~

~~NEHRU:~~

~~I don't think that is a method which would lead to any result.~~

MURROW:

~~A moment ago, you gentlemen were talking about diplomatic recognition.~~ Of course, Britain and India recognize Communist China, and we do not. Winston Churchill once said that diplomatic recognition was not the conferring of a compliment but the acquiring of a convenience. Would you agree with that, Mr. Prime Minister?

NEHRU:

Well, this is a phrase with which one may agree, but it doesn't, of course, give the whole truth. The point is, normally diplomatic recognition goes by the factual state of affairs, not by agreement of the country.

DEWEY:

Perhaps it is an admission of the fact.

NEHRU:

Yes?

MURROW:

An admission of the fact and nothing more.

NEHRU:

It's admission of a fact, yes, which, of course, may lead to other types of contact. That depends on the two countries — how far they wish to go.

~~MURROW:~~

~~But historically, it does not imply approval of the regime that is recognized, does it?~~

~~NEHRU:~~

~~Undoubtedly not — otherwise it would be very difficult for countries to recognize quite a number of other countries.~~

~~HUXLEY:~~

~~Surely it implies the existence of a fait accompli.~~

DEWEY:

Also, there is just another little problem as to what you do then with two Chinas, and the two-China concept is one that some people who want Red China in the United Nations are opposed to. So it's a very delicate and difficult negotiation. In due course, I think it will be solved. I just hope it isn't going to be solved by guns.

~~MURROW:~~

~~This electronic roundtable linking New Delhi, India; Turin, Italy; Portland, Maine, and New York City, will continue immediately after this word from Renault.~~

~~COMMERCIAL~~

MURROW:

Prime Minister Nehru, I remember your saying to me once, oh, a couple of years ago, that all politicians would be the better for having spent a few years in jail.

NEHRU:

Yes.

MURROW:

Do you still feel that way?

NEHRU:

Oh yes. I think it's a very good discipline.

MURROW:

Well, certainly some of your best writing was done in jail. Governor Dewey, you wrote a book. Do you think it would have been a better book had you written it in jail?

DEWEY:

~~It would have been, I suppose.~~ Well, it's not for me to say it could have been ~~more~~ much better, but I -- I am sure it would have been a whole lot worse if I were in jail, and this business of jail raises a question in my mind. I believe Hitler wrote MEIN KAMPF in jail. Didn't he?

NEHRU:

In the British Museum.

MURROW:

I think it was Karl Marx who did most of his writing in the British Museum. But Mr. prime minister, speaking of Karl Marx, I gather from your writings that you have considerable respect for what Marxism has accomplished in the Soviet Union in the field of education and the social services, that your primary objection to Communism is that it is based upon violence - the threat of violence against the individual and the threat of violence against neighboring states. Is that correct?

NEHRU:

My objection is to any suppression of the individual. I believe in individual freedom, in the development of creativeness in individuals, and anything that suppresses that, therefore, I think is ultimately harmful. Secondly, that there is a background of violence in regard to other states. Partly, of course, this background has been created by the fear complex, because when the new Soviet state came into existence, for years and years it had to defend itself against attacks, but it's a thinking that is too much involved in violence. But one thing about the Soviet which has struck me very much, is their educational system. Apart, for a moment, apart from the particular color they give it, it's ideological color, it's a good system for the child, and as for the scientists and others, they have a very great deal of freedom in it. I have a notion that if education is fairly good all around, it is bound to lessen the restrictions that are placed on individual freedom. The individual normally likes freedom. He may be doped into not liking it, that I don't know, but he normally likes it. He resists any pressure on his

freedom, and therefore, I thought that one of the hopeful signs in the Soviet Union was the great growth of education at all levels.

DEWEY:

Well, my own feeling would be that -- and I am sure as to this point that both the Prime Minister and Mr. Huxley would disagree, that where you put the instruments of production into the hands of the state, there being only two kinds of capitalism -- state capitalism and private capitalism, where you do that, you have to, therefore, deliver such control over peoples' lives that you have a dictatorship, and dictatorship can basically be maintained only by force. So, when you have what is known as Socialism on a total national basis, where no one can work without the consent of the politicians of the moment, you have thereby created, automatically, totalitarianism, and I do not believe that the history of the world has ever shown any society where you had totalitarianism where it was not accompanied by brutality, force, and all of the things that we regard as the most serious evils.

MURROW:

I take it, that the Prime Minister's hope is based in part at least, upon the belief that if you cannot educate part of a man, that if you give him free and complete education in science, then his curiosity will carry him over into the field of human freedom and political freedom.

NEHRU:

Yes. What interested me in Soviet education was the stress they laid on humanities - even in their technical schools. I was quite astonished the amount of time they give to literary studies. Now, what Governor Dewey has just said, of course, as he, himself, said -- that the possibility was,

NEHRU: May I suggest to Governor Dewey

~~and I might not agree with him, but may I suggest to him~~ that perhaps a way out of this difficulty of centralization of power should be decentralization, not only of the state power, to a large extent, but of economic power, because those dangers come, of centralization. I mean, whether it is a socialist structure or a capitalist structure. Also, Governor Dewey may perhaps know that while we talk in India about aiming at a socialist structure of society, we have far less socialism in India, [redacted] social controls, rather, [redacted] than the United States of America. The social controls become inevitable in a complex society, and they grow [redacted] in spite of its economic structure. ~~The United States has them.~~ So there needn't be any fight about names, as far as I can see, or words, but I do believe certainly in decentralization, both insofar as it is possible, of the political power and economic power. Further, I should like to mention that one can't lay down one simple rule for every country. The United States of America has developed in the last, well, two hundred years or more, into a tremendous [redacted] power, great wealth, productive capacity, and all that. Now, when I have to deal with my country, India, I have to start from scratch and do my job fairly rapidly. I can't leave it to normal processes which might take a hundred, two hundred years. That would be fatal for my -- for me.

MURROW:

Governor Dewey, for a moment there I thought Prime Minister Nehru was beginning to sound like a Republican, didn't you?

DEWEY:

If you could always be assured that there was such great dedication to the peoples' liberties and to their welfare, at the head of the state, [redacted] I would have no fears at all of the concentration of economic

power in the hands of the elected political leaders. But most of our history, and that of the rest of the world, is that, basically, people ultimately do rebel against concentrated either political or economic power, and, therefore, I personally don't like to see both things combined in the same hands. Poltical power can always control economic power. When you give all power to one group, I doubt if you can maintain freedom over a period of time. At some time, the wrong fellow or the wrong type of group will get in and they will never give up the power. That's the fear that Mr. Huxley has so beautifully articulated.

HUXLEY:

Well, those seem to me the two impersonal forces pushing in the direction of totalitarianism. Then there are the various technological advances, particularly in the field of psychology and physiology which can be consciously used, but I would certainly say that the pressure of population upon resources, and what may be called over-organization, are great impersonal forces pushing in the direction of more and more control. ~~It is incredibly difficult to see how this ... how we can keep up, particularly when an underdeveloped country can keep up with the more increasing pressure of population.~~ The problem, of course, of any underdeveloped country is the problem of capital. What the governor was saying just now about private and public ownership is really, in a sense, irrelevant. I mean, the real problem is where you are going to get the capital from. The private capital doesn't exist, and the public capital is extremely small. ~~I mean, as things stand now, most underdeveloped countries have about a seventieth of the amount of available capital which a developed country has, and they need about seventy times as much capital, and the~~ this is the immediate, practical problem now of where you are going to find the

capital, and can you find it in other ways than by forced labor in one means or another which has been the method used in totalitarian countries in the past. This is the most agonizing question, and I don't know, in the least, how it's to be solved. ~~This is clearly one of the problems the Prime Minister is facing in India - the problem of capital.~~

HURROW:

Well, Mr. Huxley, if it is true that there is a direct relationship between capital and freedom, is it not true that there is also a relationship between hunger and freedom?

HUXLEY:

Suppose you have a population in which five per cent of the people are getting three thousand calories a day, and the remainder are getting under twelve hundred. Who is going to rule whom? It is pretty obvious that the people with three thousand are going to have the energy and the drive to dominate the remainder. I mean, this is one of the tragedies. We can talk about human rights, but to what extent does the word "right" have meaning to those who just don't ever have enough to eat. ~~It seems to me that we have to consider at the same time, as the juridical and moral problem of rights, the actual, practical problem of providing people with a standard of living by -- under which they can exercise these rights, and fulfill their duties.~~ The most recent figures of UNESCO give seven hundred million adult illiterates ~~in the world~~, and the whole problem of freedom is quite clearly bound up with these two factors - with the enormous numbers who don't get enough to eat, and the rather smaller, but still very great numbers who are ~~completely illiterate.~~

MURROW:

Governor Dewey, would you say that the best fed people in this country are the most concerned about the preservation of our freedoms?

DEWEY:

I would think they probably were when they bothered to think about it, because they don't regard their freedoms as in any danger. In this particular country, we have the embarrassing problem of worrying about too many calories, and [redacted] it makes you feel that there is a pretty bad maldistribution of food in the world.

NEHRU:

It is obvious that hunger - the satisfactiin of hunger - is one of the primary needs. ~~which is more important even than the satisfaction or the desire for freedom, except in odd individuals. That is to say, in a country where there are large numbers of people who are not sufficiently fed, their primary need and necessity is food, and all other problems are secondary.~~ It's not much good talking about freedom to a person who is starving or is hungry. Of course, he wants freedom, but it is not a primary issue for him, because he is suffering from another lack of freedom, which is terrible. That is lack of food.

MURROW: This was one half-hour of a two-hour conversation between Prime Minister Nehru in India, Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the United States and Aldous Huxley in Italy. From SMALL WORLD, goodnight and good luck.

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SMALL WORLD - MURROW, KENNEDY, BOOTHBY, MENON:
RECORDING OCTOBER 12, 16.00 G.M.T.

1) LET'S BEGIN BY TALKING ABOUT PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. SENATOR KENNEDY, I HAVE THE FEELING FROM CERTAIN REMARKS OF YOURS THAT I HAVE SEEN QUOTED OVER HERE THAT YOU BELIEVE IT MAY HAVE PRODUCED A FEELING OF RELAXATION OR PSYCHOLOGICAL DISARMAMENT AT HOME.

2) KHRUSHCHEV NOW APPEARS TO BE TAKING A MORE AMIABLE, LESS BELLIGERENT LINE. IS THERE ANY REASON TO SUPPOSE HE CONVINCED THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS LIKEWISE?

3) AMBASSADOR MENON, I GATHER YOU STILL FAVOR ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, DESPITE THEIR INCURSIONS ON YOUR FRONTIER.

4) LORD BOOTHBY, LET'S HEAR YOUR IMPRESSIONS, AS A CONSERVATIVE, AS TO WHAT EFFECT THE RECENT ELECTIONS WILL HAVE ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.

5) WHAT TANGIBLE RESULTS CAME FROM THE KHRUSHCHEV VISIT OTHER THAN HIS AGREEMENT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO TIME LIMIT IMPOSED ON THE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BERLIN?

XXX

6) IF THE SUMMIT MEETING IS HELD, WHAT RESULTS, IF ANY, DO YOU EXPECT FROM IT?

MURROW: Tonight on SMALL WORLD, three promising politicians from three different continents... From Atlantic City - the only man in the United States Senate that ever won a Pulitzer Prize, John Kennedy, Jr., Senator from Massachusetts... If we are not permitted by law to say he is running, we can at least introduce him as a young man with some political future... John, I am in London where you once wrote, "While Britain Slept"... No one sleeping here now...

From his apartment in New York City, the most controversial and stimulating man in the United Nation,

MURROW: From [redacted]

New York City, the most controversial and stimulating man in the United Nation, V.K. Krishna Menon, India's Defense Minister and Ambassador to the United Nations... Ambassador Menon, have you ever met Senator Kennedy?...

From England here, the Mother of Parliaments where a new parliament has just been elected.....(ETC. INTRODUCING BRITISH GUEST)

MIDDLE BREAK FOR KENNEDY SHOW...

MURROW: My portion of this SMALL WORLD is coming from the BBC studios in London, where the words "and now a word from our sponsor" have never been heard... So let's break precedence completely and say -- And now a word from Olin Mathieson...

(PICK UP LINE) As you were saying, Senator Kennedy...

Ambassador Menon...

Mr...

MURROW: Next week, SMALL WORLD will be pre-empted for a special broadcast of the "Wizard of Oz" with Red Skelton as host... Two weeks from tonight, Senator Karl Mundt from South Dakota, Indian Ambassador, Judge Mahomedali Chagla from the Hague, and Dr. Arthur Larson (the President's advisor on World Law) from Duke University, in a discussion on America's participation in the World Court... This is Ed Murrow in London... Good Night and Good Luck...

AUDIO ONLY RECORD IN NEW YORK DURING THURSDAY SESSION

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Audio only - record in N.Y during Thursday session -

Idea for closing

MURROW: It is not just a coincidence that President Eisenhower should visit Iran on his route to the summit. Any real thaw in the cold war could substantially influence the American position in Iran. The Shah knows that without the Communist threat there might have been no such thing as American aid. Now that the cold war may be ~~[illegible]~~ evolving into an economic campaign, the Iranians have begun to ask "How much can we count on America?" And the Americans are asking, "How much can we count on Iran?" Can the Shah win his race against time and discontent and corruption.. Will the dam be built in time. That's why the President of the United States stopped in Teheran on Monday and why we asked you to spend this hour with us in Iran.

Good night and Good luck.

H.H.

Wild lines for Shah interview

MURROW: I want to get one thing clear -- when we're talking about electronics, are we talking about nuclear weapons?

SHAH INTERRUPTS: MURROW CONTINUES

Of course, I understand. I just didn't want to have any confusion.

One could also call them obsolete, couldn't he?

And how long does it take a MIG to climb to forty thousand feet?

And some of your neighbors apart from the Soviet Union itself are in possession of the MIGS?

MURROW: We asked the Shah about this.

Winston Burdett asked the Shah about this...

At the Shah's palace, we put this question to him....

The Shah on this subject...

His Majesty the Shah had this to say ...

general lines for other interviews, Ed

MURROW: Reporter Burdett interviews him.

Reporter Burdett talks to him.

Winston Burdett asks him this.

MURROW: CBS REPORTS... "Iran... Brittle Ally"... continues after this word from Bell and Howell...

(ON CAMERA)

CBS REPORTS... "Iran... Brittle Ally"... continues after this word from B. F. Goodrich...

"Iran... Brittle Ally"... will continue after this word from Bell and Howell...

"Iran... Brittle Ally"... will continue after this word from B. F. Goodrich...

Our report on Iran will continue after this minute with Bell and Howell...

Our report on Iran will continue after this minute with B. F. Goodrich...

We asked an Iranian student in the U.S to give us his estimate of conditions at home

Tell us why so many Iranian student dont want to go back.

(ON CAMERA)

MURROW: Our report on Iran will continue after this word from Bell and Howell...

Our report on Iran will continue after this word from B. F. Goodrich...

CBS REPORTS will continue with the Shah and his campaign to break up the land, immediately after this word from Bell & Howell ....

MURROW: And an American helping the Shah with his task ....

LILIENTHAL AS EDITED

Opening I

MURROW: President Eisenhower was in Iran four days ago. We don't know what kind of briefing he got but most official visitors receive the customary military briefing read by an Army officer. If one is fortunate, he may also be briefed by a foreign aid expert or perhaps a working engineer -- a so-called "Ugly American", who is working in a land project or on a road, or a dam.... We have edited together the briefings of two such Americans - a soldier in Teheran and an engineer working in Khuzestan, as a method of orienting you on Iran and what we Americans are doing there ....

KUHN AND CLAPP AS EDITED.

ALTERNATE OPENING IN CASE MATCHING OFF OF TWO BRIEFINGS DOESN'T WORK

ON Camera

MURROW: Good eveing. The nations of the Middle East constantly complain that we Americans are interested in them and send our reporters and our cameras only when there is a revolution or an assasination or an oil crisis of "this powder keg" (as we like to call it) is about to blow itself and maybe the world up. This time it is not a Suez crisis, or a ranting Nasser or a civil war in Lebanon or Iraq that brings us here, but the reality that this small couhtry of which we know little could become a "Berlin" or even a "Korea", and that the time to talk about it is before it happens. This is one of the reasons the President's plan stopped there on Monday .....

Idea for closing

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OK Clarke

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S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

Edward R. Murrow

(July 12, 1942 - May 24, 1943)

B. B. C. POSTSCRIPT

May 9, 1943

(Script and Correspondence)

Edward R. Murrow

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JULY 12, 1942.
MIDNIGHT.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

Post-war 3-4

THIS IS LONDON: The news is bad; and despite optimistic forecasts that occasionally appear on both sides of the Atlantic, there is every reason to believe that it will keep on being bad. The Russian position around Voronezh and farther South is most grave - if it is not in fact desperate. The principal North-South railway behind the Russian lines has been cut in at least two places, which means not only that the supply of oil from the Caucasus is disrupted; it also means that the Russians will have greater difficulty in moving reinforcements to meet the increasing German attacks. ~~Thexximex~~ The period when the Russians could buy time with space has passed. It is true that the German armies are nowhere near the oil of the Caucasus, but it should be remembered that Russia needs oil for her armour and her agriculture, just as much as Germany does. Should the Germans be able to cut the second and only remaining railway line to the South, the Soviet war machine will perish for lack of oil.

The news from Egypt is NO worse, but only a little better. General Auchinleck's forces made a limited advance of about five miles, taking some two thousand prisoners; but the threat to Alexandria and Suez is still present. The Axis is again blanketing Malta from the air, which means that heavy reinforcements are being passed across the Mediterranean to ~~Gexxxxix~~ Rommel. His supplies of men and material can reach the fighting front in

five or six days. Similar support for Auchkinleck from Britain or the United States takes as many months.

The urgent ~~problem confronting~~ business for the United Nations is not victory but survival. Russia and China must be kept in the war; the Middle East defended, and somehow the Battle of the Atlantic must be won. About that vital battle we are told next to nothing, but it is clear that we are not winning it, and may not even be holding our own. If I were permitted to give you the figures of the British merchant seamen who have lost their lives in this war, and to show you the men in shiny blue serge suits and Derby hats waiting to sign on in Liverpool and Glasgow, it might serve as a partial answer to those who have concluded finally and fecklessly that the British won't fight. The other day a little Scotsman from one of the Western Isles was brought ashore - eighteen days he had had in an open boat. He came down the rope ladder, dodged the port Doctor, bought a bottle of whisky, went to a movie and was at sea again four days later. This is a small Island. You can hardly see it on a small-scale map. There are 684 people to the square mile. In America there's a square mile of land to every 43 of our citizens. Just consider for a moment the status of this Island, and try to remember that the third year of war is drawing to a close. Only about 25 years after that other war that cost a million killed. Back in 1900 the country had

foreign investments of seven billion pounds sterling. That ~~xxxxxxx~~ meant that each year it had the right to receive from the rest of the world something like three hundred million pounds in meat, tea, raw materials and everything else. By 1942 the amount that could be received from foreign investments was less than a third of that. And by the time this war ends Britain's claims will be only a remnant of what they were five years ago. New industries are being created in Canada, Australia, India - industries that in the post-war period will supply the goods formerly made in Britain. Before Lease-Lend was started, the British had pretty well scraped the bottom of the barrel so far as their American investments were concerned. Great Britain started this war with a smaller merchant marine than she had in 1914. By the end of the war it will probably be smaller still. The problem that will confront this country at the war's end will be how the rest of the world can be persuaded or forced to supply food enough for the people, and raw material enough for the factories. Not a very promising outlook, is it? ~~xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxx

are hasty and incorrect. There is at the moment a considerable emotional allegiance to Russia. But it is a sentiment that has been swept forward on a tide of gratitude and admiration for the fighting qualities of the Red Army. Never has the ground been better prepared for political propaganda than it has for the Communists in this country by the bloodshed in Russia. But even with that advantage I do not believe that the small Communist Party has more than tripled its strength since Germany attacked Russia. There is not only admiration for the resistance of Russian arms. There is the feeling of comradeship produced by mutual sacrifice. No one is disposed to question whether or not that sacrifice is entirely voluntary. Today in this country, in the newsreels and at public meetings, Russia is more loudly cheered than the United States. That's not only because the Russians are killing more Germans. It's because there is a feeling that the Russians are sacrificing more - much more even than the British. What happens ~~xfxxxxxhixxxxxx~~ in this country after this war will be determined by the United States and by Russia, and certainly by the native caution and political stability of the people of this Island. Already there are people here who are concerned about the trend of some of the discussion ~~xx~~ in America about post-war organisation. Anything approaching American economic Imperialism would certainly drive this country into radical political and economic experiments, in concert with one or more European powers. Alliances are not always lasting,

as this war and earlier wars have demonstrated.

Some effort to explain America to the British people might smooth the path of Anglo-American relations now and in the future. But it is so far no part of our Government policy to do so. Everyone agrees that there has never been a time when the British have been more anxious and willing to learn about American affairs and institutions, but we do nothing about it. British editors and broadcasters are cautious and discreet; accustomed to take their lead from Government spokesmen. You would find no outspoken anti-American sentiments over here. But the British themselves sat surrounded by their oceans, filled with pride and ignorance, for too long not to resent it when another country adopts the same attitude.

We are told on both sides of the Atlantic that this is a war for democracy, decency and the common man. Perhaps only those of us, both English and American, who have seen Dictatorships in action can fully appreciate what these rather vague words mean. But I should like to suggest that what we need is more intolerance - intolerance of incompetence. There is a lack of ruthlessness in the conduct of this war. Personal loyalties to personal friends and personal prejudices delay plans and policy. The other day there was a lengthy debate in the House of Commons on Propaganda. Much was said about the need for truth, particularly in speaking to the enemy. This correspondent had always believed

that the object of propaganda aimed at the enemy was to help win the war; that we were trying to defeat the Germans,not educate them. If propaganda can aid in misleading them about our present and future intentions, thereby weakening their will to fight, why shouldn't it be used as ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ruthlessly as a tank or a dive bomber? After all, Generals are not instructed to avoid creating a false impression in the mind of the enemy. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggested last week that the Rhur industrial area should be internationalised after the war. He was taken to task for saying so. But he did at least say something concrete; whereas Government policy appears to attempt a combination of ~~xxx~~ cajolery and education.

If the Democracies are to win this war they require fire and flexibility. ~~xxxxx~~ In 1940 the war was nearly lost because of a 1918 mentality. The Germans demonstrated the superiority of the offence. Their war of movement won campaigns in days or weeks. But the whole history of war shows that the advantage swings first to the offence and then to the defence. The strength of the defence appears to be increasing. The Libyan battle in its decisive stage covered no more territory than one of the large battles on the Western Front in the last war. Rommel held his two gaps through the minefields by defensive action. And the Eighth Army lost 230 tanks in a single day against a defensive position. The Germans developed their hedgehogs as defensive

centres last winter. If defensive weapons such as minefields, anti-tank guns, tank-busting planes and hedgehogs can overcome the tank, as the tank overcame the machine-gun, then the whole tactics of the succesful offence must be altered. Such a development would certainly influence the opening of a second front. As a writer in one London newspaper points out today, a succesful offensive in '42 or '43 cannot be an imitation of a succesful offensive in 1939 or 1940.

During the past week one London newspaper, ~~though reduced in size, was able to find space for nearly two columns~~ despite its reduced size and the weight of war news, was able to devote nearly two columns to the life and doings of the former Miss Barbara Hutton on the occasion of her marriage to Cary Grant. Londoners are apparently still interested in the ways of Hollywood and the wealthy. Mrs. Grant still has a house here in London - a magnificent place ~~only~~ up in Regent's Park. It escaped the bombing. A lot of other houses, and hospitals, didn't. There's a shortage of houses over here - a shortage of convalescent homes too. Mrs. Grant's magnificent home has been standing empty - the windows all boarded up - for nearly three years now.

Some Londoners, particularly those having anything to do with news, have been watching the career and tribulations of Elmer Davis. His task is much more difficult than that of any

Minister of Information over here, ~~xxxx

C.B.S. LONDON AUGUST 9, 1942.
23.00-23.15

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: In India the campaign of non-violence initiated by Mr. Gandhi and his followers has already produced a certain amount of violence. As you know, members of the Working Committee and other potential leaders were flung into jail early this morning. Five times today the police in Bombay have had to use their firearms and tear-gas as well. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Moslem League, has asked his followers to keep aloof from the struggle. This is a struggle likely to bring comfort and profit only to the Axis powers. Whatever we may think of past British policy in India; however much we may ~~xxxxxx~~ suspect that part of what is happening is due to a long series of mistakes from Clive to Churchill, it must be recognised that what is happening in India is an unlimited liability to the whole cause of the United Nations. London has taken the news of the day's events in India without obvious emotion. It is safe to predict that the Government's action will have the overwhelming support of the newspapers tomorrow, because the editors will not be able to advance an alternative policy which would avoid handing India over either to anarchy or to the Japanese. It is admitted here that there may still be a certain amount of trouble, but Government officials believe that it will not assume proportions which would endanger India's war effort. Confidence is expressed that police power and the courts will be able to keep the situation in hand. One explanation that is advanced here for the Congress action is

that its prestige was injured by the refusal of the Cripps proposals, and that Gandhi and his followers are attempting to create an emotional situation in which they may figure as the saviours of India.

If this campaign should succeed it would paralyse India's war effort, stop the output of munitions, and so disrupt the country as to make it an easy victim of Japanese invasion. I don't believe that the average man in this country understands very much about what's happening in India. The statements of Mr. Gandhi have been too confusing and contradictory, but the British Government is still determined to grant India freedom after the war - a policy which certainly has the support of the majority of people in this country. If you'd care to hear the official Government view on the day's happenings, you might listen to Columbia's news broadcast tonight at 8 o'clock New York time. Mr. L.S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India will be here in the studio at that time to explain it to you.

As one views the war from London tonight there are two hopeful signs - the American attack against the Solomons, and the reduction in shipping losses during the last two weeks. However, those in possession of most information here are making no optimistic predictions about the future of the war at sea. If the German submarines are for the moment relatively inactive,

they are expected to appear again on another front. There is no reliable evidence that the Germans are short of submarines or of crews.

London is unable to confirm or deny the German claim to have taken Maikopf and Krasnodar, but it is clear that their pressure against the defenders of Stalingrad is increasing. It is now about six weeks since President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill issued their optimistic statement, saying that there was no doubt in their minds that the overall picture was more favorable to victory than it was either in August or December of last year. The reasons for their optimism have not yet become clear. It may be that the thoughts and words of most men will henceforth reflect events and not much cause them.

Tomorrow an American court martial opens hearings in a town somewhere in England. This American military court, trying two American soldiers, will operate under legislation jammed through the House of Commons in a single day. This Bill, known as the United States of America Visiting Forces Bill, is unprecedented and in some ways revolutionary. It provides that all criminal offences on the part of American troops in this country shall be removed from the jurisdiction of the British Courts. Offenders will be tried before American military courts - in other words our Army has brought its own law with it.

Now the British are very proud of the efficiency and incorruptibility of their Civil Courts. It has always been ~~xxxx~~ ~~firmxpukinxx~~ fundamental that Civil Courts should have authority over military personnel. British judges have been the bulwark of British democracy. They have stood against Kings and against the Executive. But at a single sitting of the House of Commons the practice of generations was thrown overboard. The House of Commons was decidedly restive and did not give a very hearty welcome to this Bill - was in fact ~~xxxxxxx~~ considerably shocked to be confronted with legislation providing that no criminal proceedings shall be taken in any British court against a member of the United States Forces.

Last night an American broadcaster talking to England confessed that British opposition to this legislation had "got his

goat"; and that some people at home failed to understand Parliamentary opposition to the Bill. I have read the entire Debate with care, and in order that there be no misunderstanding of the temper of the House, let me try to explain what happened. The American Government felt that American soldiers should be tried by their own military courts. They pressed that point of view upon the British Government with great vigor and earnestness, claiming that the Americans are more accustomed to their own procedure and the principles of their own law, although American and British law do not vary much in principle. The American authorities assured the British that punishments handed out by our military court would by-and-large be as severe as if the cases were dealt with in British courts. In the last war, British military courts in France were given the same rights, but conditions then were different inasmuch most of the British soldiers were in active combat zones, removed from contact with French civilians, and operating in areas where civil courts did not function.

Under this new legislation the American courts will be open to the public, and a British policeman may still arrest an American soldier, although he must be turned over to American military authorities for trial.

Now why did some Members of the House of Commons question and oppose this Bill? First, because it violated the sovereign rights of this country; second, because the Bill was rushed

through at great speed - had in fact been agreed to in an exchange of letters between ~~xxxx~~ Mr. Eden and Ambassador Winant before it came before the Commons. Third, Members wanted a little more information about the workings these American courts. For example, how were they to subpoena English witnesses? - what would happen if an American and a British soldier were involved in the same crime? One would be tried before a British civil court, and the other before an American court martial. Then, too, it was suggested that the false impression created by movie versions of the American third degree method might make some British civilians reluctant to appear before an American court. With one or two small exceptions the Debate was good-tempered, and a great deal of the concern expressed was about the possibility of friction that might arise in the actual working of this dual legal system. But most Members wanted to know more than they were told about why it was necessary to take action in such great haste, and why they had not ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ been told more about the correspondence between the two countries, which had extended over four or five months. One Member summed up the attitude of many when he said: "As the common ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ origin of our law and language is stressed, it would have been a great exhibition of mutual trust if the American Government had found it unnecessary to ask the British Parliament for this Bill."

A little less urgent pressure from Washington, and a little

less haste on the part of the British Parliament in hurrying the Bill through, might have prevented some misunderstanding. Both Britain and America have always insisted on the supremacy of civil over military law, and any departure from that principle would naturally be scrutinized carefully by the House of Commons or by Congress. Had the positions been reversed, our own legislators would undoubtedly have been equally watchful. I have talked about this Bill at some length, because it is the source of possible misunderstanding, although that will probably be avoided by the prompt imposition of sentences by our courts martial. The legislation itself has not left any considerable residue of ill-will. Most people seem to prefer to wait and see how the thing works out. It is always necessary to remember that American troops in this country are better fed, better clothed, and better paid than the British. The matter of pay, particularly, will present difficulties as the number of American troops increases. Our soldiers over here will be spending their money on unrationed goods and services, thereby reducing the supply available to British troops and civilians. Civilian incomes are increasing in this country, and the competition for the limited amount of goods in shops, hotels and restaurants presents the active danger of inflation, and the possibility that semi-luxury goods may go up out of the reach of British soldiers as well as some civilians. Of course, Americans over here are

being urged to buy American defence bonds, but voluntary saving may not be enough. Already one or two responsible British writers have been suggesting that part of the Americans pay should be held in the States in dollars, as has been done with some of the Dominions troops in this country.

One other thing should be said about Americans over here, and that is that so far their relations with the British are by general agreement more cordial and friendly than either the British or American authorities had expected.

About an hour from now, at seven o'clock New York Time, Columbia begins a new series called "Our Secret Weapon". Our shortwave listening station in New York, with some help from my colleague Bob Trout, here in London, will analyse and debunk the propaganda material and the contradictory statements coming out of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo. There should be more than enough material to last for fifteen minutes.

INSERT:

Already in early August there are signs of winter over here - not so much in the air as in the Press and on the radio. We are informed that coal dust can be mixed with damp clay in a box: that when it dries the mixture contracts, can be dumped out of the box and used as fuel. The newspapers tell us never to put more than five inches of water in the bathtub. Other advertisements tell housewives never to turn on the oven to cook just a single dish. Fuel must be saved. We are told how to make shoe polish go twice as far; how to wash clothes with less soap; how to can fruit without sugar. And the Ministry of Health says"diphtheria is deadly: have your child immunised free". It's going to be an unpleasant winter, but not so terrible here as on the Continent.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 20, 1942.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: If it's a people's war the people ought to be told about it....ought to be told in language that is clear, not confusing. Most of us would agree about that. And most of us would probably agree that that is one thing that hasn't happened. What I propose to talk about tonight might be called "The History of a Misunderstanding". This is a good time to talk about it while there is a lull in the Western Desert, and while there is no ~~lull~~ change in the breathless defence of Stalingrad.

This misunderstanding has a curious history, and it is only now possible to talk about it. You will remember that back in May Mr. Molotov came to London, and then went on to Washington. He stopped again in London on his way back to Moscow. At that time I heard a story - ~~xxxxxxxx~~ perhaps apocryphal - it went like this: Mr. Molotov was greatly impressed with the detailed study the British had made of the problems involved in creating a second front on the Continent of Europe; but he was vastly discouraged by the conclusions reached. When he went to Washington, he was much encouraged by the conclusions, but rather disturbed at the lack of realistic research upon which they were based. However that may have been, identical statements were issued in London and in Washington on June 11th. The statement read: "A full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942." There, in

that ambiguous phraseology, was the beginning of the misunderstanding. It might have meant anything. The headlines said "Agreement", but the word used was understanding. XXXX It can only be described as a "weasel-worded document". Mr. Molotov returned to Russia, and the Russian Government began to promise its people a second front in Europe in 1942. Hopes were raised in the Red Army and amongst Russian civilians. While in London Mr. Molotov was given complete information about the British position; and presumably the same thing happened in Washington. From all the conversations the Russians reached one conclusion; and their English-speaking allies apparently reached another.

In July General Marshall, Admiral King, Mr. Harry Hopkins and others came to London for lengthy conversations with the British war leaders. While those talks were going on some of us had the impression that the American delegation was disposed to urge the creation of a second front this year, but reluctant to press their point of view too strongly, realising as they did that most of the fighting would have to be done by British forces! But that, as I have said, is only an impression, since the agreements reached between Britain and America are quite rightly a closely guarded secret. But whatever the agreements were, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Averill Harriman ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~trip to Moscow.xx~~ representing the President, made a trip to Moscow....presumably to acquaint Premier Stalin with the details of Anglo-American strategy.

And now we can leave the realm of speculation, and speak of the Russian ~~mainxxmfxxiew~~ attitude as it exists today. For I have the best of reasons for believing that what I am saying reflects the opinion of the Russian Government. They have believed, and continue to believe, that we are not doing everything possible to take the weight off them. The conferences in Moscow did not produce any definite agreement regarding the establishment of a second front on the Continent this year. The military leaders of the Soviet Union believe that such an undertaking is feasible; that it could be done; and that it would draw off a helpful number of German divisions from the Eastern front. They do not believe that action in another theatre - for instance in West Africa - would achieve the same result. If you will study carefully the despatches and broadcasts coming from Moscow, you may find in them a reflection of the Soviet Government's concern about the effect upon military and civilian morale of the failure of Russia's Allies to create a second front. I don't know whether they're still doing it, but until recently German bombers were mixing leaflets with bombs, and the leaflets read: "And the Second Front?" The Russians, like everyone else, are confronted with the problem of home morale. They believe that a second front on the Continent may well be more difficult next year, since it is possible that the Germans will be able to move many divisions from the East when winter closes in. They feel that there is a

reluctance on the part of their Allies to dare greatly; that there is too great a tendency to think of the risks involved in a second front. And they believe that this policy is placing a strain on their relations with Britain and America now and after the war. It is true, of course, that some supplies are reaching Russia from the United Nations. But the volume is not great. The British deliveries are almost up to schedule; while those of the United States under the last protocol agreement are about twenty-five percent below the amount promised. Incidentally, when you hear figures or percentages of deliveries to Russia, they generally apply to the stuff that is put on shipboard; losses sustained en route do not appear. And the Germans tonight are claiming that in six days of fighting in the Arctic south of Spitzbergen they have sunk 38 ships out of a convoy of 45. Their claims are probably as usual exaggerated, but the route to Murmansk or to Archangel is a murderous one.

So much for the Russian position. They may not have been promised a second front, but they were not told that it was impossible. Reasoning from the same set of facts, Britain and America have reached one conclusion, and Russia another. Differences of opinion between Allies are traditional, and may be necessary. But in this case the misunderstanding of people, if not of Governments, stems directly from that sentence which ought to win some kind of prize for ambiguity, and which it is said here did not originate in London - the sentence reading: "Full under-

standing was reached between the two parties with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942." Cleverness in constructing sentences would seem to be a poor substitute for frankness. Few people - soldiers, civilians or reporters - will complain of silence if that be the dictate of security. But if this is a people's war - and it is - the people, whether they be Russian, British or American, have the right to expect that their leaders will speak a language the people can understand. ~~Rinnsxdankxxmisunderstandxmax~~

It is no part of a reporter's function to agitate for or against a second front. I am merely trying to trace for you the history of a misunderstanding.

It seems that we are gambling on the Russians emerging from the winter campaigns with sufficient offensive strength to contain the greater part of the German army and the German air force. It is one of the greatest gambles of all time. Action designed to relieve the Russians is the great criterion against which every military operation is measured. Over here the public clamor for a second front has decreased; but the sense of urgency remains. There is great emotional allegiance to Russia, and a curious indefinable feeling that the Russians have something about which people were not told. The unity of this country is great, but disaster for the Soviet Union would test it severely.

For some reason the time element assumes increasing importance in the minds of many people here. Sir Samuel Hoare, British

Ambassador to Spain, has come home to warn his fellow-countrymen of the need for speed. He feels that the Continent of Europe, not yet convinced of an Allied victory, fears that if we win our triumph may be so long delayed that European civilisation may perish while waiting. Sir Samuel's record in public life makes it difficult to accuse him of sentimentality or emotionalism. It is clear that what he has seen from his observation post in Madrid has convinced him that time is not on our side; has convinced him that hope and the will to resist is not inexhaustible. There are those in this country who predict heavy bombing for the coming winter, bitter fighting in 1943, and the decisive campaigns in 1944. There are none who doubt the outcome; but there are many concerned about the time required to achieve victory, and the continued sacrifices that will be required to make it permanent. The increasing appreciation of the need for speed is based not so much upon immediate strategic considerations. It is based rather upon the realisation that darkness, disease and despair, coupled with diet and destruction may exhaust the Continent of Europe to the point where reconstruction will be difficult if not impossible. Fatigue is a danger not only to armies but to statesmen and civilians. A famous English statesman said the other day: "When fatigue is present malignancy has its opportunity". ~~The travelling companion of fatigue is disillusionment~~

The United Nations depend for their strength not only upon the courage of their soldiers, sailors and airmen, but upon the

confidence that civilians have in the vision and integrity of their leaders. Men in shipyards and in coalmines cannot be expected to give of their best, if they suspect that when the emergency that returned them to employment has passed they will be thrown back once again upon the scrap-heap of unemployment. ~~There is a need, and it is often expressed, for a national charter.~~ Each time they lose a little confidence in the pronouncements of their own Government, they lose a little bit of the will to win. Speeches that are not followed by action undermine the will to act. Ambiguous announcements of policy produce disappointment, disillusionment and disunity. Rhetoric is no substitute for frankness - silence would be preferable. That is why I have attempted tonight to trace the history of a misunderstanding that need never have arisen. ~~I may add that that phrase "full understanding with regard to a second front" was calculated to mislead the enemy.~~

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY OCTOBER 4, 1942.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: You will be interested to know that the old world is dead. I know that's a common phrase these days, but the latest to use it was no less a person than Mr. Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary. His principal reason for believing that the old world is dead was that it was dying before the war started, and presumably would have demised slowly, though perhaps without much dignity, even if there had not been a war. Now this view that the old world is dead has been pretty generally held by what is called "the Left"; but it has not been heard very often on the lips of Conservatives. To most of them the old ways and the old world are very good things indeed. After all, it was an English gentleman's world - only in need of minor re-adjustments.

The old world may be dead, but some of its offspring are remarkably healthy. The Conservative tradition is strong in this country; and the years between two wars - years of intellectual unrest and of new ideologies - didn't change it very much. The old world may be a victim of the war, but it is unlikely to hear its death sentence from the lips of a Conservative Cabinet Minister.

A few days ago the Conservative Party held a conference. It was attended by representatives of local Conservative organisations. They discussed a report on Education prepared by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Geoffrey Faber. The men who wrote the report were very pessimistic about Britain's youth. It was becoming divorced from religion - it's sense of duty to the

community was not developed - and its education was not calculated to train the mind, or produce a good citizen. The Committee suggested various technical reforms, but they found the real panacaea in the establishment of a compulsory Youth Movement. At fourteen all children, they said, should automatically become members of the Federation of Youth. This would be a national scheme, and would cover the years fourteen to eighteen for everybody. The thing that angered the critics was the complete subordination of the individual to the State. It was called merely an adaptation of the Hitler Youth. Punctual trains and the absence of beggars aren't the only things about a Totalitarian system that appeal to some people. One of the most appealing things is the deliberate yoking of youth to a Party belief. That ensures a disciplined series of generations all trained to believe what the previous generation was trained to believe.

This Report of the Conservative Committee paid lip service
oldest principle in history the Leader principle. But
was doubtful where the leaders were to be found; a
leaders should be found and trained the
ly near the approval of one
was really asking for a
ure the continuance of
which everyone knows his

That fine phrase "service to the community" merely meant that the youth of the country between fourteen and eighteen would be told what to do, and then go and do it. There was to be an end to individualism, except for those individuals who would direct what was to be done. There was nothing in the Report or the Conference to show much appreciation of older ideals. No one talked xxxx in Cromwell's terms of "educating men who make some conscience of what they do". Conscience isn't a popular word these days. For conscience means only the individual conscience, and can't mean anything else. And that means conflict perhaps even with the State; and that is now frowned upon, and not only by the Conservatives. It is frowned upon by so strong a progressive as Dr. Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In his statement of a program for the New World, he stressed the idea of the classless nation as strongly as Hitler does. He saw a system of State control as the best way to remove and avoid grievances and inequalities. - the general interest must take precedent over every sectional interest. But he never said who it is who determines what is the general interest. It cannot be the conscience of society, for there is no such thing. For the Archbishop of Canterbury it can't be the Conservative Party, or any other Party. He didn't say who or what it was to be. And yet strangely enough that was the only part of his speech that wasn't criticised. He was accused of being a Socialist; accused of ignorance of elementary economics; of the nature of the profit motive; and still worse, ignorance of the principles of banking; an ignorance

which moved several citizens to write angry and sorrowful letters to the London Times. But neither in the Times nor anywhere else did anyone rise up to defend the poor individual who just wants to realise his own very modest and obscure self. It's always the individual who is the victim of ideologies. They ask nothing of him except that he cease to be an individual and toe the line.

The British - Conservative and Socialist - do not believe in ideologies produced by foreigners, whether they be at one time the bloodstained villains of Bolshevism, or at another the blind beasts of Hitlerism, or just unfortunate Italians. But the ideologies have done their work. They have made paramount the rights of the community, which invariably are the rights of a ruling class from whatever social level it may be drawn. And when the British today talk of a New World, they think in terms of a collective world. No one can predict the form, or the personnel. But the essential doesn't change. It is still class rule by whatever class can claim at the moment to be the community. In other words, the trend is towards Collectivism, but no one can say with assurance who is to do the collecting. The interesting thing in England, and the ~~xxxxxx~~ hopeful thing, is that so far no class has established its claim, and all are prepared to continue to compromise, at least until the war is won. That is one reason amongst many why the House of Commons last week voted to postpone any General Election for another year.

There was another speech last week. It was made by Hitler. He didn't say very much about the New World, for to him the New World has already arrived. It only needs to be tidied up. And mere tidying up is hardly material for a speech by a national leader at the beginning of the fourth year of war. It was a speech on strategy. That was why he devoted so much of it to sarcasm at our expense....the sarcasm of a strategist who feels that his opponents aren't quite up to his level. The critics here talked about a thwarted opponent falling back on scurrility - they pointed out his modest ambitions as compared with a year or two years ago; and they deplored the low moral level of the speech, as if morals or prophecy had much to do with strategy. It was a frank speech, foreshadowing a change in approach, which was not the result of defeat butthe result of victory. When after three years of war a leader can say that he is now going to assume a defensive attitude, and he can warn his listeners that it's going to be a long war, he must have pretty complete confidence in their morale. That does not make pleasant news for us who have been so consistently told that German morale is cracking, and that the bomber will do the rest if it is allowed to.

Today Goering was quite frank about the bomber. It was just one of the things that Germany would have to endure,for a time, without seeing any reprisals. But its effects were not serious enough to cause any interruption in the development of German plans, which for the moment made it necessary to use the German bombers elsewhere.

Hitler himself was terse and clear when talking about bombers. The reprisals would come. Most people here expect that they will. But what Hitler really outlined was a truce. As Germany had got what she wanted - control of practically the whole European continent, and of all the really valuable part - from now on she would adopt the defensive, and await attack while developing with all speed the resources now acquired. He gave an impressive picture of what was being done already in Russia - a false picture no doubt - for so far there has been no great yield from Russia, but there will be. He put the Don battle in its German perspective - the attainment of positions on which the Germans could stand facing a Russian Army deprived of essential supplies, and supported by less than half the population of the Soviet Union. Stalingrad was merely a part of that defensive line, which at whatever cost must be attained. Once it was firmly held the Germans would have behind them three-quarters of Russian grain, Russian coal and Russian oil - all of which would be exploited.

Here is a very significant change. The objective - world domination - hasn't altered a bit; but the method has. Instead of Blitzkrieg there is now to be Sitzkrieg again. And there is no encouragement for us in that, for it does not mean any alteration in Germany's war effort or determination to achieve victory. And it is still more significant that he could evoke applause when he described for the future a long period of endurance, while behind the battle line the food and resources of Europe were gathered

and exploited, and brought into German homes and German factories. And the most significant thing of all is that his audience appeared to think the whole scheme very ~~plausible~~ feasible. Goering today was something of a hearty echo ~~fxx~~ of Hitler's speech, claiming that German guns had been used, if not to get more butter, at least to get more good things for the German people. This German defensive scheme didn't commend itself to British editorial writers, some of whom described Hitler's speech as "the speech of a beaten man". Evidently they didn't listen to it.

But Hitler's New World is not to be destroyed by speeches - his or anyone else's. No more is Britain's New World to be created by oratory on behalf of the Church or the State. It has been a week of speech-making, and the best comment I have heard came from a wise old farmer of seventy down in the county of Kent. He had read them all - without the aid of glasses - he said: "Don't seem to get us much nearer to winning the war, do they?"

This evening it's my turn to say something about the Community Chest. The people organising it are asking you for money...probably a great deal of it. My excuse for talking about it is that I have seen several communities in Europe undergo a striking change...and because I'm primarily interested in what goes on at home. Twelve years ago in Germany I knew many of the leaders of the German Youth movement - the deluded victims of a system which taught them to believe that they were serving the best interests of the community. Most of them were fanatics wishing only the opportunity to serve their Nation. They received support from the Nazi Party and later from the Nazi Government. Their allegiance was bought by money and by the attractiveness of sacrifice....And our enemies welded together a community that has gone from one triumph to another.

We have a different system, and it involves helping the youth of the country to equip itself to become responsible thinking members of the community. That system is now on trial. It didn't do too well in peace time...but most of us still believe in it. Now we are asked to gamble a few dollars each on the survival of that system. I've never seen a Community Chest, and have a prejudice against talking of things of which I know nothing. But I do know that when war hovers over the rooftops there comes a revival of community responsibility and community determination. That I have seen in this Island....You at home have missed it. The question is this: can you achieve in relative comfort and

security the unity, the generosity and the determination to defend that others have found only in the face of imminent physical danger? That, as I understand it, is what the Community Chest is trying to do.

Whoever it is in Washington who co-ordinates these appeals cabled me suggestions as to what should be said. I'm afraid I have ignored all of the suggestions;but the final sentence in the cable I received was this: "Please don't let this appeal go unheeded - give now!" That's good advice...as anyone who has seen what's happened to European communities will know...so I'll just ask the people who pay me for this broadcast to send the fee this week to the Community Chest down in Greensboro', North Carolina.

Murrow..Facilities visit Coastal Command..arranged by C in C Coastal... Someone said theres plenty of action over the Bay of Biscay these days..so I decided to go and see..There were nine of us..Seven boys wearing RAF blue,a big four motored Liberator bomber from San Diego ,and myself..It was a routine patroll of Coastal Command.. one of the dozens of planes that fan out from this Island every day, sweeping thousands of miles of ocean..looking for U boats,covering convoys and checking the weather...sometimes engaging in elephantine battles with German flying boats.. In the early morning light our Liberator was ticking over .it stood on its own parking place..a kind of concrete frying pan..with the handle attached to the main runway..We walked around behind the wings..bent double against the blast of the propellors and crawled into the belly of the big bomber..the under part of the wings and fuselage were painted a dirty white..looked like a sharks belly..on top she was the colour of Louisiana moss.. as I straightened up inside the plane..with my feet still on the concrete frying pan my head hit something hard..the young flight engineer standing beside me ..said"carefull,thats a depth charge".there were a dozen of them..six on each side of a narrow catwalk hanging there like milk cans in the old barn..we scrambled up to the flight deck..the bomb doors rolled to beneath us just like one of those roller top desks..the little cockney wireless operator jerked a thumb in the direction of a parachute and a may west life jacket sying"those are your ones just in case".someone else handed me a little packet of concentrated food with the remark that it should be kept in the pocket just in case. Those for big motors from Hartford Connecticut murmered a little louder and the bomber rolled down the handle of the frying pan onto the main

runway...swung left and stopped..The red headed flying officer at the controlls checked his instruments ..eased the throttles forward and the Liberator began to roll..I looked aft and saw the flight engineer leaning against the depth charges combing his hair..noticed he had a hunting knife strapped to his left boot..when I turned my head we were airborne.. the ~~fields~~ green and brown fields of England slipping away beneath us ...Soon we were over a cold ~~unwinking sea~~ grey sea looking like ~~chipped marble~~ a huge grey tapestry covered with chips of marble... George the automitic pilot was put to work and we flew a steady course just within sight of the curving coast of England..far ahead there was the smoke of a coastal convoy..The pilot remarked..wed better push off a cartridge..they get nervous when bombers approach..the ~~second pilot~~ the sargeant ~~reached~~ pilot sitting beside him reached up ~~to the roof~~ ~~where a big pistol~~ and pulled the trigger of a big pistol fixed in the roof..there was a hollow plop and a coloured ball of light burst in the sky above us..the destroyer escorting the convoy winked ~~a signal~~ an answering light signal and we soon left the convoy,each ship towing its barrage baloon behind..There was a glimpse of lands end as the gunner in the upper turett turned on the power and swung round in a circle behind his two fifty calibre machine guns..the turett was made in Baltimore..... Commmunications with the tail turett and the side gunners were tested while the engines from Hatford pulled the Liberator with its belly full of depth charges down toward the center of the bay of Biscay.. I saw a submarine off to port beetling along on the surface ~~off to port~~ the flight engineer leaned over and remarked..thats no way to travell in these days.. she was British..We drove on under a grey sky over the grey water..I crawled back between the Guns & dynamite for a talk with the tail gunner but he

was too cold to talk..the after part of the aircraft seemed filled with belts of machine gun ammunition flares, smoke floats and life rafts..I went back to the Flight Deck for lunch..sandwiches ..a boiled egg and an oreange plus plenty of hot coffeee.. Twas the first real orange Id seen for many months...but the men who fly that patroll can have mine anytime they earn them.. The pilot removed the binoculars from his eyes and remerked..sometimes I dont think theres much future in this kind of work..too much water...The flight became boring and I realised the truth of what had been said in the mess the night before..flying with coastal gives you plenty of time to think.

whats happening in Africa..only few hours flying time away..said to pilot why not go on to gib and he replied..was down there last week... fine place plenty of sunshine down there..What Liberators will be used for after the bombing ends..Failure of political [illegible] bout Darlan... fighting in [illegible]

Somewhere off to the left was Spain ruled by a man who has never tried to conceal his hope of an axis victory..hes now calling up his army.... wonder whether he has more men in his army than in his jails..Will the Germans come down thru Spain in an effort to close the western end of the Medd? Most of the military prophets seem to think so but thats no reason to expect it..If Hitler extends his flanks he must weaken other points and ~~there are only so many Germans~~ he must be running short of Germans..Franco sits on a wobbling fence but if he can keep his seat we seem to be comitted to supporting his dictatorship after the war for Mr Churchill said at the Guil Guild Hall the other day.. Britain and the United States will do all that we can to enrich the economic life of the peninsula..Sir Samuel Hoare said something like this..Variety,not monotony is what we desire in Europe. would a Europe that was democratic and free be too tedious and boring? If Francos partial mobilisation means hes willing to use the arms given him by Germany and Italy to defend his country against them it is most eloquent testimony of his belief that we shall win this war..General Franco like Admiral Darlan may be expected to rally valiantly to the side of the victors...

The wireless operator scribbles a message ..hads it up to the pilot and clamps the earphones to his head again..I wonder what hes hearing... For me there is only the drone of the engines..we seem to be ~~suspended~~ standing still but the indicator says were travelling a hundred and seventy five miles an hour..how many people are flying thru the air at this very moment ready to drop things on other people ....This flight is very comfortable compared with those long night hauls to Italy..The bombing ot Genoa and Turin must be mighty good news in Abbysinia..Hope the natives out there who havent forgotten the Italian bombing of helpless villiages get to

hear of xxxxx those four thousand puond bombs xxxxxx cascading down on Italian cities.. I say to the pilot..lets go on to Gibralter..he shakes his head..and tells me he was down there a couple of weeks ago..very nice it was too..plenty of sunshine..But hed really like to take his Liberator down to North Africa..thinks there must be good submarine hunting off that coast now..What are we going to do with our increasing air strength once the whole north african coastline is in our hands..The bombing of Italy will be relatively easy but one objective will be to get the Luftwaffe up and make it fight as was done at Dieppe..At the moment bomber strength is dispersed and the whole history of air warfare shows that concentrated bombing is the only policy that pays..The United Nations objective is to smash the greatest land army ever assembled on the continent of Europe... Knocking out Italy wouldnt contribute much toward that objective..The heavy bombers can smash the german state behind the army..Peter Masefield the able Air Correspondent of the London Times xxxx estimates that a hundred bombing raids in which two hundred thousand tons of bombs are dropped will smash the german war effort..he bases his estimate on the results of the german bombing of this country..and he maintains that air attack on that scale can be carried thru within ten months if we concentrate on the task now..But first there is much heavy air fighting to be done in and around Tunisia..there has been some small xxxxxxxxxxxx land engagements near the center of the country but General Eisenhower is letting out no information about detailed operations..Bizerta and the adjoining airfilds will not be easy to take..The naval base is well protected against landward invasion..the heavy batteries have a range of twenty five miles and cover the land approaches as well as the Sicillian narrows..

The ammunition is stored underground covered by at least sixty feet of rock..The French Admiral Muselier says that when he left Bizerta before this war began there was nearly twenty thousand tons of ammunition available..He estimates that a force of twenty to thirty thousand men would be required to man the fortifications...there is no reason to think the axis has anything like this number of men in Tunisia but they are adding to their strength daily..Admiral Muselier who commanded at Bizerta as late as nineteen thirty seven thinks our forces coming in from the west may have the most trouble between La Calle and Tabarka where there is a gap in the railway..The coastal road is good but narrow and winding... moreover the weather is uncertain at this time of year and sudden rainstorms may make roads impassable..It would be nice to drop our depth charges on Bizerta since we are having no luck finding German submarines.. ~~Therex~~ Finally we turned for home heading back toward the Island the U boats are trying to starve..And I began to think about what well do with all these thousands of bombers when the war is over..Someday if that Liberator lives it may be carrying food and clothing and medecine to Warsaw or Belgrade or Rotterdam..Huge cans of concentrated food may replace those depth charges hanging in the bomb bay..People on the continent may learn to listen to the drone of those four motors with hope and confidence instead of fear..The Liberators load may save the lives of the families of the men who ~~arexixx~~ were in that submarine we didnt find..Sucess in North Africa has caused more people to think and talk about the post war world..we didnt talk about it up there in the air .. it was too noisy and there was work to do but down on the ground men and women are thinking about ~~itxx~~ the future more than they have since the

early days of the war...There is an instinctive understanding that the conditions of the future are being determined now..that our food and our support will decide the political and social complexion of many nations when the bombers stop carrying bombs..~~That is why the appointment of Admiral Darlan continues to distress so many people here~~ Food will then be our weapon..thats why there has been serious talk of continued rationing for months or yers after the war ends..Thats why people here continue to be worried about the position of Admiral Darlan ..When it became clear that we were to see no ~~action~~ submarines I took from my pocket the ~~week~~ ~~clippings from the British press~~ weeks press clippings about Darlan... ~~The unanimity~~..They are almost unanimous..can perhaps best be summed up by the sentence..President roosevelts apology goes only a little way towards reassuring us..another paper speaks of the scandal of Darlans appointment..The Daily Herald says..much harm has been done..the political preparation,the political co operation seems to have been lamentably inneficiaent...The Daily Express understands the feelings that make Fighting Frenchmen suspicious of the company of Admiral Darlan but feels the deal justified on the grounds of expediency..The Manchester Guardian fears that when the war is over there will be an organised party perhaps in controll of the african empire which will be anxious to preserve the Vichy revolution..The conservative London Times says that our responsibilit are absolute and cannot be transferred or evaded by the mere act of delegating them to individual French leaders or groups.....One weekly magazine finds it impossible to think of any choice more discreditable to the United Nations and remarks..The Admiral is not the only opportunist who will try to make Europe safe for reaction by deserting the Axis when

fortune has ceased to smile on it....Another wekly notices that the cease fire was ordered by Darlan when the fire was ceasing of its own accor accord and it adds..the selection of Darlan as an accomplice,however temporary,must seem an awful hazard..In all this comment there is no criticism of General Eisenhower but it is pointed out many times that he went ot North African in a political vacuum..that there was a complete absence of political objectives and a lack of collaboration among the allies in this vital field.. ~~Sitting on a life raft in that liberator I recalled conversations in the House of Commons and with members of the~~ ~~Sitting~~ ~~Flying home in that liberator~~ There can be no doubt that people in this country are deeply disturbed about Admiral Darlans appointment. the best they can hope is that it will be of short duration. ~~Last week at this time I tried to talk about the British reaction to~~..It has shaken their faith in the future and no words will restore that faith..If Darlan should be removed as soon as the military reasons that dictated his appointment have ceased to operate confidence will be restored..If he isnt the suspicion created by this move will grow and multiply..That is a perso personal opinion but it is shared by responsible people in the government here..But thoughts of Darlan were driven away by two small specks on the Horizon as we nered the English coast..The top turett gunner swung his guns to meet them..they were fighters but all fighters look alike from head on..one rolled up on his wing tip and we saw the crcle of the RAF..they dove at us a fwe times just for practice and then they were gone..Our wireless operator beat out a restless tatoo on his key ..the flight engineer passed up a slip giving the amount of gasoline

left in the tanks....A few minutes later the pilot called for half flaps and we were coming in to land.. As the Lib..no one calls it a Liberator rolled to a stop we dropped out thru the bomb doors and the pilot said nice kite this ..at least we got you back for tea...It has always seemed to me that the people who make these planes dont hear enough about what they do..This broadcast has really been ~~aimed at~~ a kind of report for ~~x~~some friends of mine who make those big bombers out in San Diego.....They ought to be proud of their handiwork..From week to week I shall try to tell them whats happened to that aircraft....Theres plenty of action over the Bay of Biscay these days and that weatherbeaten Liberator will be out there...

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 1, 1942.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: There never has been a war with fighting going on at so many places at the same time. So far the Allies have followed the policy of fightingeverywhere,which has meant being strong nowhere. We have been forced into that position. Political and strategic reasons have combined to spread our forces pretty thin. But now huge quantities of planes, tanks, guns and men are piling up both in Britain and in the States. We appear to be in search of a battlefield - a place where we can confront the enemy with overwhelming weight and power. It might be done in Burma; it might be done in the Pacific; or we might concentrate on bombing Germany; or perhaps a second front on the Continent of Europe. We might do any of those things, but we can't do them all at the same time. That's the importance of the campaign now being fought in Egypt. It's the biggest offensive undertaken by the Allies anywhere in this war. Progress has been slow, but everyone expected that. Official comment has been cautious, but that's a welcome change from the easy optimism ~~practiced~~ formerly practiced by the Cairo Spokesman. We don't know very much about what's happening except that the British continue to gain ground - how much and where isn't stated. The fighting is bitter, and General Montgomery's men haven't yet cleared the minefields to the point where the big tank formations can come into action. Until that happens there can be no decision. The Allies have superiority of nearly every weapon, and there's plenty of

confidence here in London. But somehow people view this seventh campaign in the Western Desert with a kind of detachment; there is no excitement and little tension. The objectives to be gained from this offensive are not great, and that's why many people are looking about for another battlefield where those reserves of material and men can be used. One anonymous writer in today's Spectator sums it up in this fashion: "At whichever point this Allied force could be employed, it is faced by territory which is under Vichy control or in German-dominated French territory". There is no reason why this should not be mentioned. The strongest argument that could be used to the men who control these Vichy lands would be the rapid advance of the British Armies at El Alamein. The relative detachment with which people here view the battle is due to their belief that other big things are in the making.

No reporter speaking from London could say less, and no one should try to say more. There is some satisfaction here with the increasing opposition to Vichy in all parts of France. Broadcasters from here have been praising the resistance of the French workers to Laval's press gang methods of securing labour for Germany. But underground movements live by opposition and must show results; they can't be kept on a tether waiting for the time when men outside the country may consider the time to be ripe. There might be a premature explosion....There are signs that Berlin, Vichy and London fear just such a development.

There aren't many countries left in this world where elections are held. It took a lot of fighting to win that right, and now most countries have given it up. Some fought to retain it, and others didn't. People here are interested in our elections, not as a survival of a decent practice but because they think the poll will give some indication of the American temper. The British aren't saying anything publicly because they don't want to be accused of trying to interfere with our domestic affairs; but most of them hope the administration won't lose control of the House.

As you probably know, there hasn't been a National Election in Britain for a long time - something more than seven years. That means that people under twenty-eight have never voted in a General Election. There should have been one in 1941, but as you may remember Britain had more urgent things to do; so all the Parties agreed to a truce; all their leaders were in the coalition Cabinet under Mr. Churchill anyway. It was agreed that when a Member of Parliament died, or was made a Lord, his Party could nominate his successor, and the other Parties wouldn't put up an opposing candidate. That scheme is still in operation. Occasionally an Independent will contest a local election and win it; but the Party truce remains. From time to time there have been suggestions that a National Election ought to be held, but the question always arises: "What would be the issues?" - "What the Party platforms?" The only obvious one would be Mr. Churchill.

Voters would be asked whether they were for him or against him, and there would be no question ~~of~~ about an overwhelming majority for Mr. Churchill. ~~and this Party~~ The present House of Commons is dominated by the Conservative Party. Whether this Parliament reflects accurately the views of the majority of the people I don't know - nor does anyone else . Some Members of Parliament aren't even sure who it is they are representing. They may have been elected to represent an agricultural constituency, but the building of new factories, and the huge movements of population due to evacuation may have changed the whole character of their constituency.

Such local elections ~~have~~ as have been held have demonstrated two things: first that there is great political apathy in the country; and second that many voters are fed up with the selection of candidates by the central Party machine.

One of the political pastimes in this country is discussing the names of possible successors to Mr. Churchill. The favorite at the moment is certainly Anthony Eden; although it's agreed that no one has a chance of replacing Mr. Churchill so long as he keeps his health - and he is remarkably vigorous. He's not only the Prime Minister of a Coalition Government; he's a great traveller. And often when he speaks there is the illusion of Stalin standing on one side of him, and President Roosevelt on the other. Yesterday the Prime Minister talked in secret to

three thousand miners' delegates. Vital war secrets are seldom shared with three thousand people, so it's reasonable to suppose that the secrecy was designed as much to impress the miners as to prevent the spread of information.. According to all reports the meetingwas a huge success. Of course Mr. Churchill has his critics, both from the Right and the Left. His record in office has been a long succession of military defeats followed by political triumphs. But there is no man on the political horizon to challenge him....at least not seriously.

The Prime Minister has the advantage of having the leaders of the Opposition parties in his Cabinet. There he can bring to bear his overpowering eloquence. So far he has not been troubled by resignations. Certainly he has no such formidable political opponent as Mr. Willkie roaming about behind the Government lines. Mr. Willkie's stock, incidentally, appears to have risen a bit over here, if for no other reason than that he criticised Britain and the United States. The British ~~are~~ ~~greatxselfxcritizersx~~ fairly wallow in self-criticism, and rather enjoy ~~doing~~ seeing others do the same. It's a mistake to think that everyone over here is satisfied with the Government's domestic policy; its Indian policy or its Colonial policy. Englishmen quite as eloquent and fully as well informed as Mr. Willkie are demanding a change.

One of the next important political appointments to be made by Mr. Churchill will be the naming of a new Viceroy of India. There is talk that it may be Sir Stafford Cripps, who could almost certainly have the job if he wants it.

Lord Lytton contends that the various Indian provinces should decide on what terms they would delegate powers to a Federal Government. And that once the functions and powers of a Federal Indian Government were determined its form would be more easily settled. Then Sir Edward Grigg, a Conservative Member of Parliament, writes that Americans have an unrivalled grasp of the relation between States rights and national unity, and that expert American counsel might help to solve the difficulties. In other words, if America can produce a solution and is prepared to help make it work, something might be done. Short of that, the British Government will stand on the Cripps proposals.

Britain's latest distinguished visitor from the United States has continued to rush smilingly about England, without making a mistake; although it does seem possible that the Germans made one, for they ran their biggest daylight raid in nearly two years. It was against Canterbury at the hour when she was to visit that city, only she had been there the day before.

Mrs. Roosevelt's visit to England continues to be a success. I don't suppose that any distinguished visitor to a foreign country, particularly in wartime, ever gets far enough outside Government circles to secure first-hand information of all people about all things; Mrs. Roosevelt is certainly trying, ~~It is not possible for one in her position to go about casually ringing doorbells and talking with people on her~~ and with considerable success. ~~There~~ She came over to learn about women's organisations, and about the American forces in this country. And she is learning, as several exhausted American correspondents can testify. There are sound military reasons for the close supervision and secrecy of her movements. The Germans ran their biggest daylight raid in two years over Canterbury the day after she had visited that city.

E.R. MURROW: 21ST NOVEMBER, 1942: 23.00 23.15 BST:

Facilities visit Coastal Command ... arranged by C in C Coastal ... Someone said theres plenty of action over the Bay of Biscay these days... so I decided to go and see ... There were nine of us ... Seven boys wearing RAF blue, a big four motored Liberator bomber from San Diego, and myself ... It was a routine patrol of Coastal Command ... one of the dozens of planes that fan out from this Island every day, sweeping thousands of miles of ocean ... looking for U boats, covering convoys and checking the weather ... sometimes engaging in elephantine battles with German flying boats .... In the early morning light our Liberator was ticking over... it stood on its own parking place ... a kind of concrete xxxxxx frying pan ... with the handle attached to the main runway ... We walked around behind the wings ... bent double against the blast of the propellors and crawled into the belly of the big bomber.. the under part of the wings and fuselage were painted a dirty white ... looked like a sharks belly ... on top she was the colour of Louisiana moss ... as I straightened up inside the plane ... with my feet still on the concrete frying pan my head hit something hard .... the young flight engineer standing beside me ... said "careful, that's a depth charge" .... there were a dozen of them ... six on each side of a narrow catwalk hanging there like milk cans in the old barn ... we scrambled up to the flight deck ... the bomb doors rolled to beneath us just like one of those roller top desks ... the little Cockney wireless operator jerked a thumb in the direction of a parachute and a May West life jacket saying "those are your ones just in case" .... Someone else handed me a little packet of concentrated food with the remark that it should be kept

in the pocket just in case. Those four big motors from Hartford Connecticut murmured a little louder and the bomber rolled down the handle of the frying pan onto the main runway ... swung left and stopped.... The red headed flying officer at the controls checked his instruments .... eased the throttles forward and the Liberator began to roll .... I looked aft and saw the flight engineer leaning against the depth charges combing his hair ... noticed he had a hunting knife strapped to his left boot .... when I turned my head we were airborne .... the green and brown fields of England slipping away beneath us .... Soon we were over a cold grey sea looking like a huge grey tapestry covered with chips of marble .... George the automatic pilot was put to work and we flew a steady course just within sight of the curving coast of England ... far ahead there was the smoke of a coastal convoy .... The pilot remarked .... we'd better push off a cartridge .... they get nervous when bombers approach .... the sergeant pilot sitting beside him reached up and pulled the trigger of a big pistol fixed in the roof .... there was a hollow plop and a coloured ball of light burst in the sky above us ... the destroyer escorting the convoy winked an answering light signal and we soon left the convoy, each ship towing its barrage balloon behind .... There was a glimpse of Lands End as the gunner in the upper ~~tr~~ turret turned on the power and swung round in a circle behind his two fifty calibre machine guns ... the turret was made in Baltimore .... Communications with the tail turret and the side gunners were tested while the engines from Hartford pulled the Liberator with its belly full of depth charges down toward the centre

of the Bay of Biscay ... I saw a submarine off to port beetling along on the surface.... The flight engineer leaned over and remarked .... That's no way to travel in these days .... She was British .... We drove on under a grey sky over the grey water .... I crawled back between the cans of dynamite for a talk with the tail gunner, but he was too cold to talk .... The after part of the aircraft seemed filled with belts of machine gun ammunition, flares, smoke floats and life rafts .... I went back to the flight deck for lunch ... sandwiches, a boiled egg and an orange plus plenty of hot coffee .... Twas the first real orange I'd seen for many months .... but the men who fly that patrol can have mine anytime .... they earn them. The pilot removed the binoculars from his eyes and remarked .... sometimes I don't think theres much future in this kind of work .... too much water .... The flight became boring and I realised the truth of what had been said in the mess the night before .... flying with Coastal gives you plenty of time to think.

Somewhere off to the left was Spain ruled by a man who has never tried to conceal his hope of an Axis victory .... he's now calling up his army ... wonder whether he has more men in his army than in his jails... Will the Germans come down thru Spain in an effort to close the western end of the Medd? Most of the military prophets seem to think so but that's no reason to expect it .... If Hitler extends his flanks he must weaken other points, and he must be running short of Germans .... Franco sits on a wobbling fence but if he can keep his seat we seem to be committed to supporting his dictatorship after the

war for Mr. Churchill said at the Guild Hall the other day .... Britain and the United State s will do all that we can to enrich the economic life of the peninsula .... Sir Samuel Hoare said something like this .... Variety, not monotony is what we desire in Europe. Would a Europe that was democratic and free be too tedious and boring? If Franco's partial mobilisation means he's willing to use the arms given him by Germany and Italy to defend his country against them it is most eloquent testimony of his belief that we shall win this war .... General Franco like Admiral Darlan may be expected to rally valiantly to the side of the victors ...

The wireless operator scribbles a message .... hands it up to the pilot and clamps the earphones to his head again .... I wonder what He's hearing .... For me there is only the drone of the engines ... We seem to be standing still but the indicator says were travelling a hundre d and seventy m five miles an hour .... how many people are flying thru the air at this very moment ready to drop things on other people .... This flight is very comfortable compared with those long night hauls to Italy .... Thebombing of Genoa and Turin must be mighty good news in ~~the~~ Abyssinia .... ~~Hope~~ Hope the natives out there who haven't forgotten the Italian bombing of helpless villages get to hear of those four thousand pound bombs cascading down on Italian cities .... I say to the pilot .... Let's go on to Gibraltar .... he shakes his head ... and tells me he was down there a couple of weeks ago .... very nice it was too .... plenty of

sunshine .... But hed really like to take his Liberator down to North Africa .... thinks there must be good submarine hunting off that coast now .... What are we going to do with our increasing air strength once the whole north African coastline is in our hands .... The bombing of Italy will be relatively easy but one objective will be to get the Luftwaffe up and make it fight as was done at Dieppe.... At the moment bomber strength is dispersed and the whole history of air warfare shows that concentrated bombing is the only policy that pays .... The United Nations objective is to smash the greatest land army ever assembled on the continent of Europe .... Knocking out Italy wouldn't contribute much toward that objective .... The heavy bombers can smash the German State behind the army .... Peter Masefield the able Air Correspondent of the London Times estimates that a hundred bombing raids in which two hundred thousand tons of bombs are dropped will smash the German war effort .... He bases his estimate on the results of the German bombing of this country .... and he maintains that air attack on that scale can be carried thru within ten months if we concentrate on the task now .... But first there is much heavy air fighting to be done in and around Tunisia .... there has been some small land engagements near the center of the country but General Eisenhower is letting out no information about detailed operations .... Bizerta and the adjoining airfields will not be easy to take .... The naval base is well protected against landward invasion .... the heavy batteries have a range of twenty five miles and cover the land approaches as well as the Sicillian narrows.... The ammunition is stored underground covered by at least sixty feet of rock .... The French Admiral Muselier

says that when he left Bizerta before this war began there was nearly twenty thousand tons of ammunition available ... He estimates that a force of twenty to thirty thousand men would be required to man the fortifications .... there is no reason to think the Axis has anything like this number of men in Tunisia but they are adding to their strength daily .... Admiral Muselier who commanded at Bizerta as late as nineteen thirty seven thinks our forces coming in from the west may have the most trouble between La Calle and Tabarka where there is a gap in the railway .... The coastal road is good but narrow and winding .... moreover the weather is uncertain at this time of year and sudden rainstorms may make roads impassable .... It would be nice to drop our depth charges on Bizerta since we are having no luck finding German submarines .... Finally we turned for home heading back toward the Island the U boats are trying to starve .... And I began to think about what we'll do with all these thousands of bombers when the war is over... Someday if that Liberator lives it may be carrying food and clothing and medicine to Warsaw or Belgrade or Rotterdam ..... Huge cans of concentrated food may replace those depth charges hanging in the bomb bay .... People on the Continent may learn to listen to the drone of those four motors with hope and confidence instead of fear .... The Liberators load may save the lives of the families of the men who were in that submarine we didn't find ... Success in North Africa has caused more people to think and talk about the post war world .... we didn't talk about it up there in the air .... it was too noisy and there was work to do but down on the ground men and women are thinking about the future more than they

have since the early days of the war .... There is an instinctive understanding that the conditions of the future are being determined now .... that our food and our support will decide the political and social complexion of many nations when the bombers stop carrying bombs.. Food will then be our weapon .... that's why there has been serious talk of continued rationing for months or years after the war ends ... That's why people here continue to be worried about the position of Admiral Darlan .... When it became clear that we were to see no submarines I took from my pocket the week's press clippings about Darlan... They are almost unanimous ... can perhaps best be summed up by the sentence .... President Roosevelt's apology goes only a little way towards reassuring us .... another paper speaks of the scandal of Darlan's appointment .... The Daily Herald says .... much harm has been done .... the political preparation, the political co-operation seems to have been lamentably innefficient .... The Daily Express understands the feelings that make Fighting Frenchmen suspicious of the company of Admiral Darlan but feels the deal justified on the grounds of expediency ..... The Manchester Guardian fears that when the war is over there will be an organised party perhaps in control of the African Empire which will be anxious to preserve the Vichy revolution ..... The conservative London Times says that our responsibilities ~~xxxxxxx~~ are absolute and cannot be transferred or evaded by the mere act of delegating them to individual French leaders or groups ... One weekly magazine finds it impossible to think of any choice more discreditable to the United Nations and remarks .... The Admiral is not the only opportunist who will try to make Europe safe for reaction

by deserting the Axis when fortune has ceased to smile on it .... Another weekly notices that the cease fire was ordered by Darlan when the fire was ceasing of its own accord and it adds.... the selection of Darlan as an accomplice , however temporary, must seen an awful hazard .... In all this comment there is no criticism of General Eisenhower but it is pointed out many times that he went to North Africa in a political vacuum .... that there was a complete absence of political objectives and a lack of collaboration among the allies in this vital field ..... There can be no doubt that people in this country are deeply disturbed about Admiral Darlan's appointment.... the best they can hope is that it will be of short duration .... It has shaken their faith in the future and no words will restore that faith .... If Darlan should be removed as soon as the military reasons that dictated his appointment have ceased to operate, confidence will be restored .... If he isn't the suspicion created by this move will grow and multiply ..... That is a personal opinion but it is shared by responsible people in the Government here .... But thoughts of Darlan were driven away by two small specks on the horizon as we neared the English coast .... The top turret gunner swung his guns to meet them .... they were fighters but all fighters look alike from head on .... one rolled up on his wing tip and we saw the circle of the RAF .... they dove at us a few times just for practice and then they were gone ..... Our wireless operator beat out a restless tattoo on his key .... the flight engineer passed up a slip giving the amount of gasoline left in the tanks .... A few minutes later the

pilot called for half flaps and we were coming in to land .... As the Lib .... no one calls it a Liberator, rolled to a stop we dropped out thru the bomb doors and the pilot said nice kite this ..... At least we got you back for tea.... It has always seemed to me that the people who make these planes don't hear enough about what they do .... This broadcast has really been a kind of report for some friends of mine who make those big bombers out in San Diego .... They ought to be proud of their handiwork .... From week to week I shall try to tell them what's happened to that aircraft ..... There's plenty of action over the Bay of Biscay these days and that weatherbeaten Liberator will be out there .....

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 29, 1942.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Tonight, on the eve of his sixty-eighth birthday, the man who mobilised the English language and made it fight broadcast a half-hour review of the war. Mr. Churchill was neither boastful nor over-confident, but he found that we are nearer to the frontiers of deliverance. The good cause has ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ prospered, but there are grim and probably long ordeals before us. There was a tribute to the men who lead the fighting at both ends of the Mediterranean; the announcement that for every transport lost in the North African operation the combined Navies ~~got~~ sunk/one U-Boat; and that for every ton of merchant shipping lost we acquired two in the French ports. The Prime Minister confirmed that the Germans are no longer able to replace their air losses. He promised the Italians that they would be bombed until they'd had enough. And he expressed his confidence that the ideals and the spirit of fighting France would dominate that country. That was as near as he came to any mention of Darlan. The man who speaks for Britain sees this country facing a new test. Having demonstrated that it can stand defeat it must now continue resolute and active in the face of victory. He warned that bitter and bloody years lie ahead, and expressed his well-known impatience with post-war planners by counselling them not to quarrel about what to do with victory before that victory has been won.

It was a confident speech, designed to encourage the weary and at the same time restrain those who are inclined to say: "It

will all be over next year". Mr. Churchill adhered to his usual policy of making no predictions - wouldn't even guarantee that more successes might not be on the way. But he did think that the war might end in Europe before it does in the Pacific. If that should happen he pledged all Britain's forces to the prosecution of the war in the Pacific, while the United Nations would begin to hammer out international agreements for the establishment of peace and justice on the Continent of Europe.

The Prime Minister tried to place in proper perspective the good news that has poured into this Island all during the month of November.

~~All during the week good news has~~ [redacted] The weight and scale of the Russian offensive surprised and pleased everyone. The advance in Tunisia is well ahead of schedule. The news from the Pacific is encouraging. And the thrilling tragedy at Toulon removed a heavy potential threat. As a result of all these happenings people in London are more calmly confident than at any time since the winter of 1938. It is becoming fashionable again to talk about the duration of the war, and to discuss post-war problems. There is no exuberant optimism, but many people fail to remember that we have not yet the strength to attack the European fortress. The more favorable military outlook has produced some interesting results, mostly political. The first was the removal of Sir Stafford Cripps from his place in the War Cabinet. When he entered the Government nine months ago the days were dark indeed. Cripps was welcomed as a man of independent view, determined upon change; a strong advocate of good relations with Russia. To millions of people in this country his appointment was the first faint signal of the new order. Now, when the military skies are brighter,he steps down, and there is very little protest either from press or public. He had failed to retain his hold upon the imagination of the people; he was not particularly happy as leader of the House of Commons; and the House was none too pleased with him.

There were two interesting and important developments in the House of Commons this week. One was a Debate about equal compensation for women war workers who may be injured on the job.

The Government refused to accept the principle, and the women revolted. Ninety-five Members voted against the Government - the heaviest vote yet recorded against Mr. Churchill's Government. It was a moral victory for those demanding equal compensation for women; but the old scheme/remains. A woman who is injured while doing a man's job still won't get the benefits awarded to a man.

There was a lot of talk in the House of Commons about Britain's Colonies. There was a suggestion that a Colonial Development Board should be established; but no signs of sympathy for any scheme of International control for the Colonies. There was some outspoken criticism of the frequent changes in Colonial Secretaries; there have been seven in as many years. And it was alleged that the office was being used as a sort of rest house in the Cabinet game of Musical Chairs. The present holder of the office is Colonel Oliver Stanley, a Conservative who has held various government positions in the past. The real question, of course, about the Colonial Development Board is who is to develop the Colonies, and for what purpose? British Colonies pay no money to the British Treasury here in London, but business organisation; have drawn huge sums from some of them as the result of exploiting natural resources with cheap labor. Most of the Colonies have been provided with an incorruptible system of law, and an honest Civil Service; but the local inhabitants have not had a standard

of life permitting them to enjoy these benefits. One thing that will be required for any Colonial development is long-term cheap credit to permit the expansion of educational and medical facilities. Under the present system the Colonies haven't got the revenue to do it themselves, and they can't afford to pay heavy interest charges. It's even been suggested that they will have to receive the money without interest. Anyway, the proposal for a Colonial Development Board didn't come to a vote - it was withdrawn.

Mr. Churchill's personal popularity and that of his Government is probably greater today than it has ever been. The Conservative Party is confident; as one political writer puts it:"The Tories have their tails up". Under this coalition government there is supposed to be a ban on controversial legislation. But an inter-departmental report will be submitted during this week....and it will cause plenty of controversy. It will be a report prepared by Sir William Beveridge, one of the most outstanding economists in this country. He probably knows more about employment, unemployment and social insurance than anyone over here. His new scheme will be, I believe, one to insure everybody for everything. The Insurance Companies won't like it. A considerable section of the Tory Party won't like it. It will cost an awful lot of money - nobody knows how much. But it's going to be hard to convince people in this country that the money can't be found. This Beveridge Report will produce plenty of political fireworks. It is a plan to establish freedom from want in this country.. International planning often seems vague and unreal; fails to excite

much enthusiasm or controversy. But this scheme of Sir William's will affect both business and individuals in this country, and its reception will tell us much about the present political complexion of this nation, where a General Election has not been held for seven years.

Another result of military successes has been a renewed discussion of censorship. British correspondents in America have been complaining about our censorship. They aren't objecting to the strict control of military information, but rather to the censoring of stories of a political nature. They have been saying quite frankly to their readers over here that they are unable to give them a balanced picture of American opinion. Certainly it hasn't been possible from here to tell you the attitude of the British Government regarding the appointment of Admiral Darlan. As victories produce political problems there will be a tendency to apply military censorship to political matters, in the belief that relations between Allies can be based upon suppression of news and views which cannot conceivably be of value to the enemy. There is more interest in American affairs, more curiosity about our policies and plans than there has ever been before. Contrary to the general impression, the British people react favorably to frankness. One speaker in the House of Commons put it very well the other day when he said: "We shouldn't be too much disturbed about what the Americans say of us. They say some quite frightful

things about each other". Wordsworth put it even better, when he said "we combatted for victory in the Empire of Reason; for strongholds in the imagination". There is still a certain fear on both sides of the Atlantic of what use the Axis radio may make of frank Anglo-American reporting. Why worry about that? And anyway, transatlantic travel is now so heavy that it isn't possible to conceal political developments for very long. And stories often become exaggerated or distorted when they are flown by word of mouth across the Atlantic.

But people here are more interested in North Africa than in censorship. The massing of German planes in Tunisia and the Middle Mediterranean bases is continuing; and that movement of planes, particularly transport aircraft, will affect Germany's winter defences in Russia. Last year they supplied many of their hedgehogs from the air. This winter they may not have the planes to do it. The speed with which the Luftwaffe moves from one front to another is impressive. The Richthofen eighth air army has been moved from Stalingrad to Tunisia in a matter of ten days.

The Russians may get another advantage from the clearing of the North African coast. It will probably open a new supply route to the Soviet Union. Axis ships have for months been passing through the Dardanelles, carrying supplies, particularly oil, from the Danube to Italian bases in the Dodacanese, and to Rommel's Afrika Korps. When we control the Mediterranean there will be nothing to prevent sea-borne supplies for Russia passing through

the Dardanelles. When that begins to happen, the Germans may be expected to bring pressure to bear on Turkey. Maybe that's what the Turkish leaders have in mind when they say their country is nearer war than ever.

There is a lotof discussion here as to what the next step should be once the Axis has been driven from North Africa. Many people doubt that an all-out attack against Italy can or will follow immediately. The Germans will have many submarines in the Mediterranean, operating from bases on the French coast. It's more than two thousand sea miles from Southampton to Genoa - a long way to carry supplies. Even if airfields should be secured in Northern Italy, our bombers still wouldn't be as near to German factories as the German bombers are to British war plants.

The first question to be decided is what will be done with the Anglo-American bomber strength when this present operation is completed. Will the big bombers be brought back here, and used to hammer Germany during the winter nights, trying to prevent her from using the winter months to re-equip her armies? Or will they concentrate against Italy? When the air Generals make their decision about that, ~~it will be possible to~~ it will be the first concrete sign of our future strategy.

The prospect of an invasion of this Island has diminished, but it is officially still considered to be a possibility; not a full-scale land attack, but rather the use of wrecking battalions

which might do a great deal of damage, and produce a public demand that large forces be kept here for the defence of the Island. Tommy guns in an English village might be more impressive than cannon at Bizerta.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY DECEMBER 6, 1942.
23.00-23.15

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: You at home are entering the second year of war. Over here your Allies are moving with confidence and determination into the fourth month of the fourth year. This day one year ago saw the beginning of the German defeat before Moscow. During most of the past year the tide of battle has been strongly against us. There was devastation at Pearl Harbour, quickly followed by the loss of Hong-Kong, Malaya, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines. The Japanese fleet was loose in the Indian Ocean. Rangoon and then all Burma was occupied; Australia was threatened. And the British Eighth Army reeled back to El Alamein. Even then no man could be sure that the Hun could be kept from the Nile Delta and the Suez. It is only within the last six weeks that work and planning, and all the bitterly fought holding actions around the world have begun to produce results.

For the first time since those Spring days of 1940, when the German armies came scything through the Low Countries, the enemy is forced to make his dispositions of troops and aircraft in accordance with the dictates of our strategy. But it is always worth remembering that we went to North Africa because we had not the strength to tackle the enemy where he must finally be beaten - on the Continent of Europe.

American production and American accomplishments have been prodigious; and the British have not been reluctant to praise them.

Although it is natural for some people over here to remember those lonely, glorious days and months when they stood alone; and it's natural, too, for them to remember that our production got off to a flying start in part at least because of British orders paid for in cash, which required this country to strip itself of foreign investments.

The relations between our forces in this country and their British Allies have been better than even the most optimistic would have dared to predict. Our troops brought to this country a confidence, optimism, belief in themselves, and a disregard of tradition that was welcome. One of the best and truest things said of them was spoken by an English friend of mine when he remarked: "These Americans seem never to have been told that a thing cannot be done".

It is no part of my job to speak of American accomplishments during the first year of war. You will know much better than I possibly can what we have done, and of the mistakes we have made. No one can predict the number of years we shall yet fight alongside our Allies before victory is achieved. This is the most confusing, complex and baffling war that the world has ever seen. Already much of the history of the last three years has gone from men's minds. The other day Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor who has spent most of his years in public life, said that China was not at war with Germany and Italy. Of course China declared war on

those two countries immediately after Pearl Harbour. I shouldn't think that many people in this country remember that Britain might now be at war with Russia had it not been for the Swedes' refusal to permit British troops to cross their country on the way to Finland.

To understand the temper of Britain today, on this the first anniversary of our entrance into the war, it is necessary to remember that these people have been at it for more than three years. One year of external war cannot be expected to produce the same psychological changes as have occurred here. Differences in atmosphere and attitude between Washington and London are inevitable. And unless the cleavages are to widen and deepen those differences ought to be talked about. People who are tired - not so much tired of the war as just plain tired - people who have lived in this uncompromising blackness, eating monotonous food, with their clothes growing shabbier and shabbier; seeing a great deal of people from the Continent who came here leaving everything behind, because this was the one place from which the fight could be continued - people who have lived on the edge of the end for so long must feel differently than we do at home. Something happens to people's minds; to their attitude towards politics and policies, when they have lived as drearily and at the same time as dangerously as these people have lived. That is demonstrated in the public and Press reaction to the comprehensive

social insurance scheme produced by Sir William Beveridge. It is a revolutionary plan which can be carried out by thoroughly democratic processes; and it establishes a minimum standard of living below which no family can fall. Its reception does not ensure that it will become law, but it is proof that the British are unafraid of change, and are determined somehow or other to ~~xxxx

It is important that you understand the reasons for this attitude. But first the facts should be clearly understood. For reasons of military expediency we have a written agreement with Admiral Darlan. He is to run the Civil Administration; but we have military rights of requisition, and if necessary military control over communications. This agreement has no time limit. Admiral Darlan had nothing whatever to do with the North African operation, and his presence in Algiers was accidental. During this week Admiral Darlan announced himself as Chief of State, Commander-in-Chief; he announced the formation of an Imperial Council consisting of Governors and Military Commanders. There is every indication that this new regime is intended to be permanent. American food and clothing is to be sent to North Africa, where it will be distributed by Admiral Darlan's civil administration. Mr. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador in London, has left His Majesty's Government in no doubt about Russia's unwillingness to have anything to do with Darlan. Sometime this week there will be a secret session of Parliament, where Members will be told of the position in North Africa. ~~The xxxx

reassured that they are still fighting the same war they insisted upon fighting in the Autumn of '39. They are impressed by the feeling of revulsion that has been apparent amongst those who came to this country from the lands occupied by the Germans. It is believed that Admiral Darlan has set up a Fascist regime in North Africa, and in the words of one weekly magazine: "Out of provisional Fascism can come nothing but permanent Fascism, or civil war." Nothing is known here about the response to President Roosevelt's request for the release of political prisoners, although it is known definitely that many of them are still in jail. ~~[illegible]~~

It is admitted that the agreement may have contributed to the early winning of the North African campaign - although there are those who maintain that Admiral Darlan ordered the "Cease Fire" when the fire was ceasingof its own accord. But the real fear is that this policy may mean the losing of the peace.

The British attitude can only be understood by remembering that Admiral Darlan has been violently anti-British, and that he has recanted none of his previous statements.

The Free French and others who came here seeking an opportunity to continue the fight were shocked by the statement said to come from General Eisenhower and broadcast by Radio Morocco; the statement which said in part: "All Frenchmen worthy of their

country's great past have forgotten their small differences of ideas, and are ready to fight hand-in-hand". These people believe that the differences between Admiral Darlan and Hitler might accurately be described as small.

The British must live with the French when this war is over, and they fear that a victory which left Darlan or his henchmen in control of France would not be worth the winning; and they don't see any way to get rid of him if he continues to enjoy the economic and military support now given to him.

Before we entered this war the British fought it alone. Their mistakes were many, but they fought on faith. There is a real danger that their faith may turn to cynicism. That is even more true of those who came to this country from France, from Czechoslovakia, from Holland and all the rest.

Mr. Elmer Davis' organisation has instructed me to say something likely to cause some of you to go out and join the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. That is no assignment to give an ex-colleague. I have seen just three WAACs. They were walking along a London street; they wore Second Lieutenant's bars, but the rest of the uniform I didn't recognise. I said to a Sergeant who was watching their progress with obvious approval:

"What are those?" And he replied with a big grin: "Boy, that's part of our army - WAACs they call 'em". Never have I seen a Sergeant look with such a kindly eye upon three Second Lieutenants. If those of you who are hesitating about joining up could have seen that Sergeant; if you could have seen the way British men and women in uniform have worked and died together; if you could have seen, as I have, girls in R.A.F. blue boosting tired, hollow-cheeked boys into Spitfires and Hurricanes during the Battle of Britain - you'd realise that this Women's Army we're building is part of the modern way of waging war, ~~and that [illegible] in the tradition. Many of those in Britain's Women's Army are studying Germany, they're looking forward to carrying abroad~~ I don't see any reason why I should try to say anything more about the matter; after all, no one had to do a broadcast urging women to go West in covered wagons, or - so far as I know - in getting them to mould bullets to be fired at the British.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY DECEMBER 20, 1942.
23.00 23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Four more shopping days before Christmas....only there won't be much shopping over here, for the very good reason that there isn't much to buy. There is no extra transport for Christmas shoppers; the stores close at four; there are practically no Christmas decorations....It is possible to get a weary little trea for about two dollars, but many people won't bother. There is no extra candy ration above the weekly allowance of three ounces; no delicious nuts, salted or otherwise; clothing of all kinds calls for coupons and those coupons are more precious than money. Of course, you can't buy a new car - even have trouble finding a good second-hand bicycle....Can't even buy a new baby carriage; some municipal authorities have boughta few, and they rent them out at twenty cents a week. There are still books to be had, but the selection is limited....the new ones are printed on a cheap brownish paper in small type; and hundreds of thousands of second-hand books were burned in the big fire two years ago. When someone sends a book from home it's almost possible to warm your hands on that thick, rich paper and the clear sturdy type. The Christmas cards, such as they are, seem to be made of second or third-grade paper...they look tired.

This fourth wartime Christmas is different from the first... then there was no rationing. It was the "Phoney War" - remember? There was plenty of everything. Mr. Chamberlain was still Prime Minister. Finland was fighting Russia, and Britain was sending medical supplies and fire-fighting equipment. No British statesman

could make a speech without mentioning France and the greatest army on earth. British children could buy plenty of toys and even a scale model of the Maginot Line, with white smoke coming from the muzzles of the guns. London's theatres were doing a rush business. People were singing a song called "We'll hang out the Washing on the Siegfried Line". It was about Christmas '39 that the Australians and the Canadians arrived, singing "Roll Out The Barrel". There was much talk about the Iron Ring of the Navy that would squeeze the Germans to death while we sat behind the Maginot Line. Here in London there were more men in uniform... and there was the blackout - but otherwise it was almost a peacetime Christmas. David Low, Britain's number one cartoonist, gave us a picture of Neville Chamberlain driving a heavily laden stage-coach on a snowy road to an urgent appointment with destiny; a trunk on the roof of the coach was marked: "Sacred Right of Property"; Colonel Blimp was a passenger on the coach, and he was remarking: "We beat this fellow Napoleon before and we'll do it again". The King in his Christmas message read these lines: "And I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year, give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown; and he replied: Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God. That shall lead you better than light and is safer than a known way".

That first wartime Christmas was pretty much like the ones during the last war...But the second was different. By Christmas of 1940 Britain had paid the price of early complacency....had

looked destruction, and indeed extinction, in the face. Christmas that year was underground. People came up in the morning to sniff the odour of burning buildings and death. Not many people said "Merry Christmas" that year. The keynote was casualness. When friends parted they just said "So Long" or "Good Luck", for they knew not when if ever they would meet again. Each night the city went underground; but the stubborn, steady people came up again each morning and went back to work. Those were the days and nights when London was friendly - when there was a reckless good humour about the place. They were all alone and almost liking it. They faced death in the streets and by their firesides. They were grim and gay and true to their traditions; and they might have said as Wordsworth did in 1806: "Another year, another deadly blow, another mighty Empire overthrown; and we are left or shall be left alone...the last that dared to struggle with the foe.

By the third wartime Christmas Britain's Far Eastern Empire was being overthrown. Hongkong fell on Christmas Day. America was in the war but her power was crippled at Pearl Harbour. No one could say where the Japanese could be stopped. That was a bitter cold Christmas here in London...The beginning of a winter of holding on...and it was the third wartime Christmas. To me the most remarkable thing about that winter was the fact that the British emerged from it with their offensive spirit, their will to

attack undiminished.

Now we are approaching the fourth Christmas of this war. Outwardly it's going to be a dull, drab affair. The wind, like a careful gardener, has stripped the leaves from the trees and piled them neatly in the corners of buildings and against the hedges. There are times when the soft coal smoke settles below the house-tops;and the sidewalks are damp and covered with black grit that you can feel through your shoes, if they are a little thin...as they well may be since it takes anything up to two months to get your shoes half-soled. The busses and taxi cabs slither and slide as they move along the pavement made of wooden blocks. There's a film of oily soot over the emergency water tanks where the basements of buildings used to be. They are so repulsive that even little boys have longago concluded they hold no fish. At night, the cloth and paper used to cover the windows of blasted buildings flap in the breeze. When the moon is full some streets remind you of a whole series of half-finished sketches leaning against the wall in some dusty, ill-lit studio.

People's clothes are shabbier than they were during that first Christmas...a long time ago. But most people are still neat, and they stand steady in their well-worn shoes. There is a shortage of nearly everything....But I have heard very little grumbling. Christmas shopping isn't a very private undertaking this year....Women carry shopping bags made of something that looks like fish-net, and you can see what they have bought...things

aren't wrapped in paper over here any more. There won't be much over-eating in Britain this Christmas...there isn't the food. Children are being told to eat carrots and potatoes...that they are better for them. The Magazine Punch reports that a Frinton Ornithologist has seen a strange bird on his lawn...small, compact, and with a metallic cry; and Punch asks: "Could it be canned turkey?" A daily newspaper suggests that before buying new books - the most popular present this year - old maps and old atlasses should be turned in forsalvage...they will help to put the map of Europe to rights. Perhaps one reason people here don't complain about there austere Christmas is that they know theirs will be more comfortable than that of any other people in Europe....And they have increased confidence in victory to sustain them. There won't be any depression over here this Christmas, but it won't be very exciting. The American troops are doing what they can for English kids....arranging huge Christmas dinners and making toys from anything they can find. In at least one English village Santa Claus has already arrived - in a tank; but when he climbed out, American army shoes and trousers could be seen under his red robes. A friend of mine who runs a Red Cross Club put up a notice suggesting that the boys who got presents from home might like to give a bit of their candy for some English kids in hospital....there will be enough candy for several hospitals.

The other night, walkingdown a black street, I heard American voices singing Christmas carols. The sound came from an American

Officers' Club....from a building where we once had an office.... we were blown out of it about Christmas-time 1940; And now it's been patched up, and American Officers are singing carols there.

In England this year there will be more confidence and fewer illusions than at any wartime Christmas since the first one. There is plenty of work for everyone; there is enough food, even if it is dull and monotonous; casualties have been light if compared with the last war; and for this winter at least we are halfway through our battle with blackness....starting next week there will be a few more precious minutes of daylight morning and night. Wartime existence has become almost normal, but there are few illusions left,and it is comingto be realised that Victory will impose burdens almost as heavy and in some ways more complex than those presented by war. Over here those who know most about this war are convinced that the coming year will see still greater reductions in the civilian standard of living; they believe that casualties will be far beyond anything we have so far seen; and only the foolish venture to prophesy how long it will be before the lights go on again. The Germans are still building U-Boats faster than we can sink them. The Russians are wearing down the Germans but have yet far to go before gaining a major strategic victory. It seemed that the British had cut off Rommel's tail behind El Agheila, but it now appears that most of his forces escaped....And there are weeks if not months of heavy fighting

ahead in North Africa...but the vision of ultimate victory is clear. That's why people here arethinkingmore about the future. They know that an Allied Committee has been making estimates of food and medical supplies needed to rehabilitate the conquered countries; but they want to know who will administer this relief....for they know that during the first few months food will determine the political complexion of the local administration. They know from their own Foreign Secretary that there are no negotiations between Britain and the United States about post-war economic relations. They know that after this war America will control a huge fleet of commercial aircraft, the world's largest merchant marine, and the economic resources to dominate most of the world's markets. What is more natural than that American questions about the future of the British Empire should be answered by questions about our post-war tariff? Why shouldn't the British ask if we plan to include a most favoured traitor clause in our agreements with liberated countries?

Questions of this kind will be flung back and forth across the Atlantic during the next year; and that will be an indication of health and strength....provided the questions and answers are equally frank. And provided that censors on both sides don't stretch their military mandate, as they have done recently, to cover honest differences of opinion on political matters. There seems to be some difference of opinion between Admiral Darlan and

the radio he controls, about such matters. Here is a quotation from a recent broadcast by Radio Morocco - it was given in French for Frenchmen in North Africa: "You will not believe that the fight for which we are preparing here is that of the Jews and Liberals....And besides, what a disgrace if we expected the Germans to protect us against our Jews and our revolutionaries"...and the broadcast continued...."You have hated French democracy out of nationalism and a healthy awareness of the German menace. This war which has had its origin in an American war will be long and hard...it will bring about the liberation of the Mother Country. And if certain people want to call it the war of the democracies, it is up to us to act in such a way that, as far as France is concerned, it shall give birth to an aristocracy". That's a quotation from Radio Morocco.

There was a moving movement in the House of Commons last week. The Foreign Secretary vowed vengeance against those responsible for the mass slaughter of Jews on the Continent. A small man, with grey hair and gold-rimmed spectacles and a little moustache, suggested that every Member stand in silence...and they did. Such an event has never before happened in that undemonstrative House. The man's name was Sampson Cluse; he seldom speaks in the House of Commons; but the other day he made history because he sensed that men's souls were outraged with these murderers.....

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY DECEMBER 27, 1942.
23.00-23. 15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Thus ends the first year of Global War. Last December the whole world became one vast battlefield...a contest between the two greatest military coalitions known to history. A year ago all the separate wars became one, and the two groups of powers began to plan and practice world strategy. Germany and Japan were to link up across the Indian Ocean, and for a while their chances looked good; but they allowed themselves to be diverted from their primary objective. The Japanese tried for Australia and for India, and failed in both places. The Germans drove for Suez with the Afrika Corps...threw one army across the Don against Stalingrad, and another into the Caucasus...and today all three are gravely threatened. They might have achieved victory in one or even two theatres; but they divided their forces, over-reached themselves, and are now everywhere on the defensive.

This state of affairs is due not only to German mistakes....it's due as well to the heroism of Russian armies and the brilliance of Russian Generalship. The weight of guns, tanks and planes they have thrown into the present offensive, and the careful staff work that has marked each succeeding phase has astounded even Russia's most ardent admirers here. As one English expert said to me the other day: "If you feel like being grateful to anyone, or if you see anyone that looks like Santa Claus...you may be sure it's Joe Stalin." While the Axis east and west tried to do too much too quickly, the Allies held their hand in the face of a rising clamour

for action. The fact that we were not led into some premature diversionary move, and the fact that the Russians agreed - however reluctantly - to that policy is impressive evidence of the strength of the Allied coalition. The military planning of the North African campaign - both ends of it - was carried out by men who worked harder and in closer harmony than has ever before been achieved. And when our men and the British set out in that great convoy the oceans must have beenproud to bear them. There were differences of opinion between London and Washington over our handling of the political situation in North Africa...there may well be similar divergence of views in the future...but nothing has happened to diminish British confidence in the military leadership of General Ike Eisenhower. There was no criticism of his appointment...and there has been none of his conduct of operations. British troops of the First Army are doing most of the fighting in Tunisia; they reached for Tunis and Bizerta, but the Germans were there in too great strength and General Anderson's men had to give ground. But the fact - and it is a fact - that Eisenhower commanding land, sea and air in the biggest combined operation, continues to enjoy the respect and confidence of the British is a definite item on the credit side of the ledger....So is the steadily rising curve of manpower and production of the Allies.

Here in Britain the first year of Global war has produced many changes. The Luftwaffe has been employed elsewhere, and that has meant almost complete absence of air raids except for a few raids

on Cathedral towns, and hit-and-run attacks along the coast. British factories and shipyards have had to contend with the blackout but not with bombs. Civilian consumer goods have gradually disappeared from the shops...more millions of women have gone into industry or into the armed forces....the draft age has been lowered to eighteen.....people are more tired and less well-dressed. Travelling is more difficult, food more monotonous; but everyone is working...there is plenty of money, even if there isn't much to spend it on....people appear cheerful and confident. In cities that were derelict and dying you never see a beggar on the street. Movies and theatres are full...more books are being read. In other words, wartime existence has come to seem almost normal. People in offices don't work as long hours as they did...the whole country seems more relaxed, more confident and certainly more interested in the future. Curiosity about America has grown by leaps and bounds... any American over here could spend his whole time lecturing about home. American expressions are becoming part of the common currency of English speech. A year ago you seldom saw an English girl chewing gum...now if you visit a town where American troops are stationed, the girls seem to be chewing as though trying to make up for lost [illegible]s. American boys on leave stand about holding up the lamp-posts just as they do at home. The first year of Global war brought the Americans to Britain and the place will never be the same again.

As the year ends more people are thinking about the future. The Governments in exile are making estimates of the food, medicine

and raw material required to rehabilitate their countries; some of them but not all may be hoping to ride back to power on Allied food trains. There is talk about the future of North Africa. The British Government continues to maintain an eloquent silence about the assassination of Admiral Darlan and the appointment of General Giraud as his successor. It would be the height of hypocrisy to suggest that the Admiral's passing caused any sorrow in this country; and while there is hope that the new arrangement may provide the basis for greater French unity, there are those who feel that Darlan's death solved ~~the~~ a problem but not the problem. Many people, including the Editor of the London Sunday Times, find the reason for the secrecy about the identity and motives of the assassin unconvincing. I think that probably British concern about North Africa is based upon the belief that it is a proving ground for political policy and an understanding that local hatreds will be worse wherever we go on the Continent. What happens in the liberated countries will be largely decided by the United States. Many of the weapons and men that free them will be American...most of the food that will feed them will be American...most of the merchantmen carrying the stuff will fly the Stars and Stripes.

I believe that any American who watched the first year of Global war from London would have at the end of it one dominant impression, and that would be the power and responsibility of his own country

It is fashionable, and probably true, to speak of this war as a revolution. When the French made their revolution more than a hundred years ago,they hoped to regulate the destiny of nations and found the liberty of the world. That is the task that now confronts America and her Allies.

The immediate task, of course, is to defeat the Axis. We have been promised by various spokesmen that Italy will feel the weight of an Allied offensive as soon as the North African coast is clear. Certainly she is the most vulnerable, having none of the raw materials of war such as copper, oil, coal, tin, nickel and phosphates. In peacetime Italy didn't produce as much as one-fifth of her own raw materials. The shortages can only be made good from German-controlled territories, and everything must be hauled over the Alps. The Italian system of rail communications is more vulnerable to bombing than any other in Europe. Of the five routes across the Alps, four converge on Milan in Northern Italy. But the real railway bottleneck is at Bologna; there six main lines meet before they divide and run South along the east and west coasts of the Italian leg. Most of Italy's coal comes across the Gothard pass. This line carries about 150 trains a day. If it were put out of action for a week it would mean about a thousand trains held up. These railway lines are today even more important because the bombing of Genoa, Turin and Milan must have destroyed vast quantities of reserve material stored in those cities. In addition to normal commercial

traffic, the Italian railways must carry soldiers up into France; German troops and material moving south to the Italian islands; and even a few Italian formations heading for the bleak and bitter front in Russia. The whole Axis defence system in Italy depends upon those big switching yards at Bologna. This is one of the most attractive bombing targets in Europe. Compared with it Rome is of little importance. During the last week there has been a lot of discussion about declaring the Italian capital an open city. That would mean the removal of all troops, government offices, and an agreement not to ship any war materials through Rome. ~~British opinion~~ The British public appears to be uninterested in this proposal, although people who live in Canterbury, Exeter, Bath and the other Cathedral towns could not reasonably be expected to welcome it on the grounds of protecting historical monuments. The fact of the matter is there are many bombing targets in Italy that would pay bigger dividends.

There are many circumstantial stories about discontent in Italy; and there isn't much doubt that the Italians are heartily sick of the war; but no one has yet suggested a method as to how they can get out of it without landing themselves in a worse mess. There wouldn't be much advantage in exchanging British bombs for German; or in welcoming American and British troops on the beaches while the Germans are in the cities and on the airfields. The information reaching London certainly proves that Italian

morale is bad, but there is nothing to indicate that the explosive events predicted in Washington some time ago are imminent.

A little more than a year ago I stood in that crowded room under the big dome in Washington, and heard the President ask for a Declaration of War. And as I watched those men and women, as I had watched other men and women in London more than two years before, trying so hard to be casual while making history.... I realised that Congress had decreed the freedom of the world. We are yet far from achieving it. On occasion we have done less than our Allies expected. But we have done more than our enemies believed possible. We have not fought and suffered as the Russians; nor have we sacrificed as the British; but we have brought hope and confidence to a world that was waiting, and the years of trial and tribulation may be many.....but the sunrise gates of fulfilment are opening before us. Thus ends the first year of Global War.

This is london.. Thus ends the first year of Global War..last december the whole world became one vast battlefield..a contest between the two greatest military caolitions known to history..A year ago all the seperate wars became one and the two groups of powers began to plan and practice world strategy ...Germany and Japan were to link up across the Indian Ocean and for a while their chances looked good but hey allowed themselves to be diverted from their primary objective..The Japanese tried for Australia and for India and failed in both places..The Germans drove for Suez with the Afrika Corps..threw one army across the don against Stalingrad and another into the caucausus..and today all three are gravely threatened..They might h achieved victory in one or even two theatres but they divided their forces overreached themselves and are now everywhere on the defensive..This stste of affairs is due not only to german mistakes..its due as well to the heroism of Russian armies and to the Brilliance of Russian Generalship... The weight of guns tanks and planes they have thrown into the present offensive and the carefull staff work that has markedeach suceeding phase has astounded even Russias most ardent admireres here..as one English expert said to me the other day..if you feel like being gratefull to anyone or if you see anyone that looks like Santa Clause..you may be sure its Joe Stalin....While the Axis east and west tried to do too much too quickly the allies held their hand in the face of a rising clamour for action..The fact that we were not lead into some premature diversionary move and the fact that the Russians agreed however reluctantly to that policy is impressive evidence of the strength of the Allied coalition..The military planning of the North African campaign..both ends of it..was carried out

by men who worked harder and in closer harmony than has ever before been achieved..and when our men and the British set out in that great convoy the oceans must have been proud to bear them... There was one thing that should be said about the political differences of opinion between London and Washington over our handling of the political situation in North Africa..there may well be similiar divergence of views in the future..but nothing has happened to diminish British confidence in the military leadership of General Ike Eisenhower There was no criticism of his appointment..and there has been none of his conduct of operations..British troops of the first army are doing most of the fighting in Tunisia..they reached for Tunis and Bizerta but the german were there in too great strength and General Andersons men had to give ground..but the fact..and it is a fact that Eisenhower commanding land sea and air in the biggest combined operation,continues to enjoy the respect and confidence of the British is s definite item on the credit side of the ledger..So is the steadily rising curve of manpower and production of the allies...

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Well dressed...Travelling is more difficult,food more monotonous,but everyone is working there is plenty of money even if there isnt much to spend it on..people appear cheerfull and confident..~~you never see the street~~ In cities that were derelict and dying you never see a beggar on the street..Movies and theatres are full..more books are being read..In other words wartime existence has ~~become~~ come to seem almost norma normal..people in offices dont work as long hours as they did..the whole country seems more relaxed,more confident and certainly more interested in the future..Curiosity about America has grown by leaps and bounds..any american over here could spend his whole time lecturing about home.... American expressions are becoming part of the common currency of English speeech...A year ago you seldom saw an English Girl chewing gum..now if you visit a town where American troops are stationed the girls seem to be chewing as though trying to make up for lost years... American boys ~~in~~ ~~khakhi~~ onleave stand about holding up the lamposts just as they do at home.~~The greatest~~ The first year of Global war brought the Americans to Britain and the place will never be the same agin...~~It has been a year of~~

As the year ends more people are thinking about the future..the governments in exile are ~~planning for food and medi~~ making estimates of the food medicine and raw material required to rehabilitate their countries..some of them but not all may be hoping to ride back to power on allied food trains..There is talk about the future of Nor North Africa...The British Government continues to maintain an eloquent silence about the assasination of Admiral Darlan and the appointment of General Giraud as his sucessor..It would be the height of Hyprocisy to suggest that the Admirals passing caused any sorrow in this country ~~but there is hope that the new~~ and while there is hope that the new arrangement may provide the basis for greater French Unity there are those who feel that Darlans death solved a problem but not the problem..Many people including the editor of the London Sunday Times find the ~~security reasons~~ reasons for the secrecy ~~silence~~ about the identity and motives of the assasin unconvincing..I think that probably British concern about North Africa is based upon the ~~realisation that~~ belief that it is a proving ground for political policy and an understanding that local hatreds will be worse wherever we go on the continent. ~~As a matter of fact I don't believe any American would have watched the first year of global war from London without believe that any American who watched the first year of this global war from London must~~..what happens in ~~those~~ the liberated countries will be largely decided by the United States..~~not only because of our armed power but because we will~~ ~~The weapons to free them and the food to feed them will be under our control~~ Many of the weapons and men that free them will be american..most of the food that will feed them will be American..most of the merchantmen ~~x~~carrying the stuff will fly the stars and stripes.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 3, 1943.
23.00-23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: The first broadcast of a New Year should be a good time for a little prophecy...provided one can forget what's happened to all the prophets of earlier years. Anyway, I'd like to risk a couple...The first is this: If the astounding Russian advances continue, the United Nations will be faced again with a demand that something be done to help the Red Armies...that an offensive be launched in the West. There may be a tendency to forget that the North African offensive was on the books, almost underway, when many were accusing their leaders of doing nothing. Sometimes it's more useful to look back instead of ahead.... particularly it will be helpful to remember that the Germans did not dare to attack this Island when it was almost defenceless... a few squadrons of fighters, fewer bombers, less than a hundred tanks and not many more guns. Our landing on the Continent will require long planning and courage, and it will face an opposition vastly superior to that which stopped the German from coming here. It can't be improvised...and one is entitled to hope rather than to prophesy that public clamour will not force premature action.

The second prophecy is pretty certain...in fact it's a sure thing...and it is that food will remain the principle topic of conversation in this country. Shipping will be needed to supply the fighting fronts...the U-Boats will be out in full force, although new scientific devices in aircraft will give them more trouble. No one expects this Island to go hungry, but food won't

be plentiful or varied...it will be monotonous but it will be the conversational standby - like the weather used to be. There will even be a lot of talk about food after the war...food for other people. Do you remember what happened ~~after the last war~~ as a result of the last war? About three million people on the Continent of Europe died of sheer starvation - something like seven million died in Russia as a result of the shortage of food. The British continued meat rationing through 1919, and at the beginning of 1920 they had to cut the sugar ration below the wartime level. Rationing will continue in this country for a long time after the war ends. Britain produces now only about three-quarters of her food, and is already receiving relief under the polite term of Lend-Lease. The soil is wearing out; there will be a great need for fertilizers, both here and on the Continent.

Here in London there is an inter-Allied Relief Committee making plans for the future. One of their problems is how to restore to a normal diet about three hundred million people, and that doesn't include the Russians or the British. It will mean something like one million two hundred and fifty thousand European railway cars of food. An Allied wheat pool of a hundred million bushels has been agreed upon; that'll be enough to feed a hungry Continent for just about one month.

The mechanization of agriculture, and the destruction that will be wrought by retreating German armies, will make the problem much more difficult this time than it was last. There will be

needed not only food, but raw materials, medicine and clothes. It is the opinion of those working on the problem that we must build up stocks now, or face disaster after the war.

The first problem will be shipping, and most of the world's merchant tonnage will be under the American flag. Then will come the matter of distribution, which in the opinion of experts will require people who know both nutrition and politics...for those who have food to give away will exercise great political influence. The problem will be to restore the physical and mental health of a Continent. Somebody must speak with authority in allocating supplies; and there is urgently needed the establishment of a high command for relief and reconstruction. After the last war the small fishing communities of the White Sea, cut off from their natural source of supply Moscow, received cigarettes, socks and chocolate from the Allies. The stuff was shipped in two trawlers, because the Americans insisted that their relief should wear the Stars and Stripes, while the British wanted their cigarettes and chocolates to be stamped with the Union Jack. One of the terms of the Armistice was that Germany should deliver fifty thousand ploughs to Yugoslavia. Germany delivered them, and followed them up with offers of service, maintenance and spare parts. The result was that the rest of the world was driven out of the plough market in Yugoslavia.

Priorities for peace are going to be in some ways as important as priorities for war. About the only thing that this Committee here in London can do is to figure out the requirements. They have not the means for fulfilling them, for they command neither the ships nor the food. No one knows how much food and crops the Germans will destroy as they fall back; but they might usefully be warned that such destruction will mean that we shall use against them their own principle, and see to it that they will be the last in Europe to be fed. For the time will come when someone must decide whether a shipload of wheat or dried milk shall go to Hamburg or to Rotterdam, or to Leningrad; and there is at the present time no such authority. The Germans planned carefully how they were to use their guns to get butter. People who have been studying the problem agree that we must plan with equal care how Europe is to be restored to health and hope, for without that even victory may mean disaster for millions of people. So you can see that it's a safe prophecy that food will be a main subject of conversation here, not only during the coming year but for several years to come.

Some of the problems that attend victory are already becoming clear in North Africa.....

According to General de Gaulle internal confusion in North Africa is steadily increasing. The day after Darlan was shot, de Gaulle suggested a meeting with General G iraud, but so far as we know no meeting has been arranged. The situation of France and the situation of the war will admit of no delay in solving the political problems of North Africa; that's what General de Gaulle thinks...and it's what many highly placed people here believe. There has been some disagreement between America and Britain over political aspects of the North African operation. The use of Admiral Darlan was questioned by most people here,including Cabinet Members who had access to all the facts. At the time British censorship prevented American reporters here from saying that; the reason given was that nothing must be said that would imply any lack of unity. Now we are faced with a new but difficult situation and it should be talked about...even though censorship in North Africa continues to conceal much vital information. It may be that frankness will divide Britain and the States, but polite pampering surely will. This is not a disagreement about men; it is not the case that we support Giraud while the British plead the cause of de Gaulle. Both men are equally anxious to fight the Germans even if many of Giraud's supporters showed little appetite for that duty during ~~thexfaxxxxxxd~~ 1940 and '41. This discussion is about the future of France...all of it. There are some who fear that someday the French people may be confronted with

a French General Franco arriving from North Africa. The composition of any provisional government is a matter of concern to the allies and to the French, because any such authority depends for its establishment and maintenance upon Allied power. For the time being, all principles of Democratic representative government have been discarded in North Africa. There are twenty or thirty elected French deputies now at liberty; they might form a provisional government. As for Algeria, which is part of France, the constitution says that when the government in Paris is unable to govern the regional parliaments shall assume authority. If that were done it might serve to reassure those Frenchmen who wonder what chances they will have of regaining their independence after a totalitarian regime has had a few years to solidify its position.

In today's Spectator there is an interesting article by Andre Philip, a distinguished Frenchman who is National Commissioner for the Interior and for Labour in the Free French Government. No one knows more about what's going on in France. He sees two conditions that must be met by any provisional government. It must rally the largest number of fighting supporters in North Africa; and as for Occupied France, itmust retain the confidence of the French people at home and if possible fire them with enthusiasm, and thirdly there must be certain moral and juridical values...respect of the human person, the supremacy of right, Republican legitimacy. That phrase, Republican legitimacy, is one that we shall hear again, for

the Free French want a government based on law controlled by men who have never indulged in the practice of shootings, the concentration camp and arbitrary arrest. And Andre Philip adds this warning: "If, as the result of ill-considered haste, unification were to be arranged without the essential moral guarantees, a break might possibly develop between the fighting forces and the forces of resistance at home, more particularly as regards the working classes, with serious repercussions which might eventually make impossible the peaceful reconstruction of our beloved country". In other words, disappoint the French movement of internal resistance and face the prospect of civil war in France when this war is over. The British don't want a civil war in France...she is their nearest neighbour. There is much confidence in the military qualities of General Giraud, but there is much concern about the semi-demi Fascists who surround him. The British, who wasted both time and opportunities before this war began, have learned that what happens today will condition the politics of tomorrow. Their attitude is born of bitter experience...maybe it's wrong...they have been wrong before; perhaps their thinking is conditioned by daily contact with so many Europeans who have no future except as it may be hammered out and ordered by the Allies.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 10, 1943.
23.00-23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Beans for breakfast...that's what Lord Woolton, the Food Minister, would like British housewives to serve. In order to encourage them he has made it possible to buy canned beans without coupons, and they'll probably buy them. The things that Lord Woolton has done to the diet of this country are astonishing; but even more remarkable is the fact that you hear favorable comment about him and his Ministry of Food whenever the matter of eating comes up for discussion, and it generally does come up for discussion. One reason for Lord Woolton's success is the belief of most people that whatever happens to their food the same thing will happen to other people's. In other words, the belief that there's fair play all around, competent administration....and no politics. The Minister of Food, who used to run a group of chain stores, appears to be interested only in food, and while his Ministry has not been free from criticism he is certainly building up a reputation that may be useful to him later on, if he decides that politics might be more interesting than a return to trade.

But there are more ~~important~~ interesting things to talk about than the imminence of beans for breakfast, and the political prospects of the Minister of Food. This country has had one permanent problem since 1940 - Manpower. There weren't enough men to fight and work and carry on the essential civilian occupations. The result has been seven million full-time women

workers, and about three-hundred-thousand doing part-time work. The average working week in war industry is between 54 and 56 hours. After Dunkirk the work week went up to seventy hours, but no people could stand that pace for long, so the number of hours was reduced to the present level.

If you're interested in how Britain has tried to solve its manpower problem, you ought to know just a little of the background. Between the two wars this country accomplished something like a peaceful industrial revolution. By the time this war came almost every industry, all political parties, and all the most important organisations of employers had accepted the principle of collective bargaining. Wages and hours of work were established by agreement between Labour Unions and Employers' organisations. Early in 1940 there was a growing scramble for workers. Employers were ~~bribing~~ trying to bribe away the employees of their neighbors. This led to a rapid and unnecessary turn-over of labor, reduced efficiency in the factories, and caused some war industries to be short of workmen, just because those workmen had found employment at higher wages in factories that had nothing to do with producing war material. The Government met the problem with a piece of revolutionary legislation called The Essential Work Order. Briefly that Order meant this: No man working in an essential industry could quit without the permission of the Ministry of Labour. He couldn't be fired unless the employer got permission from the Ministry. Local appeal boards were set up

but are seldom used. A man may be suspended by his employer, but if he appeals and wins a decision he is paid for the time lost.

Later on both men and women were conscripted, and those who are unattached may be sent from one part of the country to another, just as though they were in the Army. The net result was to tie the worker to his job and prevent him from quitting just because he could get more money somewhere else, or because he didn't like the foreman. Side by side with this control of labour is the Excess Profits Tax levied upon industry. The theory of this tax is very simple. It's designed to preventany Company from making additional profits as a result of the war. That means that any profits over and above those which it earned in pre-war days are taken by the Government; not just part of the profits but the whole thing, one hundred percent. For example, if a Company had net profits of a million dollars in 1937, and a profit of two million dollars in 1940, the additional one million would be taken by the Government.

In order to establish a basis for this tax a Corporation may choose their average profits for any one or ~~any two of the~~ two-year period between 1935 and 1937. Anything they make over that goes to the Government. At some undefined date after the war is over, the Corporations will get a twenty percent refund to help tide them over the transfer from war to peace. But even that twenty percent will be subject to Income Tax, and none of it

can be distributed to Shareholders. But a Corporation isn't finished with the Tax Collectors when it has paid the Excess Profits Tax. Anything they have left over must bear an Income Tax of roughly fifty percent. Before the war that Tax was only twenty-five percent. In all this you'll see that the Government has pretty well pinned down and frozen both industry and labour. But there is still the problem of Absenteeism, of people who for one reason or another just don't go to work. If a man or woman violates the regulations ~~and is found guilty~~ - and quitting without permission, or being consistently late for work is a violation - they may be sent to jail for three months - fined four hundred dollars - or both. The most common causes of Absenteeism are sickness and injury, shopping difficulties, the care of children and the preparation of meals, and fatigue due to long hours combined with long journeys to and from the factories. In some cases absence results from feelings rather than facts. For instance, workers in permanently blacked-out factories say they get a feeling of depression due to the absence of sunlight. When there is idle time due to a shortage of material they feel that taking a day or two off won't make any real difference. Then, too, many workers don't realise the importance of the routine job they're doing. The money incentive isn't enough to keep them working regularly, because many of them can't find anything to spend the money on. They can't spend it on food, or clothing, for those things are rationed. There aren't many luxuries left to buy; travelling is uncomfortable; so the financial incentive

is not enough. Workers must be told, preferably by one of their fellow-workers why the job they're doing is important.

Here are some of the things that have been done in various places in this country to cut down Absenteeism. Grocery stores provide shopping facilities during the lunch-hour, and after the factory closes; - in some cases they stay open until eight or nine at night - and they see to it that women who work get their fair share of non-rationed food. In some cases women workers are given cards entitling them to priority in stores and on buses. Soldiers, sailors and airmen who have fought with the weapons produced in a given factory are sent to talk to the workers - they tell them of the excellence of their weapons, of the need for more, and the price paid for faulty workmanship.

Some people over here say that the Ministry of Labour hasn't ~~xxxdx~~ made sufficient use of its powers of compulsion. But the general opinion seems to be that the British working man, like his American counterpart, doesn't take kindly to dictation, and that the best cure for Absenteeism is decent working conditions - the arbitration of disputes between Labour and Management - and above everything else, repeated explanations of the importance of his work. Confidence in the permanency of peace and the security of post-war jobs would also help. For men who had no jobs before this war began, and who fear that they may have no job when it's over, can't reasonably be expected to give of their best. And it is the opinion of most sober observers in this country that the working and fighting must go on for a long time.

There is no disposition here, either publicly or privately, to discount the importance of the Russian victories. ~~xxxxxxx cartoonists are constantly tempted to compare the present with 1918xx~~ But no sane person expects the Russians to win the war single-handed. And there is no reason to believe that the German retreat from the Caucasus will shatter the morale of the crack German divisions in that area. If they believe that their Commanders have withdrawn them with slight loss from a position that might have become a trap, they may fight better outside Rostov than they would have along a railway which might be cut at any time in their rear.

The last week has seen the end of a delusion about the position in Tunisia. The absence of military success there, coupled with ~~the uncertain political~~ uneasiness about the political position, has produced distinct noises of discontent in the British Press. There is no disposition to doubt the final outcome, but there is a fear that the delay must hold up plans for offensive action ~~elsewhere~~ in other theatres during 1943. The cartoonists are constantly tempted to compare the present with 1918; and the editorial writers cannot help remembering that the German collapse at the end of the last war surprised the Allied statesmen, who had expected another year or perhaps two of bitter warfare. But the delay in North Africa has served to remind people that we have yet to meet the Germans in strength; and that we have yet to find a place on the Continent of Europe where they can be met.

xxxxx~~During the war~~ ~~When they are finally defeated the English-speaking members of the Grand Alliance will want two things: some reasonable assurance that all this will not happen again; and the prospect of work.~~ The British made a fundamental error in assuming that the Germans would fight this war as they fought the last one. It may be equally fallacious to assume that they will crack this time as they did before. No one here is making any public predictions about the duration of the war; but on the basis of past experience careless talk will cost us many lives before the thing is ended. ~~This war is no big that few people have information~~xx The piecing together of little bits of information is the way the enemy builds up the picture of Allied resources and plans. Even the smallest bit of information may supply the missing piece of the puzzle. The other day a man in a train talked about a secret device used against night bombers; and a man in a barbers' shop revealed the location of a big ammunition dump. I could tell you from conversations overheard in public places when three ships have left a certain British port. I know where a particular unit of air strength is, because a flyer spoke of floods and there had been floods only in one district. I first heard of the British and Free French attack on Dakar when a man proposed a toast in a public restaurant. ~~It was no use that careless talk~~xx During the days when invasion might have come at any hour, people were careful about what they said; but distance doesn't destroy the usefulness of information to the enemy. ~~The attitude~~ There's a farmer on the coast of

England those attitude might serve as an example to everyone. A friend of mine asked him directions, and the farmer demanded to see his identity card - which everyone is required by law to carry. My friend, thinking to have some sport with the local yokel, then asked to see his identity card; whereupon the farmer replied: "No fear! I know who I be!"

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 17, 1943.
23.00-23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: We are having an air raid...of a sort... So far it's a pretty puny effort. Gunfire has been heavy at times; but tonight's raid seems to be something of an improvised reply to last night's heavy attack on Berlin - as one shadowy figure remarked to me in the street tonight: "Not much coming down; Jerry must be losing his grip".

When the guns began working I went out to see how Londoners were taking their ~~firstxairxxaidx~~ return to night bombing. In the little blind alleys that are called Mews they were warming up the engines of ambulances and fire trucks; the fire watchers and air raid wardens - wearing tin hats that had been gathering cobwebs for many months, and carrying their stirrup pumps and buckets - were going to their posts. In tall buildings people began to drift down towards the cellar, where many of them talked of earlier raids. It was all the old familiar movement of a veteran people. Some of them remarked that it was nice to hear the guns again, but they weren't very hearty about it.

Tomorrow the Germans will be putting out big stories of a reprisal raid on London. The handful of planes they sent over tonight was more on the order of an insomnia raid, on the pattern of those in the summer of 1940. If the Germans want to run an old-fashioned blitz on London, they will have to move more bombers than they now have on to those airfields across the Channel.

I don't know how many people were frightened tonight, but when the first bomb came down I was reminded of the saying that he who says he has never known fear has never snuffed a candle with his bare fingers.

When Parliament meets again this week we shall begin to hear more talk of the Beveridge social security scheme. The Opposition, after waiting for the first flush of enthusiasm to die down, is now taking shape. There is almost an effort to kill the plan by kindness. This month's issue of the Onlooker, a publication of the Conservative Central Office, calls the Beveridge report large and bold in its conception...and imaginative...but the main plea is that the plan be deferred. The opposition to this plan for security from birth to death, with its provisions for unemployment insurance, free medical aid, allowances for marriage, birth, old age and death, is likely to follow these lines: The critics will say the scheme depends upon the absence of mass unemployment; no way has been found to avoid that so why not wait. They will also say the plan depends upon prosperous trade and industry, especially the revival of export trade; and since no one knows what will happen to business, the plan should be deferred till happier and more prosperous times. There will also be the argument that such complete security will damage initiative and the will to work; that the cost of the plan will really be the funeral expenses of a nation and the will of its people to labour and save. The answers to these arguments will go something like this: The very fact that the future is uncertain makes this scheme for minimum security indispensible...a way must be found for everyone to have bread before anyone has cake...and the Beveridge plan provides only for the bare minimum; and it also

states that an unemployed man must after a certain time undergo training for another job if he is to go on receiving his weekly cheque. Sir William Beveridge's answer to the question about security demoralising the worker is that what had been done about unemployment had demoralised governments more than individuals. Once a government decided it could give an unemployed man an income and go on leaving him unemployed they went on doing so.

This Beveridge report has caused a lot of discussion over here, and there will be much more before it becomes law. If the Conservative Party decides to oppose it there will be a first-class political battle; but the Conservatives won't go after it in the open...they are more likely to try to whittle it away while at the same time praising its objectives. Sir James Grigg, the Secretary of State for War, will have some explaining to do when Parliament meets. The Army Bureau of Current Affairs - the organisation that arranges discussion groups in army camps - had a simple summary of the Beveridge report prepared for use in the discussion groups. Sir James Grigg banned it...apparently on the grounds that such controversial material should not be discussed by soldiers till it had been debated in Parliament, and the Government position had been made known. His decision has been bitterly criticized, and he will be hard pressed to justify his decision to the House of Commons.

Sometime during the next few weeks the Conservatives will be faced with another test. Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Minister of

Labour, is introducing a Bill to control wages and working hours in the catering trade. He wants to eliminate sweated labour in the hotels and restaurants by establishing wage minimums and standard hours of work. Some two hundred Members of Parliament have announced their intention of opposing the Bill...a delegation went to Mr. Bevin asking him to withdraw the Bill. His answer was a firm "No". The Minister of Labour welcomes a fight, and he will almost certainly win this one. The most important problem facing this country after the threat of the submarine is the shortage of Manpower. The debate on that vital subject will be held in secret.

Last night while the people of Berlin were down in their air raid shelters, I spent some time in a London shelter. There wasn't any air raid here, but I wanted to see what was going on. It was one of the new deep shelters...the finest I've ever seen... nearly three hundred feet underground. It looked like a huge subway tube, and that's what it will be after the war. The whole thing is painted white with rows of triple-decked bunks along each side. The lighting is good...the place is air-conditioned; there's even space for recreation and religious services...a small hospital...a loudspeaker system for playing phonograph records... drinking fountains and modern sanitation...almost the comforts of home - deep down under London. In fact, it was home for the night for nearly a thousand Canadian and British soldiers. Many of them can find no place to sleep when they are up in town on leave, so they gather at three or four central points, and buses take them to this modern shelter where they spend the night. There is even a canteen down there, and I heard one Canadian say it was the only place where he ever got enough sugar in his tea. The men can even sleep until ten on Sunday morning. It's all very comfortable, very modern. The woman who runs the ventilating system, with its big battery of dynamos and switches, has two sons in the army overseas; and she does the job for nothing because she says she's lonesome when she has time to think.

The more I wander about this country...the more people I talk with...the more convinced I become that people at home and people over here want the same thing - a peace that will last and a job that will do the same thing. There may be differences between Wall Street and the Bankers in the City of London...or between the Foreign Office and our State Department... but there isn't much difference in the hopes and fears of the people who work with their hands. However, experience alters attitudes, and in this war it is only natural that tradition, geography, prejudice, and the variations of sacrifice should produce some divergence of views. That happened between Britain and France in the early days of this war...later on it happened between this country and Russia. In war no two nations share exactly the same experiences. Words that were once common currency come to have different meanings. The word cold doesn't mean in this country what it does to the Germans in Russia; fire to those who saw the city of London burn means something different than it does to those who didn't. You could expand the list indefinitely. People here aren't as interested in the Pacific as you are, because they don't know as much about it, and their troops aren't fighting in the Solomons. You lack some of their interest in the internal affairs of the Continent, because our history has been concerned with getting away from Europe while theirs has been an uneasy existence on the edge of it.

Historically the art of keeping Allies together has been one of the major problems of warfare. Today, when Allied capitals are within whispering distance of each other the problem is more difficult. Some rather harsh words have passed across the Atlantic during the last few days...there will probably be more to come. There has been some disagreement between Washington and London about the handling of French Northwest Africa...some strange things happened...but it might be worthwhile talking about a few things that didn't happen. The British Government did not demand that the territory should be handed over to de Gaulle any more than the Americans wanted to turn it over to Giraud. It was widely believed and publicly stated that General Eisenhower made the political decisions, and was running North Africa...but he is not. The so-called soft armistice terms - the terms to be offered if resistance was slight - were agreed upon before General Eisenhower left this country; and those terms left the French authorities in charge of the civil administration. Maybe that was wise... maybe it wasn't...but it is what happened. The British Government has now formally assumed its responsibility for policy in North Africa, and there is some hope that a meeting - if not an agreement - between General Giraud and General de Gaulle will take place soon. There has never been any sniping at General Eisenhower, officially inspired or otherwise. There has been bewilderment, and there has been criticism of the censorship; but no effort of any kind has been made to undermine confidence in the commanding General.

Criticism of the North African censorship has been widespread and hearty...and, incidentally, in the opinion of most newsmen, richly deserved.

There was and there still is a widespread fear that what we did in North Africa undermined the movement of resistance on the Continent; there was and there still is the belief that the political planning didn't measure up to the military planning; and there is above everything else the fear that the same thing may happen when we go to the Continent...that there may not be complete and prior agreement between Britain and America about the political policy to be pursued...agreement about our policy in the many civil wars which many people believe to be inevitable. In many ways the last war on the Continent of Europe might be called a shaking war...it shook the whole political and economic fabric of Europe. This war is the breaking war; it will smash much of the physical and political structure of the Continent. The making time will come when the Continent has been liberated...and what is made of it will depend very largely upon Anglo-American policy. And if our policy on the Continent is what it appears to have been in North Africa...or if we have no policy at all... then Britain is doomed to have an unhealthy and explosive Continent as a neighbour. That I think is the long-range concern of thoughtful people here about events in North Africa. There is still confidence about the military operations, although it is recognised that every week lost may upset the plans.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 24, 1943.
23.00-23.15 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: This might be called the Army's week-end over here. For years there's been plenty of praise for the Navy, the Royal Air Force and even for the civilians, butthe Army has had little glory and less praise. The Navy had to bring them back from Dunkirk...they were thrown out of Norway...out of Greece and Crete; Generals were changed and War Ministers too, but the British Army went right on being thrown out of Malaya and Burma. Generally the men fought well...there was much heroism but no victories. Abyssinia was cleared but that hardly seemed to count. The Army was a good target for the critics, and some of it began to think maybe the critics were right. But the capture of Tripoli has altered matters...The Eighth Army made fourteen hundred miles in eighty days; no army has advanced so far in such time. The planning was sound, the weapons good, and the supplies kept pace with the advance. There was much American help, but it was mainly a British show. Some idea of the problem can be gained from the fact that at El Alamein the artillery fired a thousand tons of shells in a single hour...and that battle was fought about thirteen thousand miles from the Army's home base.

Victor Emmanuel is no longer an Emperor, and he's only a King by permission of Hitler. The Italian Empire is gone, and the manner of its going will do much to improve the fighting spirit and the confidence of British Armies everywhere. There was a time when it was said that Rommel was the most popular General in England; but the myth of his invincibility has

been broken. The German withdrawal has been well executed, and the general opinion is that a formidable force has lived to fight again in Tunisia. It is safe to assume that Rommel has tried to save his best units for the final battle of Africa. The meagre information coming from Allied headquarters in North Africa tells us only that we are on the defensive in Tunisia, and that heavy fighting must be expected. There is no concealing the growing distress and impatience in this country. Mr. Harold MacMillan, the British Minister in Algiers, promised a house-cleaning, and then Peyrouton was appointed; presumably he was approved by the American and British governments, since they were the only ones who could have brought him there. Anyway, he was appointed...by whom and in whose name we are not told. One London paper remarks: "We have been promised a house-cleaning and union between Giraud and de Gaulle; these we thought to be the twin pillars of North African policy; but Peyrouton's appointment is the negation of both. It makes nonsense of all that we have been told of our intentions and purposes. There may be some reason for a choice which seems not only strange, but strange to the pointof lunacy". And the Daily Herald, which speaks for the Labour Party, adds: "If there are reasons let them be given".

So far the debate about North Africa has been concerned mainly with political matters, but there are signs that it may become more serious. For example today's Observer says: "It is difficult to escape the impression that we have all the time been

busy in French North Africa preparing ourselves the daggers which might stab us in the back at the first military reverse. The British First Army is deeply committed in this difficult campaign...With the Eighth Army approaching Tunisia the actual fighting will soon be an overwhelmingly British business". The Observer finds it not surprising that the country grows restive about its part in a political transaction for which its fighting men may have to pay the price in blood.

It may be that certain discussions between Allied leaders will solve the problems of North Africa and determine the future direction of the Allied offensive. It would be an amusing exercise in circumlocution to try to weasel by the censors such information as I possess. But curiosity will be satisfied soon enough. Those who expect immediate and startling results to emerge from conference, should remember how many months passed between the original decision to enter North Africa and the execution of the plan. Most Allied plans depend upon ships...and while official spokesmen occasionally permit themselves dark hints about submarine sinkings, we can't tell how far shipping shortage will delay offensive action. For the time being German strategy must be aimed at holding Tunisia, sinking ships, defending the Rostov corner, preparing a Spring offensive and hoping for aid from Japan. No one expects Japan to do anything against her own interests...but she cannot be indifferent to the fate of her partners in Europe. The Japanese now control some four-

hundred-million people, and are consolidating their gains. The Japanese Army probably still stands at two million men...only a small fraction of that army has been in action since last April. The Japanese can never be secure while Australia and India remain free; but they need time to mobilise their increased industrial strength. Germany and Japan must have one aim in common, and that is to prevent our building up a great mass of shipping for an offensive against the Continent. The submarine threat in the West is expected to increase, and if the Japanese could open another front in the East that would in effect be a second front against our shipping, which might give both Japan and Germany the time they need. Clearing the Mediterranean will save ships, and it will open both sides of the Continent to attack. Most people don't think the attack can be delivered before Tunisia is taken, and they fear that given time the Germans and the Japanese may divide our shipping dangerously. That's one reason you should be prepared for expressions of impatience from this country about delays that may occur in clearing that corner of Africa.

There's another thing that should be explained about the British attitude towards the war. They are more fond than any people in Europe of criticising their Generals...they have had a lot of practice at it. I'm not saying that's a good thing...only that it happens. In general the British are more restrained than we are, but they are less inclined to place complete and unquestioning

confidence in a given Commander. So if there should be questioning of American policy from time to time it will be in the British tradition, and it will probably be mild compared with what they have said about the policies of some of their own men.

But watching the war from London isn't all grand strategy and talk of conferences and future plans, and conversations with Cabinet Ministers. You end a week with a curious assortment of impressions and memories....That warm friendly feeling that returns to London each time there is an air raid...The Sergeant from Texas who stood watching as the barrage beat a roaring tattoo against the blue night sky; I asked him what he thought of his first raid, and he replied: "Just like a thunder storm back in Texas". A chunk of hot iron the size of a soup plate bounced off a tiled roof nearby, and he remarked: "Big hailstones they have over here!" There's going to be more light in trains and buses...enough to read by with reasonable comfort they tell us; that's welcome news, but it will probably mean the end of those railway conversations when everyone was just a voice. The little blue light overhead was like a little searchlight...occasionally you could see a man's hand when he reached out to offer you a cigarette. It was the sort of thing Rembrandt would have painted. There was some very good conversation between people who never saw each other. Maybe people will retain the habit of talking in trains even in the light.

I remember the picture of the approved wooden-soled shoes... they are to have leather treads. There is a shortage of alarm clocks in this country...in peacetime they were imported...many have broken down...the result is that people are late for work. Alarm clocks are coming from the States, but we have our own war production demands...that means that because an American who used to make alarm clocks is now making machines of war, a workman in Birmingham is late for work...It is becoming an inter-dependent world. Up to the end of last year 672 men and 92 women were sentenced to imprisonment for violating the orders of the Ministry of Labour...for failing to work where and when and at such wages as the Ministry stipulates. No employers were sent to prison. At a London railroad station you can now get a baked potato with a little dab of margarine on it...carry it away in your hand...like school days if they were only sweet potatoes. I saw a group of happy-go-lucky Canadian soldiers off to the skating rink, each man with his skates slung over his shoulder...they might have been schoolboys, only they were in battle dress.

The leaders of the Church of England, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, are urging the Government to do something about finding sanctuary for Jewish refugees. Members of Parliament are getting letters about it. There are several thousand Jews now in neutral countries, but they can't get out. The neutral countries are reluctant to let more come in unless there is some chance of

those already there reaching safety. Many people are convinced that Hitler means to exterminate the six million Jews now in Axis territory....Probably not many can get away, but some could if the Allies were willing to help. Threats of retribution against their murderers will save no lives.

Britain is starting the last round-up of manpower, concentrating industries and closing down luxury trades. After this there will be no more neckties...no more glassware...not even any pocketbooks. Last week I saw a man trying to look dignified while carrying home half a fish in his bare hands...there is a shortage of wrapping paper.

There is sadness in a London cab shelter; a cab shelter is one of those little wooden huts where taxi drivers gather to eat and drink tea...where the air is heavy with strong tobacco smoke and the odour of damp clothes...and where the conversation and the food are equally good. The man who ran it is dead...killed by a bomb. Another friend, Alexander Woolcott is dead. A little more than a year ago he was over here broadcasting for us. When I saw him last in New York he said: "Listen Repulsive, I want to do something about this war, and as soon as I'm able to travel I'll come back to London and we'll do some real broadcasts. Many people here will mourn him, for there is none to take his place....as a friend and as a broadcaster he was like a high level bomber in a flight of obsolete training 'planes.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 31, 1943.
23.00-23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: The Russians continue to win victories in the field, while the German leaders lash their people with whips of fear. On the southern part of the Russian front Hitler's armies are falling back on Krasnodar in the Kuban, having been flung out of Maikop before they were able to get the oil wells working. The Germans may be able to get back to Rostov, but they won't be able to travel the easy way. There is only a single line linking Krasnodar with Rostov; the only alternative is a winter Dunkirk across the frozen straits of Kersch. It's believed here that the Germans may be able to salvage a considerable number of men, but a great deal of their equipment - particularly the heavy stuff - will inevitably be lost.

While the Russians are winning military victories, their English-speaking Allies can be credited with two achievements in the field of psychological warfare. The Allied meeting at Casablanca was concerned with the future; while yesterday's speeches by German leaders dealt at length with the past. The fact that the meeting was held on the fringe of the European Continent cannot have encouraged the Germans. The communique that followed the meeting gave only small encouragement to people in this country, who recognise that the military decisions reached cannot be revealed. The fact that no solution of the North African political problem seems likely to be reached in the near

future, and the fact that Chinese and Russian representatives were not present, were the two principal causes of disappointment. The impression is growing that the clearing of Tunisia - which is a necessary prelude to further offensive operations - may require months instead of weeks. The objective of Montgomery's pursuit of Rommel from Alamein to Tunisia was not the recapture of Desert, but the destruction of German armies. This did not happen, and the Afrika Korps is now in Tunisia. On the southern part of that front French troops are now being attacked by elements of the Tenth Panzer Division, a veteran force that has fought in Poland, France and Russia. No one doubts that we can beat the Germans in Tunisia, but we have not yet done so. If the delay should be prolonged, the whole elaborate offensive schedule agreed upon at Casablanca ~~will be delayed~~ may have to be postponed.

The thing that has caught the imagination of this country was yesterday's impudent intrusion by British bombers into the "no capitulation" oratory at Berlin. It was the first time Britain has been represented at a daylight anniversary celebration in Germany since before the war. The raids that interrupted Goering and Goebbels weren't very important from the military point of view, but they must have increased uncertainty in Germany, and they certainly ~~provided people here~~ produced a confident chuckle here. You will probably be hearing more about the planes that carried out this raid. It is called the Mosquito...a twin-engined plane made almost entirely of wood. It's made in bits and pieces pretty

well all over Britain, in small furniture factories and wood-working shops. The speed is the secret, but it carries about a ton of bombs and travels about as fast as most modern fighters. It's worth remembering that a ~~thousand pounds~~ ton of bombs in the daylight may be worth eight or ton times that weight at night. These Mosquitoes have already been used in low level attacks on Oslo and Copenhagen. And people who read of their performances will now understand why it's almost impossible to buy new furniture; it's a case of the rocking-chair they might have had being used to bomb Berlin. ~~If the whole Allied bombing weight could be concentrated against Germany~~

There is probably more talk and less information about the U-Boat campaign than about any other aspect of the war. British and American production figures are comforting; but it isn't so much production that counts as the ability to despatch and deliver the goods. It is said that Admiral Donetz, the German submarine expert who has just been made head of the German Navy, was found to be insane while an Allied prisoner ~~of war~~ during the last war. He has certainly produced some new ideas in this war. The basic problem in submarine warfare is the training of crews. In the last war eighty percent of the German successes were achieved by about five percent of the U-Boat Captains. The Germans are producing submarines faster than they can produce experts to command and control them. The range of the submarine and the range of the torpedo has been increased. The German submarines now make

their attacks at night from long range, flock-shooting at whole convoys rather than at individual ships. They are, in effect, surface torpedo boats, and less skill is required to command them than in the old days that called for precision and great technical skill. The convoys need more flying and floating escorts. The proper use of aircraft - that is whether they're to be used for bombing industrial targets in Germany or for bombing cities at night, or for protecting convoys - is one of the most important problems facing Britain and America.

Occasionally, even in the midst of war something happens in this country to point the road Britain is travelling, and will travel. This week it was the announcement that a new kind of diplomat is to represent Britain abroad after the war. The plan is this: Men may be accepted for the Diplomatic Service from any social or economic sphere; their preliminary training abroad will be paid for by the Government. This means that the Diplomatic Service will be open to young men who cannot afford a period of education abroad; and it means too that they will have to study politics, economics and labor conditions, instead of just concentrating on how to wear striped trousers, an old school tie - and the making of pleasant conversation at tea parties. There is another element in the new plan that is almost revolutionary. Any man who represents Britain abroad and fails in his job may be fired,...

that is, not exactly fired, but he can at least be pensioned off and told to go home before he does any more harm. It is even proposed that the people in the Foreign Office here in London who deal with let us say Ruritania, should in fact know something about the country...should have spent some time there. ~~The said distinctions between the Diplomatic, Commercial and Consular Services are to be abolished~~ In the past Britain's Diplomatic Service has been recruited from a very small circle; it tended to represent the interests of certain sections of the nation; its members led a sheltered life, and often had little understanding of economic and social questions. In many cases their background was such that they had very limited contacts ~~against~~ amongst the foreign people with whom they lived. The British Foreign Office has been ~~reared of~~ fed on a class-conscious tradition. It is cautious and conservative. But it now seems to have concluded that a boy who is good enough to fly a Spitfire may be good enough to represent His Majesty's Government abroad, even though he hasn't been to the right school, and isn't possessed of independent means. Of course, this is only a plan on paper, and it won't come into operation until after the war; but it's important nevertheless, because it ~~means~~ is recognition that the basis of society in Britain is broadening, and that Britain's representatives abroad should ~~be more representative~~ represent a nation and not a class. This change will be gradual - everything is in this country - but the direction of change is unmistakable. If this plan is carried through, Britain's representatives abroad will be more truly representative

of the people they are supposed to represent.

Many people have told you that Britain has changed - and it has. Some of the change has been planned, but much of it has been forced upon the country by circumstances arising out of the war. There have been physical changes in the cities...that was done with bombs; there have been changes in the countryside... brought about by defence works and by new land brought under the plough. There have been changes in homes produced by broken families and inability to maintain large establishments; changes in transport and clothing and jobs. Maybe there have even been changes in spiritual values, but I am not competent to speak of that. But this country, halfway through the fourth winter of war, seems to me to be a fairer, more decent and friendlier place than ever it was in peacetime. The principal thing that has produced this change can be summed up in the one word rationing..or if you prefer rationing. It's irritating, it causes delays, you lose coupons and get tired of filling in forms...but it means an even break for everyone; it means that everyone has bread before anyone has cake; it means that the men who fight won't go short just because a few people at home have much money. Food rationing over here may not mean that no one will make huge profits outof this war, but it does mean that no one is going to get fat as a result of it.

The rationing of clothes means that I can't buy a new suit or another shirt - not even a pair of socks or a handkerchief - till the new coupons are issued. And it means that the men in North

Africa and in the Solomons and in Russia will have the clothes they need. Food rationing means things like this.....The other day I was flying with Coastal Command on submarine patrol in the Bay of Biscay - that generally means twelve to fourteen hours up there in the cold looking for enemy planes and submarines; for lunch we had a hard-boiled egg, some sandwiches, an orange and a piece of chocolate candy....it was the first time I'd seen oranges or candy or an egg for many weeks; the crew needs them, and what's more they were earning them everyday. If it hadn't been for rationing I, and a lot of other civilians, might have bought those things on the ground which would have meant that the boys up there wouldn't have had any. The other day when the Flying Fortress boys came back from Germany, they stood around eating big thick Hamburgers while waiting to be interrogated; anyone who saw them would be willing to go without steaks for a long time in order that those boys might have the biggest and best Hamburgers ever made. I can't talk about rationing at home, for I don't know anything about it; but over here it has produced unity, a feeling of mutual sacrifice, a better balanced diet, and a greater feeling of equality. Sometimes, in moments of optimism, I almost think it's even improved the quality of British cooking....

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY FEBRUARY 7, 1943.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: I've been sitting here in London listening to Bill Shirer. He has told you that Mr. Churchill is back in England; that the Germans are running short of living space in the Caucasus; and he said a lot of other things that interested me very much. But I've been sitting here thinking of the time we met in Amsterdam during the first winter of the war. I flew over from London, and Bill Shirer came down from Berlin, and we spent a lot of time talking while walking about the snow-covered streets, looking at the lights of that comfortable, neutral city. He asked me what had been done about rationing, and the control of manpower and industry in England. I replied: "Not very much"; and tried to explain that the strict rationing of food and clothing in Germany was considered by many people in England as a sign of weakness. Later I saw the same controls established in this country, and it wasn't a sign of weakness - it was a measure of unity and strength.

The Germans have now introduced new decrees; cut out their few remaining luxuries, and are scraping the bottom of the barrel for additional manpower. There is some disposition here to consider these new measures as panic decrees.....to over-estimate the highly emotional German reaction to Stalingrad; and to give too much weight to German predictions of grim days to come. As a matter of fact, many of the German announcements are so similar to

Mr. Churchill's "blood, tears and sweat" speech, that they ought to pay him a copyright fee. Whenever things have gone badly for Britain the politicians began to say: "We must recapture the Dunkirk spirit". The Germans have met disaster in Russia; but it is worth remembering that the Russians have paid a price for their victories - and it would be a mistake to under-estimate the fear-inspired determination and strength that may yet come out of Germany. Publicists here have made much of German reluctance to tell their own people of losses; but we have not been told about our losses at sea, which may be as damaging as German defeats in Russia. There are good and sufficient reasons for concealing shipping losses, but they should not be forgotten. We have the stuff to beat the Germans, but we haven't got it where it can be used - getting it there will mean more belt-tightening in this country, more severe rationing, and a continuing search for manpower. The submarines could starve this country. That won't happen, but their successes may force Britain to adopt measures quite as sweeping as those introduced by the Germans.

The informed impression here is that things may well get worse before they get better. There is no doubt about the final outcome, but a lot of people are concerned about Britain's place in the post-war world. Most Government statements on the subject could, without discourtesy, be termed glittering generalities or pious platitudes. But last week the House of Commons devoted

two days to a Debate on post-war economic problems. It was an important discussion; there was a lot of rhetoric about firm purpose and high courage being required; but out of the ~~fkmxmfx~~ rhetoric there emerged a few signposts to point the way Britain will travel, or wants to travel. The principal speaker for the Government was the Chancellor of the Exchequeur, Sir Kingsley Wood, a short roly-poly little man, with a tendency to teeter on his toes while speaking. His footwork in the House of Commons the other day was clever, for he dodged most of the embarrassing questions. Sir Kingsley's forecast was rather bleak; not only this country but the whole world will be poorer. The economic position of this country will be far from easy and may become dangerous. The first post-war problem will be to secure work for everybody. Sir Kingsley's theme song might be called: "Let the People Work". He forecast a continuation of restrictions, rationing and priorities for some time after the war. There would be a real danger of inflation, for people would have much money and little to spend it on. That pointed to ~~thexcontinuationx~~ continued control of the cost of living and the prices of goods. He hoped for some sort of international agreement about currency, so that if any one Government should be tempted to go too far, either in an inflationary or deflationary direction, it would be subject to checks by other Governments. Taxes will remain high for some time after the war, but he held out the hope that they might be reduced eventually.

The basic problem for post-war Britain will be the revival of export trade, and that can only be done by international agreement. It is significant, I think, that not once in the course of his lengthy speech did Sir Kingsley Wood mention the word gold.

After the last war this country had a boom in 1919 and a depression in 1921. In some areas there was prosperity, in others terrible poverty. After the last war France was a going concern, Italy an ally; Britain still had some foreign investments; the Scandinavian merchant ships were available for charter; there had been much less dislocation of industry than there has been in this war. By the time thisone ends Britain's foreign investments will be gone; America will control most of the merchant tonnage, and most of the transport aircraft. War industries created in the Dominions will further reduce overseas markets. The problem of demobilisation will be greater this time, not only because more men have been called up, but because hundreds of thousands of women will also be thrown back on the labour market. Britain's problem at the end of this war can be simply stated. It is this: There will be an Island of forty-seven million people, and it will be unable to support itself. The problem is: how is it to pay for the food and raw materials it must import? The answer to that question will determine the ~~possibility~~ possibility ~~of~~ political and economic peace in this country. In an old-fashioned

contest for the capture of foreign markets Britain would be beaten. The United States, with a vigorous, adaptable and undamaged productive machine could probably overbid and undersell her in any market in the world. Disaster seems inevitable, unless a new attitude towards international economic relations is developed.

Britain's interest in international trade will be greater than that of any other country; and this won't be because the British have suddenly become internationally minded. It will be because this Island can't live without it. It must export goods, or it must try to export some of its people .

One thing that disappointed the House of Commons was that Sir Kingsley Wood was unable or unwilling to indicate that plans for post-war trade were now being discussed with the United States and with the Soviet Union. The general tenor of the Debate seemed to be that after the war the world will be worse, not better off. So far as this country is concerned, many of the controls of industry, cost of living and working conditions will be continued for some time. The present system of priorities and rationing will not be immediately abandoned. In some cases there may be State ownership of production, but more often it will be State control or supervision. Britain must adapt her industries to new products and new methods.

There is ~~xxxx

after the war ends. The political controversy will come over such questions as how long the control is to continue, and particularly who is to administer the control and in whose interest. This does not mean that Capitalism is dead in this country - far from it. ~~But it does mean~~ If that should happen, a reactionary Conservative like Sir Kingsley Wood would not be the one to announce its demise. What itdoes mean is a widespread acceptance of the view that Britain's future economic policy must be based upon agreements between Governments - agreements about currency, about transportation, and about raw materials. This view is, I believe, held by the majority of the House of Commons; and it has been produced by the lessons of history and for reasons of self-interest.

The reason people are talking about post-war economics - the reason the House of Commons devoted two days to the debating of it - is this: There is a widespread belief that the United Nations are pursuing a common policy only because they are faced with a common danger; and there is the fear that when that common danger has been liquidated they will return to old practices, ~~unless~~

The effort to reach international agreements about ~~economic~~ post-war economic matters will probably begin with the United States, for we represent the major threat - I know this is a favorite theme of the German broadcasters in their efforts to

divide Britain and America, but that's all the more reason why it should be talked about frankly. We shall, whether we like it or not, emerge from this war as the world's dominant economic unit; and all Europe, including Britain, will watch and listen anxiously for an indication of our policy. ~~But Great Britain, in the opinion of many of her economists, will not be forced~~ Some people believe that Britain, being unable to go with the angels, must go with the United States; but there are several economists and politicians over here who believe that if there is no workable agreement with us, then Britain will be forced to gear her economic policy to one or another strong power on the Continent of Europe - perhaps Russia, perhaps some other power. If that should happen, the prospects of the next war beginning as a trade war between the hemispheres would appear to be excellent.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY FEBRUARY 14, 1943.
23.00-23.15 EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: The events of the past week have been interesting, important, and in some ways surprising. The mood of Britain seems to be one notof optimism but of exhilaration. The change is significant, and merits examination. When the German bombers began flitting about over the English countryside after the collapse of France, people in this country said: "This is it"; and they braced themselves for a great defensive ordeal. Now they are saying "This is it" again; only this time by "it" they mean the test of offensive power. At first glance you might think the Russians spent the last week winning their side of the war in a magnificent campaign which shows no sign of abating; while the English-speaking Allies did nothing but talk. But there are reasons for the ~~mood~~ present mood of this country. You may feel, as I do, that the reasons are not altogether sound, but here they are. There is a hard-to-define feeling that the Germans once again are goingfrom triumph to triumph to disaster. There is an unmistakable note of fatalism in the German broadcasts to their own people. There is the feeling that what the Germans have met in Russia is not so much defeat as disaster. Their propaganda in connection with the losses at Stalingrad is admitted to have been good - hundreds of thousands of German families were mourning, so the Nazis formalised and nationalised the miseries of those who had lost friends and relations; and they appear to have done it with some success. But it's a trick that won't work twice.

Some people have muddled their way through to the conclusion that the Prime Minister's reference to offensive plans being put into operation within the next nine months, means that the war will be over in that time....which of course isn't what he said at all. Then to add to the general feeling of optimism came yesterday's broadcast by Dr. Benes, the President of Czechoslovakia. His record of prophecy is good - at least since the war began - and his information comes from one of the best Intelligence Services in Europe. Dr. Benes predicted that in a few weeks or months the Germans in Russia will be back on a line running along the Dvina in Latvia, through the Prippet Marshes to the Dniester on the old pre-war frontier between Russia and Rumania. And there, he said, they will probably suffer ultimate catastrophe. Dr. Benes added that psychologically the German Army is in the same position that it was in the Spring and Summer of 1918, when their last offensive against France collapsed. Adding that in the first days of February the German Minister to a certain neutral European country admitted quite openly that Germany could no longer win, the President of Czechoslovakia said: "The final conclusion of this four years' tragedy of Europe, and of the rest of the world, is approaching with hastening step."

Just to add to the general optimism, there are stories in the London papers reporting rumors and whisperings of peace moves from various capitals. It is said that Turkey has been asked to take soundings about peace possibilities; that Finland

longs for peace; that Hungary and Italy have appealed to the Vatican. On top of all this an increasing number of British journalists, including Mr. Hore-Belisha form[illegible] War Minister, are beginning to write about what will happen when the war is o[illegible]er.

And if you want another explanation of British optimism you'll find it in the weather. So far it's been the mildest winter in fifty years, and believe me it's easier to be hopeful and confident when the weather is mild.

Now if w[illegible] look at the other side of this bright picture, we find that these rumors of peace feelers are unfounded, and even if they should materialise, the unconditional surrender statement has disposed of them in advance. There is no doubt that the Finns would liketo get out of the war, but maybe the Russians have become fond of this Unconditional Surrender thesis too. The Germans are undoubtedly confronted with a crisis, but there is no proof that there is a crisis of morale, and certainly no crisis of privation has appeared in Germany. But there does appear to be a crisis of leadership, for Hitler has given the German people no guidance or inspiration during their most trying time. And a crisis of leadership under the Nazi regime might be the most serious of all. The fact remains that the Germans are still fighting well; that they have plenty of food; and a whole continent is working for them. Death disguised as glory has come to many Germans; but there isn't much evidence that

those who are left have seen through the disguise. Out in North Africa the opposing forces are like two men facing each other with their hands palm downward on a table - fingers outspread. Until the quarter-million battle-tried Axis troops in that area are killed or driven into the sea, our offensive plans must wait. It is true that the Prime Minister was optimistic about the war against the U-Boat; but he also said it might delay the plans agreed upon at Casablanca. Last month our record against the submarines was better than in the preceding two months; but that was due to bad weather in the Atlantic, not to improved methods of escort or reduced numbers of submarines. But in spite of the disappointments and the reverses that may lie ahead, this last week has produced signs and portents of the British belief ~~in~~ ~~victory~~ that the future will be theirs.

The Tory Party - the Conservatives - have sniffed victory in the air. They have come out of hiding and have shown their hand. They demonstrated their renewed confidence in connection with a very complex and complicated Bill known as "The Catering Bill". Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labour. wants to regulate one of the most sweated trades in this country. He wants to assure decent working hours and decent wages for the people who serve food and drink to His Majesty's subjects in this Island. He said he wanted this legislation for war and for peace. He's going to call up women up to the age of 40, and he must assign other people to replace them. He thinks that after the war is

over people in this country will want a holiday, and that the ruins of Britain will attract tourists. Mr. Bevin wants to assure the men and women who come out of the Services that they'll get a fair deal in the catering industry. His Bill came before Parliament this week, and one hundred and sixteen Conservatives - about half of those present in the House - voted against it. It was the largest vote against the Government since Mr. Churchill's coalition was formed. A year ago - two years ago - such Tory opposition would have been unthinkable. But now the prospect of victory has brought the die-hards out into the open. This present Government is a coalition Government - it represents all Parties. And it has been agreed legislation involving Party controversy is taboo for the duration of the war. In the case of this Catering Bill the extreme Right Wing of the Tory Party, supported by the Brewers, declared that the legislation was controversial, in spite of the fact that it had the unanimous support of the Cabinet.

Next week we shall have an opportunity to measure more fully the power of the Tory Party, for there is to be a three-day Debate on the Beveridge Plan which, as you will remember, proposes a complete plan on Social Security from the cradle to the grave. A Cabinet Committee has been studying this plan, and a motion will be introduced that is designed to please everybody - a motion which says in effect: "It's a nice idea and the Government will bear it in mind in planning the future".

About forty young Members of Parliament have signed an amendment asking that the Plan be put into effect as soon as possible. It is at least possible that the Beveridge Report will be strangled by political wire-pulling. The three-day Debate on this subject which will occur this week will be a test of Conservative strength; and it may be that the Government will be hoist on its own propaganda. ~~Recent local elections have demonstrated~~ Some of the oldest and wisest political observers are of the opinion that the Conservative Party is risking its future by openly opposing legislation to which it would have gladly agreed in days when the future seemed less certain. Nevertheless, the House of Commons will decide what is to be done with the Beveridge Report, and that is the way of Democracy.

There are fads in news as well as hats. Today's fashion, which is again produced by the brightening prospect of victory, is Civil Aviation after the war. Most of today's London newspapers provide at least one article on the subject. They all agree that something ought to be done about it; and they agree too that America has a running start in any post-war competition for the domination of Civil airways. The British have a few converted Sunderland flying boats, and a few converted bomber transports, and the promise of a few more....but that's all. America has always led the world in the production of transport aircraft, and in the development of Civil Aviation, and there's no reason to think that under present production schedules that state of affairs

will be altered. This British interest in post-war Civil Aviation is just another indication of the increasing confidence in early and complete victory; and it would not be surprising if within the next few weeks a certain distinguished and well-known Englishman arrived in Washington, to talk about post-war plans - about what Mr. Herbert Morrison called the possibilities of "peace without a hangover".

I have been trying to explain the British feeling of optimism and exhilaration produced by the week's events; but overriding everything else is a sense of urgency. It is true that some of the optimism may be based on a false premise; it is true that I can find very little mention in the London Press of Ghandi's fast, or of its possible consequences in India; it is likewise true that intelligent people here view the future of Britain with a troubled and uncertain eye. But the events of the week have produced a new urgency, and a new hope, and the belief that a plan and a timetable for winning this war has been agreed upon. Not since the early days of this war back in 1939, when people were singing a song called "We'll Hang Out the Washing on the Siegfried Line" - not since then have I encountered such optimism in high places. There is a feeling that now is the time to start living on capital.

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY MARCH 7, 1943.
23.00- 23.15 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: Soon it will be Spring in England. For the fourth time since this war began the good fighting weather is approaching. The Winter has been kind, and it has brought victories. As the sun and the warm, wet winds from the West bring back the gleam to the English countryside, men's minds lunge ahead trying to encounter future events. There is optimism in the air - it may not be justified, but it is here. The Russian victories - the heavy discharge of bombs on Germany - the unprecedented victories of American flyers in the Battle of the Bismark Sea - the news that the Germans in Tunisia are firmly held while the Anglo-American forces prepare their offensive -- all these things combine to produce confidence and optimism in the public mind. So too, do reports that the war against the U-Boats is going a little better; and the announcement that a whole series of conferences on post-war problems have been scheduled or are now taking place. But if we examine all these reasons carefully, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it's all over except the fighting.

The Russians have encountered an early thaw in the South, and the Germans have scored some important successes in the Ukraine and the Donetz. The Russian lines of communication are lengthening, while the Germans are shortening theirs. The communiques from both sides indicate that the German armies are being handled with a surer touch; that they are still fighting well;

no one knows whether they will be able to re-take the offensive when the weather improves. That will probably depend upon what the Allies do in the West. When Mr. Churchill came back from Casablanca he said, the first objective was to aid to the utmost the magnificent, tremendous effort of Russia, and to try to draw the enemy and the enemy's Air Force from the Russian front. But he said something else, which is often forgotten; he said that was the first of our objectives "once the needs of the anti-U-Boat warfare were met in such a way as to enable us to act aggressively." During the last four months the tonnage lost has decreased, while the number of U- Boats destroyed has increased; but the Germans are still building them faster than they are sunk, and that means that the failure to master the submarines might prevent the Allies from using their full strength. There have been sweeping changes in German Naval commands - younger men now control Germany's surface ships - and many observers here expect more daring tactics to result.

In Tunisia the Germans will finally be beaten, but they still retain the initiative and the weeks are passing. Any Allied attack on what has been called the soft under-belly of the Continent must be delayed until Tunisia has been cleared, and the Mediterranean re-opened to through traffic. Once we were ahead of schedule in North Africa, but there are those who now fear that we shall soon be behind it.

The damage done by the Allied bombing of Germany has been great. But those who watched closely the results of the German bombing of this country are not inclined to over-estimate it. Most of these heavy raids have been defensive in character, aimed as they are at U-Boat bases and factories. The smashing blows against German cities have produced very little exultation here. ~~Ixxmmyxhmx~~ These raids are of course a prelude to the second front, but the pattern of the bombing suggests that it is not an immediate prelude, One indication of the change in the air position is that people in this country who used to talk about bombs falling,now talk of the danger from the few Ak-Ack shells that fail to explode in the air but do some damage when they hit the ground. For the time being the bombing of the Continent must be considered an extension of the economic blockade. We have not yet begun to bomb out bridgeheads, or to concentrate on the transportation and communications the Germans will need when they move troops and equipment to meet an invasion.

The announcement of conferences on food, economics and financial affairs have naturally been welcomed, although it is generally believed that spectacular results will not be immediately forthcoming. So far as post-war currency agreements are concerned, it can be said with complete confidence that the only currency that will count in Europe for some time after this war is over will be food. International conferences and negotiations require both

time and tolerance. You will probably remember the agreement under which we secured the use of certain bases in the Western Hemisphere. The signing of that agreement was held up for something like ten days, while the American and British representatives argued about what postage stamps would be used by the American troops garrisoning those bases. The amount involved was only a few hundred dollars a year, but a precedent had to be established and that always means delays. I think we won the argument. The whole discussion about postage stamps was ~~xxxxxxx~~ friendly and good-humoured, but it does go to show that concrete and final results of an international conference should not be expected next Tuesday.

On last Friday Colonel Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made a speech about international affairs. It was really about the Colonial Empire, and it deserves some attention. Colonel Stanley is a 47-year-old Conservative; the son of the Earl of Derby; educated at Eton and Oxford; ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ he has since 1931 been at various times Minister of Transport, Minister of Labour, President of the Board of Education, President of the Board of Trade, and Secretary of State for War. There is nothing in the record to suggest that he was an outstanding success in any of these posts. Now he is Secretary of State for the Colonies - an office which has been used as a sort of anteroom in the game of musical chairs in which Cabinet Ministers are shifted about. Speaking at Oxford on Friday night Colonel

Stanley referred to American interest in the British Colonial Empire. He said: "There are some in that great country who obviously and emphatically believe in the old adage 'Spare the rod and spoil the Ally'". He referred to the great volume of friendly criticism and disinterested advice which comes from across the water. But he said he was more interested in what Britain thinks of the British Empire than in what the United States of America think of it. Colonel Stanley stated that in the more than fifty Colonial territories of every size Britain had succeeded to the full in the establishment in the rule of law; that she had provided an example of impartial justice and incorruptible administration. "And" he said, "we set ourselves the task of preventing exploitation". Colonel Stanley had this to say about the future: "I am convinced that the first and fundamental principle is that the administration of the British Colonies must continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain". He rejected any scheme for international administration of the British Colonies. There are men in public life in this country who would disagree with Colonel Stanley's thesis; but he is the Colonial Secretary and may be presumed to have been speaking for the Government. It has been my experience that few people in this country know much about their Colonial Empire; but in the pubs and on trains people seem to have an idea that places like Gibraltar, Malta and Ceylon have been useful in this war; and they see no reason why they should fight a terrible war in order to give

them up at the end of it, unless of course someone has something better to offer.

Last night an American journalist broadcast to England. He talked about the possibilities of a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt. It was, so far as I could judge, an entirely objective and dispassionate discussion of what is going on at home. He talked for something like twenty minutes. It seemed to me unlikely that my English friends would be interested in a nomination that will not take place for fifteen months. I asked several of them what they thought of the broadcast, and they said they found it interesting and important. Now this American broadcaster wasn't advocating or opposing a fourth term for Mr. Roosevelt. He was doing a bit of explaining, and people listened. Before the war began - before the fall of France - they would not have listened. The fact that they were interested in an American political event which will not occur for fifteen months, is the most striking proof that I have encountered that American domestic politics will determine to a very large extent what happens in Europe when the war is won.

The British have not been backward in paying their tribute to America's part in winning the war. British correspondents in Tunisia have spared no adjectives in describing the speed with which American troops learn under battle conditions. And although

the Bismark Sea is a long way from the Straits of Dover, full tribute has been paid to the American demonstration of just what air power can do against surface craft. ~~Thexatherxdayxx~~

As I said at the beginning, the fourth wartime Spring will soon be here. That means that children under six or seven remember nothing but war. The other day a small child in hospital was offered a banana; she didn't recognise it, and asked if she must eat it. Another child was travelling by train and the train stopped for some time in a tunnel. When it emerged she said: "Oh dear! it's tomorrow already; they've lifted the blackout curtains". This war seems to have been going on for a long time - so long that one man has inserted the following advertisement in a weekly magazine: "Tired cynic would welcome ideas for a Spring holiday"." At least, I assume it was a man. But if that tired cynic had seen a movie and read a book this week, his cynicism might have evaporated. The movie is "Desert Victory", the story of the Eighth Army from El Alamein to Tripoli, and it is the finest picture produced by this war. It is history, and sand and guns on celluloid; and it only cost the lives of four camera-men and another four captured. You'll have a chance to see it in a few weeks' time. ~~Thexbookxisx"Thexmountainsx Waitxx~~ The book the cynic should have read is called "The Mountains Wait" by Theodor Broch, who was the Mayor of Narvik in the north of Norway. And it's one of the best, if not the

best book produced by this war. Someone has sent me a copy of the American edition, and some British publisher has found paper enough to publish "The Mountains Wait" over here. I can't imagine how paper could be better used.

That tired cynic who was looking for a holiday would have been amused if not encouraged by something that happened at the big London celebration of Red Army Day a couple of weeks ago. It was at the big pageant in the Albert Hall. The chorus was singing a/~~[illegible]~~ song. A Cabinet Minister leaned over to his neighbour and said: "That is the Internationale, the Russian National Anthem, isn't it?" What they were singing was a Welsh folk song.

I return you now to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MARCH 14, 1943.
23.00-23.15

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: This is a talk about several men. Some of their names make headlines - others are completely unknown. One night last week I was talking with one of those little men who smoke a big pipe, and who sit beside a charcoal fire guarding a hole in the street - one of those holes where nothing ever seems to happen. He said to me: "What about this bloke Wallace? Seems to be a sensible sort of chap". The next day I happened to lunch at a Club frequented by Government officials, and people there were talking and asking questions about our Vice-President. The newspapers and the periodicals have been using words like "courageous", "farsighted" and "incisive" to describe Mr. Wallace's recent utterances. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of his speeches, they have found a sympathetic audience over here. Part of that may be due to the fact that not very many people realise that the Vice-President does not commit the Government to a given policy. Nevertheless, it is only an American statesman who in these days could offer such blunt advice and warning to his own country and to her Allies. Few people over here know anything about the duties of a Vice-President; nor do they know for how large a section of American opinion Mr. Wallace speaks. But if the English press, radio and private conversations are any guide, his stature is increasing. As one English friend of mine put it: "He gives you hope, but doesn't insult your intelligence by promising that it will be easy".

Mr. Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary, is now in Washington on a diplomatic mission, and not very many people over here expect his job to be easy. Mr. Eden is a 46-year-old seasoned diplomat. He is a Conservative, and in addition his duties at the Foreign Office is leader of the House of Commons. And if anything should happen to Mr. Churchill you could get considerably better than even odds that Mr. Eden would succeed him. Anthony Eden came out of the last war as a Brigade Major at the age of 21. He then went to Oxford and won First Class Honours in Oriental languages. He entered the House of Commons in 1923, and in his first speech urged that the Government should do something about protecting Great Britain, and particularly London, from the danger of air attack. Starting in 1931 he spent a good deal of time at various international conferences in Geneva, where in the early days he was known primarily as a good-looking young man with a hat. In 1935 Mr. Eden became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he presided over that grimy old greystone building in Whitehall, where men wearing striped trousers and carrying rolled umbrellas go in and out, until 1938. At that time he differed with Neville Chamberlain over foreign policy, and he resigned. But while outof office he was careful not to go into open opposition, and avoided saying anything that might jeopardise his chances of returning to power. Mr. Eden is a cautious and rather shy man. Since this war began he has been Secretary of State for the Dominions; Secretary

of State for War; and is now back at his old job at the Foreign Office. He has long been known as an advocate of good relations with Russia. He went to Moscow to see Stalin in 1935, and again at the end of last year. It has become fashionable recently to refer to Britain as the middleman between Russia and the United States. But on at least one occasion an American diplomat was instrumental in bringing the British and the Russians together. When Molotov came down here to talk about the Anglo-Russian Treaty, he wanted to include the Baltic States as part of Russia after the war. That was finally left out of the Treaty, due to some middleman work by our Ambassador here, Mr. John Winant. Eden and Winant work well together and respect each other. Mr. Winant delayed his return to England in order to be in Washington during Eden's visit.

But you will want to know why the British Foreign Secretary has come to the States. His trip had been planned for some time, but was delayed by Mr. Churchill's illness. There have been many conferences between British and American leaders during the last couple of years; but this trip of Eden's is to talk about the many political headaches that have arisen. No one here expects final, formal agreements to be reached. Basically this trip is one of exploration - an attempt to find out just how far Anglo-American agreement, particularly about the post-war world, is likely to go. There will be talk about bases; about the

Far East; about relations with Russia; and about the future of Civil Aviation. Mr. Eden has been considerably interested in the future of Civil Aviation recently, and on Thursday the Government made a statement about it. They can't at this moment, of course, begin the production of civil aircraft, but they have ordered that the designing of new types shall be started at once. The aircraft manufacturing industry is the largest manufacturing industry in the world. The Government says that some form of international collaboration will be essential, but they are naturally vague about the details. There has been no official statement about the future of civil aviation from the United States' Government, from the Russian Government or any other government concerned. But in announcing the decision to have the blueprints for future air transports made, the Government spokesman in the House of Lords said: "If other nations insist upon cut-throat competition we are quite ready to enter the fray". Mr. Eden will certainly be talking about the future of civil aviation. Probably no definite agreements will be reached, and if they are they won't be announced. The British and Mr. Eden are not exactly in favor of secret diplomacy, but they have no liking for conducting negotiations with full publicity. That attitude is probably best summed up in a book on foreign policy written by Professor E.H. Carr. He says: "Democracy must remain in ultimate control of foreign policy; but some means must be

devised by which British interests in vital and delicate negotiations shall not be imperilled by a fire of public exhortation and comment directed at the negotiators".

Not long before Mr. Eden left I asked him why he was going, and he said: "You know how it is - the Prime Minister and the President get to talking, and then one says to the other: "See here, ~~thatkxwhyxwexkeepxforeignxSecretariex~~ this is getting detailed, let's have our experts get together about it, that's what they're for".

Joseph Stalin has been granted the military rank of Marshal. That acknowledges his strategic leadership of the war, and it reflects the growing prestige and importance of the Russian Officers Corps. A short time ago no military rank could equal his political power and prestige. He now symbolizes the unity of the Army and the Party, and his new rank may be designed to keep the two in step.

General Giraud, the leader of French North Africa, has tonight made a broadcast which brings nearer the union of all Frenchmen fighting for freedom. The Free French here welcome his assurance that the people of France will choose their own form of Government; and they welcome the abolition of the laws of racial discrimination. In some respects they find the speech rather vague, particularly as regards the position of the men who formerly served Vichy. The general attitude of the Free

French seems to be that it was a helpful speech; that it does not entirely clear the way for complete union; and that they prefer to wait and see how things work out.

Under the heading of men whose names you may not know is that of a mild-mannered, truly conscientious English reporter. His name is Paul Holt. He's a man who would never fake a story. He filed one yesterday from the Russian city of Rzhev, recently re-taken by the Red Army. Before the war Rzhev was a city of 65 thousand souls. When Holt entered it there were 137 left. 64 thousand and eight hundred had in the eighteen months since the Germans came disappeared to slave labour in the West, or died of starvation, typhus, typhoid, by the rope, or the bullet or by fire. The 137 remaining civilians had been herded into the Church, and the Church had been mined. Holt tells what he saw of the bodies left in Russian homes, and concludes that the German Army is carrying out Hitler's orders to exterminate the Russian people.... a policy designed to destroy Western Russia as an industrial centre of civilisation. And like the good reporter that he is, Holt wonders whether this is to be the fate of Kiev, Smolensk, Odessa, Orel and all the rest. Is it to happen all the way back to the German frontier?

~~Thexxxx

The Austrians didn't choose union with Germany - they had it imposed upon them. They have no government in exile...there are only exiled Austrians. They have no propaganda machinery to keep their case before the world. They should be remembered and their resistance noted. For five years is a long time to live under the Germans.

There's time to mention another man who must be nameless, but he is a General. He was explaining to me how the British and Americans are coming to understand each other's humour. He said that Generals Alexander and Montgomery were reading a book, and it was called: "How Green Was My Ally"; and he said that some American and British soldiers were together in a pub; the British soldiers were explaining that they were very glad to have the Americans over here, but of course they - the British - had been doing all the fighting, though perhaps the Americans would learn in time. The British Tommies were emphatic that they had been doing all the fighting. Finally one American soldier remarked quietly to his friend: "Wonderful how well these Russians speak English, isn't it!"

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CBS AFHQ C. COLLINGWOOD FOR MURROW MARCH 21 22:00:45-22:11:30

This past week in North Africa has seen the climax of a period of extraordinary political activity. A week ago General Giraud made his speech denouncing the laws of Vichy and assuring the people of France that he would turn over his powers to a provisional Government when France is liberated. Then on Monday Giraud wrote a letter to General Catroux asking de Gaulle to come here to North Africa and arrange for an agreement between them. On Tuesday Giraud fired General Bergeret and Mr. Rigault, two of the most tainted members of his government. ON Wednesday a series of decrees were issued which restored the laws of the French Republic, abrogated the anti-Jewish laws, and reconstituted the elected assemblies of North Africa.

These words and acts are the outcome of several weeks of manoevring in which the government of North Africa has changed from a government that was demonstrably bad to one which is at least reasonably good. The beginnings of this process can be traced straight back to the Casablanca Conference.

I don't know what Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt said to General Giraud down there, but when Giraud got back, things began to happen.

A week after the Casablanca conference -- on February 5 -- Giraud took over complete power in French Africa. He gave up the title which Darlan had invented of High Commissioner for French Africa,

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and instead called himself, with military directness, "Commander-in-Chief, Civil and Military." That is just what it amounted to, too. Giraud took over exclusive power over national defense, over foreign relations, over finance, over law. He assumed the power of dismiss and name the Governors of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and French West Africa. Giraud appointed their assistants, he appoints the judges, even the Deans and professors of the universities.

General Giraud still has those powers. You can call it a dictatorship if you like, but it did serve this purpose. It brought a strong central authority to French Africa. When American and British troops disembarked on the beaches of North Africa, the power of Vichy, if not its political philosophy, was removed. French Africa began to split up into its component parts. Boisson in French West Africa, and Nogues in Morocco became like feudal Dukes whose word was law in their Duchies. There was no central power in North Africa strong enough to really knit them together. Giraud supplied that.

With the increase in his personal power and with whatever mandate and advice he got at Casablanca, Giraud began to act with new confidence and decision. The central government began to come to grips with the economic problems that afflict the country. The administration of the day to day work of government was tightened up. The thousands of political prisoners in French Africa began to

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get released in significant numbers. The worst laws against the Jews were revoked. Some of the more unsavory characters among the Vichy holdovers still in important jobs were dismissed.

While these steps, physical and moral, were being taken to makex Giruads government an efficient and decent one, two long range tendencies began to be apparent in his official utterances and acts. One was an increasing emphasis on France rather than North Africa. Giraud was plainly more concerned about the future role of France than about the present role of Africa. And the other tendency was a very obvious desire to come to terms with the other great leader of Frenchmen outside of France, General de Gaulle. Shortly after the Casablanca conference General Catroux came to Algiers as de Gaulle's representative for a series of talks with Giraud. Then Combat, the de Gaullist underground newspaper was allowed to be published. It is now safe to wear the cross of Lorraine in public in Algiers. de Gaulles picture has appeared in newspaers. Last Sunday there was actually a de Gaullist parade in the streets. And then, only a few days ago, Giraud actually invited de Gaulle to come to Algiers and put into concrete form an agreement between them.

The other trend, Giraud's increasing pre-occupation with France as distinct from North Africa, also reached its climax last week. In his speech last Sunday, Giraud spoke to the people of France.

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"I give the most solemn assurance to the people of France," he said, "that their sacred right to choose their provisional Government themselves will be fully safeguarded. I assure them" he went on, "that the conditions permitting them to make this choice in lawful order and with their freedoms restored will be guaranteed."

Now those are not the words of a man who is only the Commander-in-Chief of North Africa. They are the words of a man who is going to be in a position of authority when the Allies invade France. "I assure the people of France," Giraud keeps saying. It looks very much as though at Casablanca Giraud was given the job of being the French leader when the Allies march into France. After all, someone has to have the job.

And that, of course, brings up the question of General de Gaulle. Since June 1940 de Gaulle has been the only leader of Free France. de Gaulle has his army and navy and air force, but more important he has the loyalty of the vast majority of Frenchmen inside France. Even anti-de Gaulle Frenchmen who arrived in North Africa after the allied landings estimate that 75% of Frenchmen are for de Gaulle. If Giraud wants to enter France as the custodian of French tradition and authority. In fact, if Giraud wants to be the number 1 Frenchman; he will have to reckon with de Gaulle. Somehow or other he will have to assimilate de Gaulle's following to his own. Somehow or other he

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will have to get de Gaulle to work with him.

But de Gaulle, who has his own ideas about what is good for France, is not an easy man to dominate. For one thing, de Gaulle is jealous of his hold on the people of France, and for another thing he has been naturally unwilling to co-operate with a government full of people he has been fighting against for 2 and ½ years . This may have something to do with General Giraud's actions of last week --- the speech disowning Vichy, the promises to France, the dismissal of Bergeret and Rigault, and then the letter to Catroux saying, " I have publicly expressed the principles which guide my conduct. There is no longer any argument between us. I am ready to receive General de Gaulle."

General de Gaulle has answered that he ~~xh~~ will come, and the meeting should not be long delayed. Then there will be the question of agreement or no agreement, and on what terms. But that is another story. What I have tried to tonight is to trace the political developments in North Africa since the Casablanca conference.

Before Casablanca was the era of putsches and pogroms, of coups and counter-coups. That is all over now. The last plot to seize power here was scheduled for February 8 or 9, I forget which. But even then the climate had so changed that the thing was obviously ridiculous and nothing ever came of it. After Casablanca the problem of purely North African power was settled, and the question of who was to have power when we go into France began to emerge. That is

what we have been watching. General Giraud, with some measure of allied backing, is making his bid to be the leader of France. As a part of that bid he has been putting his own house in order. Now before he can go any farther he must come to terms with General de Gaulle, who has the real support in France. de Gaulle is coming to North Africa, and the meeting between him and Giraud will make the next big political news from here.

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Wilma Ames

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Murrow to CBS New York....

March 28'43..
22.00..22.12 GMT

This is Ed Murrow at Allied Force Headquarters,North Africa..A few days ago I was in Dover..that was twenty miles from the front line.. Since then, much travel by rail and air has brought me to this place — which is not so near to the front line..If you had made the trip, here are a few things that might have stuck in your mind..The usual long trip on a blacked out train ..the arrival at an airport which cant be named, but which has "United Nations" written all over it..the hangers and headquarters, filled with men in the uniforms of seven nations.. young boys walking stiffly in from the field with the fatigue of ten Atlantic hours marked on their faces..others arriving with sun tanned faces from Cairo and points east..a big black Russian bomber parked alongside a flying fortress with a P thirty eight nestling between them..In the bar you hear half a dozen languages spoken, with American predominating..Four Russian officers,one of them wearing the Order of Lenin sit solemly in the corner..one is studying an English phrase book.(but you soon find out that the only phrase he has mastered is "I dont understand").but the lack of a common language doesnt seem to matter..theres a warm friendly feeling about the whole place..You notice that the Russians are as well uniformed as any soldiers you have ever seen..they are all wearing epaulettes, and those eppaulettes seem to rest on their shoulders like ping pong bats..An American lieutenant tells how hes gained fifteen pounds since being billeted with a local family..someone asks big lanky Robert Sherwood of the Office of War Information if he is a Russian..You wander out on the field to watch fifteen Americanx boys climb into a big transport plane for a xxxxx

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practice flight..there is much horse play and heckling for they are members of the ground crew..kidding each other..saying maybe they will land in Atlanta or Seattle or Kansas City..You stand talking with a lieutenant who used to work for Walt Disney and another who used to work for Douglass aircraft..A captain who was advance publicity agent for a circus joins you..As you talk of home it gets dark..your baggage goes aboard the big transport plane and you follow it..The pilot comes back,says "we shall be flying near enemy territory"..there will be no lights and no smoking..he goes forward again and the plane heads down the runway towards the coast of Africa..As soon as you are well under way the co pilot comes back with one tattered old magazine in his hand shouting "peanuts popcorn candy chewing gum..everybody laughs and begins to think of sleep..There is a full moon up there above the clouds and during xx most of the night the plane seems to dragging its belly on the roof of the clouds ready to drop into them..Nothing happens..Finally,in the morning light you see white waves hitting the coast of Africa..Along that west coast you find sunshine and oranges and eggs..fresh ones..and you find Americans..You find them in pup tents under trees..you find them on barren dusty airfields,driving jackrabbit jeeps thru white cities,wearing boots from Brazill and from Texas and from Fifth Avenue..you hear them speaking the French of anglo saxon fighting men..they are the most confident casual men you have ever seen..they have an assurance that has nothing to do with arrogance..To them this is a foreign land allright but they dont seem to think it makes any difference..You hear them speak of places several hundred miles away as "over there" or "up yonder"..

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If you had seen these American soldiers in Marracesh, Casa Blanca, Rabat, Oran, Algiers, and way points as I have ..well maybe you too would have trouble finding words to describe them..The other day as the Plane came into Maracesh we saw the snow capped Atlass Mountains lying like a cotton-well horse shoe on a blue blanket..just behind the town..A sargeant sitting beside me leaned over and said.. "Those are the Pyraneese arent they?" I tried to explain that they were the Atlass Mountains..a considerable distance from the Pyranese..and went on to air some recently aquired knowlwdge of the topography of that part of the world..But before I could finish this pompous little discourse the sargeant interupted and said..."You know I dont much care what those mountains are called..My job is to put plane motors in shape to fly over mountains water or anything else"..and he added.. "those mountains look like all the others to me and I reckon I can do my job even if I dont know what they are called"..There are a lot of people out here who reckon they can do their job..The job is more difficult than it should be in Morocco because the Frenchxxxxxxxx administration under General Noguès is just about as obstructionist as it can be..However there is good reason to believe that the General wont occupy his present position two weeks from today..No one should come to a place like this, and after a few days engage in plain or fancy analysis of the political or military position..But those who have been here since the beginning agree that great improvements have been made..that a tolerable civil administrxxxx administration is being set up in North Africa..The change may be due more to the pressure of world opinion than to any change of heart

on the part of those responsible for the conduct of affairs out here. But the change is occuring, which is the main thing..The meeting betwen Generals Giraud and Degaulle is the principle subject of the political talk out here..There has been some delay and it is even said that General Catroux may go back to London to Bring the leader of the fighting french down here..Whatever happens it is clear that the big problem is France rather than North Africa..No one seriously doubts that Degaulles influence among the resistance movements in France is overwhelmingly greater than that of Giraud...But it is Giraud who promises the people of France freedom, and allied support..No one seems to be quite sure just what is delaying the meeting between the two French Generals but there seems to be agreement that unless they can come together..and soon..we shall not only lose valuable time ..we may lose the possibility of unified and effective assistance from the people of France.. And what has happened here demonstrates just how important that unity will be, when the time comes to undertake a military operation that will be immeasurably more difficult than this one was....But to this reporter the most interesting and perhaps the most important thing here at Allied Force Headquarters is the way this whole military operation is being conducted..Mr Churchill once said something about American and British affairs getting more and more mixed up together..They are certainly mixed up together here.. At headquarters you find British and American officers like leaves in a book..You walk down a corridor and in one room youll find a

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Group Captain of the RAF,in the next room an American Colonel..You walk down the street and at one corner youll find a soldier from Birmingham Alabama directing traffic,at the next corner the cop comes from England and a little way on he may be a Frenchman..This talk from here may be censored by an American or it may be censored by a British officer..In the field of Psychological warfare the Americans and British are all mixed up together..Up at the front there is an Englishman writing pamphlets for the Italians..those pamphlets are ~~shot~~ dropped across into the Italian lines..and the pamphlets produced by this Englishmen say something about " We Americans have come to free you and your country"...General Eisenhower has a staff conference and most of the men who come out of his room are in British Uniform..Historically it has been the custom of allies to dislike each other..the Americans and the British out here arent engaging in any love feast but they are working as a team..There have been other occasions when Allies have agreed to a supreme command but there is no case in history where they have really merged as they have in North Africa..I am told that there are differences of opinion, and it would be surprising if that were not so..but the disagreements are thrashed out across the table and the final decision is neither British nor American nor French its a distillation of them all..In London we heard a lot about the way Anglo American forces were working together but the completeness of the co operation out here is surprising..Of course Im talking only of what goes on at headquarters and behind the lines but that is important, for this camapign probably has the smallest front and the biggest behind of any battle in the whole history of human conflict..

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Todays reports indicate that the fighting flows in our favour..In the south the eighth army has made satisfactory progress in the vital battle for Mareth..General Montgomery has driven two crowbars into the main german defense positions and yesterday he reached out with his left hand and knocked the germans back to the villiage of El Hamma..That means that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ if the Germans break at the Mareth Line they will have to pull back between El Hamma and Gabes thru a corridor that is only sixteen miles wide.. Yesterday American forces on the central front advanced seventeen miles to reach Fondouk..that brings them within twenty miles of Kairouan..British troops in the North made limited advances against stiff resistance..The whole front is active and the heavy fighting may be just beginning..that is the heavy fighting in this theatre.. But the great test of allied ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ strategy and strength will come later..One thing that will be required will be food..lots of it... ~~Fxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~.. Ive had a cable telling me about the Victory Garden Campaign at home ...Maybe its presumptios to talk about food from North Africa..but Ive been told that one of the most effective as well as humane moves we have made out here was to give the people decent bread again..When I left England people were digging in their alottments..in the parks and alongside the railroads..they have been doing it for almost four years now..they had to do it..for the ships were needed for other things..They called the campaign..~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ Dig for Victory!..some people criticised that slogan..claiming that it should have been..Dig for your very lives!..that would certainly have been a more accurate description of the situation..The British have

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had to do a lot of digging..including air raid shelters...They had no choice..whether they would have turned parks,playgrounds and tennis courts into gardens if they hadnt been faced with immediate disaster,I dont know.. No more do I know whether you at home will do it...certainly you wont merely because some radio reporter asks you to..But there are a fair number of American boys doing some digging up on the central Tunisian front tonight..digging tonight in order that they may live when the shells and the dive bombers come over in the morning..From all accounts that country up there is no garden but its where a victory is being won..and the price is greater than a few blisters on tender hands or a sore back from a little work with shovel and hoe ...Some of you may be thinking right now why should we bother about a Victory Garden.. its too much trouble,,, maybe it isnt necessary.. But thats something you wouldnt say to the boys who are digging tonight up around Fondouk in Central Tunisia....

Ed Murrow to CBS New York

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22.46.30..to 22.48.30

This is Edward Murrow at Allied Force Headquarters, North Africa
The weather is improving ..and there is no rest for Romells men..at the front..behind the lines..in the air ..or on the islands..The ~~Eigik~~ Eighth Army is pushing up the coast beyond Oudreff, prodding the enemies prepared positions about ten miles North of that place..The Americans ~~xxx~~ have left El Guettar behind, and are moving along the Gafsa-Gabes highway where heavy minefields are delaying their advance. Up North around Sedjenane, the British report further progress against bitter opposition..there was considerable bayonet work in that area, and it took eight sucessive charges to retake Sedgjenane...The whole front is active, and the air above it too..Light bombers and fighter bombers working on roads and transports around Sfax and ~~Sxxxx~~ Sousse the old Wellingtons making night raids on Sardinia..B 25's attacking axis shipping in the Sicillian Straits..and then, that great flock of nearly one hundred flying fortresses that went to Sardinia yesterday.. That was one of the remarkable air efforts of this war, for the bombing was accurate and every plane, bombers and P 38 escorts, came home..and the Communique says the bombers shot down fourteen enemy fighters..~~XX~~ Even in this place, so far from the front, one notices the change in atmosphere, the steady increase in confidence (althe I have met no one who ~~xxxxxx~~ anticipates anything but heavier fighting ahead..But coming out here from Londonx one notices something else.. something beside the sunshine, and oranges, and little Arab boys with ~~wxxxing~~ the faces of old men...Its a change in the British..and Im not sure I can describe it..Their appearance hasnt changed ..except that they have sun tanned faces..their speech is the same..~~but there~~

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15199

almost unchanged,even when they speak french..but they are different.. There is a new confidence and assurance..I have watched the British since this war began..~~thxxxxxxxd~~ almost four ~~yxxx~~ years of defensive — of hanging on..of being thrown out..~~xfxbxingxandxfxxxingxaxexxxxxxxxx~~ of one disaster after another..But out here they are different... Perhaps its because they are attacking and winning..feel themselves to be part of a goodly company of men who deserve and demand victory.. Its a grand thing out here to listen to Americans and British soldiers say.."We are doing allright"..for they dont mean the British in the South or the Americans in the centre..they mean us..The Amerivans the British and the French..all of the people who are giving Romell no rest..

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Murrow to CBS New York Read copy 22.00.45 to 22.11.30 April 4th.1943

This is Edward Murrow at Allied Force Headquarters ,North Africa.. One week of conversations in this headquarters town produces some information and many impressions..The first impression is that this is a center of isolationism..The AM. & the British people are interested in and know about only one thing,and that is the strip of Tunisia still held by the Axis.. Big bombing raids on Germany,important debates in the House of Commons, Speeches by Mr Eden..all such things go almost unnoticed down here.. The rest of the world and indeed the rest of the war is far away..What is happening on the Russian front may be more important than any developments in Africa..discussions in Washington and in London may determine what is to be done with victory when its won..but most people here are isolated,caring only about the immediate job to be done..The local French population appears apathetic almost uninterested ..they were out of the war..now they are in it again..their troops are fighting bravely and with great gallantry but the civil population still seems stunned..The acceptance of defeat,the absence of any news of the outside world,the constant weight of Axis propaganda,all these things have had their effect and mens minds are not immediately changed by a military operation.. Another impression might be called an economic one..the realisation that in coming here we undertook much more than a mere military campaign..The other day I saw an Arab walking along the street..suddenly his clothes fell off. The whole dirty ragged garment made of odd bits of cloth and sacking,tied together with bits of string,just disintegrated and dropped around his ankles..There is terrible poverty in North Africa and there is great wealth..and the arival of Anglo American forces

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has done little to relieve the economic distress..Practically no civilian relief is being carried out..The Red Cross has distributed about fifty thousand layettes and some 200,000 children are being given three quarters of a pint of milk each day.. but that isnt much for a country that was systematically looted before we came..Lease Lend material is being sold at the prices prevailing on November Eighth ~~Duringthefirstfivemonthsofxxx~~ But since we landed here we have brought in only about one hundred and six thousand tons of civilian goods..we brought in that much in about five months..in 1941 some hundred and twenty five thousand tons came in each month..The problem is not only one of getting material to the ports..the distribution in the interior is difficult too..The Vichy Government stripped this country of essential supplies and turned them over to the Axis.. From Algeria they took wheat,cattle ,rolling stock,and ships..One day last week Charles Brunell ,president of General Girauds economic Council, revealed that out of 15,000 trucks less than four thousand remain in Algeria..the rest went to Romell in Lybia..The Railways used to carry340,000 tons a year,they now carry only about 90,000. The French have carried out a considerable mobilisation and that has further strained transportation..There is a shortage of food in Algeria and it may grow worse..We are bringing in Wheat ,sugar and cloth and considerable coal is coming from England but there is no ~~denyinxx~~ denying that the measure of our economic aid has not been as great as the French had expected..At the same time the black market seems to be almost a legitimate form of doing business here and there is a certain amount of hoarding..particularly the hoarding of wheat by the Arabs

When we arrived in Noth Africa we secured a valuable base from which to hit the Axis..and we also inherited many problems..One was the problem of political prisoners..On Feb. fourth it was officially announced that 5,500 were still detained and on Feb 20th General Bergeret said..when the allies landed there were about 7,000 political prisoners in jail,,,since then about twelve hundred have been released" He made that statement nearly six weeks ago..and today the number of political prisoners is still over five thousand..Most of them are Spanish Republicans..But this week will see some real progress in this matter..A method has been found for getting the Spaniards out of jail and out of the country without sending them back to Spain..Since they were the first to fight Fascism,those who are still interested in fighting it will welcome the announcement when it is made early this week..XXXThere have been no startling or encouraging public pronouncements about Union between General Degaulle and General Giraud but progress is being made..I have spent much time talking with American, British, and French officials who are thoroughly informed about what is going on..The Americans and the British are not playing any active part..its a French affair..But it involves much more than an agreement between two Generals who may be proud, ambitious, and patriotic..Neither one of them has an official mandate from the people of France..neither one can claim to be the Government of France when that country has been freed..General Giraud has promised that the people of France will have the right to choose their own Govt... and Frenchmen who have spent hours with the General and who hate Fascism as much as General Degaulle does,tell me they are convinced he means it, and will carry out his promises..

No one has ever accused General Giraud of being a fervent believer in democracy..but French Generals,like most Frenchmen work and act in accordance with certain fixed terms of reference,within a framework of orders and policies..When that framework is broken..as it was..they must find a new one..The attraction of totalitarian principles.. the temptation for the individual to abdicate his responsibilities and surrender himself to the dictates of someone else is fairly strong..No race and no nation is totally immune..But the best opinion I can find here is that General Giraud has established his new framework and will work inside it..Many of the unsavoury tainted characters who surrounded him have gone and it is believed that others will follow..This administration isnt a democracy but it is improving.. Allready sixty two of the municipal councils in Algeria have met and some of the practices of democracy are being revived..Giraud has been criticised by some of his officers on the grounds that he is too liberal,,that he proposes to take France back to the old days of the Front Populaire..back to the divisions ,the wrangling,the party strife and bitterness which they maintain caused the collapse of France..He has been urged to set up a provisional Government ready to take over in France..but the policy to which he is comitted is that the French people themselves shall decide what government they want..To some of the wise Frenchmen who are for France rather than for either one of the two generals this question of Unity is a matter of preventing civil war in France..of having the allied forces arrive in that country as an army of Liberation rather than an army of occupation..There is another reason why these far sighted Frenchmen desire a

a merger of all French forces and it is this..when the war is over France and the future of France and her posessions will be discussed... and they dont want any of the allies able to play on French disunity.. or able to say to some general..after all we put you where you are and you must do as we say..But there is another and more urgent reason for unity..the need for active and complete co operation of all French elements in the conduct of the war and in the process of political fumigation to which the whole continent must be subjected..People who came down here at the beginning were amazed to find what two years of defeat and enemy propaganda had done to the mind and fibre of the French in North Africa..many of them had become intoxicated with the political gospel preached from Berlin..the process of dis intoxication is not yet complete down here..and it may be more difficult and protracted in France..Everyone I have seen agrees about one thing ,and that is the need for more good men out of France.. Some have been unwilling to come..others cannot be reached..Some objective observers are of the opinion that the future leaders of France will be found not among the generals or the politicians who have spent the war in London or in North Africa,but among those who have lead the movements of resistance inside France... Many people in that unhappy country refuse to believe that there are still diferences between Giraud and Degaulle..they think the situation too serious for that..and believe the reports of disagreement betwen the two French leaders to be nothing more than Axis propaganda..The negotiations are going well so far but no early agreement is expected..

And no early end to the campaign in Tunisia is expected either..The allied forces in the centre are trying to join up..Not more than forty five miles divide Montgomerys troops from the American vanguard..But Romell is fighting with great tactical ingenuity,and with an army which is still largely intact,to keep the British and Americans from joining hands..On the map,Romells position looks precarious but the Germans have diverted considerable strength from other sectors of the front and sent it Southward..Last week their sharpest counter attacks were aimed at our eventual junction point in the Gafsa area..One of the perpetual surprises of the Africa campaign has been the way the Germans have been able to take serious tank losses and still come back with more..In all the seaward passes where ~~the~~ Allied thrusts now threaten the German flank,at El Guettar and Maknassy,at Pichon and Fondouk,the Germans thus far,have been able to produce armour..they have been able to hold the gaps and command the high ground..and thanks to their armour..stage a series of counter thrusts..A second perpetual surprise has been minefields..Romell has never run out of them..The clearing of minefields is slow dangerous work,requires experience and equipment..The Americans heading down the road to Gabes have been delayed by lack of experience in clearing~~xxxxxx~~ mines~~)~~ ~~(and by the lack of certain technical equipment needed to do the job)~~. In Tunisia the Germans have been manufacturing mines..they bring the explosives and the detonators in from Italy and make the mines in local shops.~~(some of them are encased in wood instead of metal~~..and the type of mine used is constantly changing.. When the junction is finally made the job will be the obliteration of Axis troops in

withdrawal..In one way that task will become more difficult as we crowd Romell back into a smaller corner. ~~The tremendous amount of ack ack now dispersed on various fronts will be concentrated on a front only half as long..that will make low level bombing a very expensive proposition.~~ Romell will be able to thicken his line and driving him out of these hill positions in the north will not be easy. So far the Germans have held every key mountain position that guards their three hundred mile flank..and the question now is whether the Axis armies are strong enough to block half a dozen Allied drives to the east and still stand off the eighth army in the main battle at the bottom of the whole front....There is clearly a tightening of the fighting in all the mountain passes and it looks as though there would be another break before long. No one can predict the end of this campaign but a lot of people try..I could quote you estimates ranging from two weeks to two months..but the weight of the guessing ..for what its worth is nearer months than weeks..XXX This headquarters town is a fairly pleasant place where the bombs sound just as they did in London..But even at headquarters men work and are subjected to strain..Most of the people Ive been seeing during the past week,I hadnt seen for six months or longer..and most of them including General Ike Eisenhower have aged about five years...

Murrow to CBS N.Y. Read copy Sunday April April 11 22.00.45 to 22.11.30 GMT

This is Edward Murrow at Allied Force Headquarters, North Africa.. To reach the front you fly...hours over country of infinite variety.. Over what might be the bad lands of the Dakotas cut by va lleys as rich and green as the Wilamette..Then again you can immagine yourself high above the Blue Ridge or the Cascade Mountains..For hours you look down at winding roads and the RR clinging to the side of the mountains- and you begin to realise that the problem of getting men and material up to that Northern front is much tougher than you had thought..The plane finally touches down at an advance airdrome..you climb into a car..drive X number of miles and bed down in an olive grove..You lie there till midnight, the ground trembles as the big trucks loaded with ammunition, gaseline and feed drop down into second gear for the long pull to the top of the pass..and you think of young boys pushing heavy transports over that road where Roman legions marched more than fifteen hundred years ago..At one in the morning you roll out of your blankets and start for the front..its dark and cold ..the road might be in New Mexico.. the sky is clear and the stars seem to come down to the very top of a ragged stone mountain off to the right..a shooting star stencils its way across the heavens and the driver remarks.."whenever there is a shooting star a baby is born".. and he adds, "my wife is having a baby in Glasgow next week would you take her a letter when you go back"..Under the scubby little trees beside the road you can see the ambulance drivers stripping the camafleuge nets from their vehicles..getting ready to move up..The order is given to turn out all lights..you pull up beside the road and watch the long lines of trucks and ambulances glide forward..they have n o headlights..no tail lights..only one small white light

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hitting the road directly under the rear axle..the wheels scarcely seem to touch the ground..the whole long line is supported by these little white lights..A truck pulls up alongside to ask directions..from the back comes heavy snoring..its loaded with German prisoners... someone suggests it might be a good idea to talk with them but the sargeant driving ~~xxx~~ the truck says.."let the poor "unmentionables" sleep .."they are tired.."you drive on and reach a point a couple of miles behind the British gunpositions..you climb a hill..It is three thirty on wednesday morning..twenty minutes later a ~~xxxx~~ trail of chain lightning seems to run along the ground,stretching for five miles on either side of you..the barrage opening the British attack is under way.. It is designed to clear the high ground noth and west of the road running to Medjez El Bab..The German reply is not long delayed..in four minutes you see their shrapnell bursting over the British guns..along the whole front the ~~Ex~~ guns rave and rear,more than a hundred of them.. Up on the left the twenty five pounders are being worked so fast that a steady stream of fire seems to fan out towards the german positions across the valley..The infantry moved off at four AM to face mines mortar fire and heavy machine guns ~~fixxx~~ firing on fixed lines..xxxxxx A quarter of an hour later the first green very light plopped in the night sky..that meant someone had reached somewhere..the germans filled the sky with flares..the red,blue and green signal lights kept drifting in the slight breeze above the valley..It was cold..you shiver..but it isnt that cold..the attack is making progress and later youll learn that the whole ridge overlooking the road has been cleared..more than a thousand prisoners taken..Y ou decide to go back to camp..the road

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winds white before you,the edge of the rising sun touches the fields and the ambulances going towards the front..there are dead and wounded men in the valley behind you xxTo get down to the other part of the front you drive thru country that pleases neither the mind nor the eye.. a country fit only for fighting..and as you approach Pichon and the valley leading down to Fondouk it gets worse..there is a cold cutting wind..when the clouds hit the mountain tops you expect them to make a noise..there is dust and cactus and thorn bushes and bad roads..It is a cold country with a hot sun..Tanks and trucks have cut thru the dust and left bare rock exposed..a dispatch rider is thrown from his motor cycle and its wheels spin in the air..Everything is covered with that white tired dust..mens red rimmed eyes look like smouldering holes in a gray blanket..The dust blows from right to left..you begin to meet ambulances coming back..they are taking the dust as drivers nurse them carefully over these terrible roads..you can see them lift on the whed trying to ease the shock for the wounded back behind..If you had gone into the little town of Pichon a few hours after it had been retaken here are a few things you would have noticed..a faily good road leading down to a dry stream...it is pockmarked with holes where the sappers have removed landmines..a batch of Austrian prisoners being herded along..they ~~lank~~ are obviously well fed but their shoes are not good.. they dont look particularly sullen..just tired..Where the road cuts down to meet the stream there is a knocked out tank,two dead men beside it and two more digging a grave..a little further along a german soldier sits smiling against the bank..he is covered with dust and he is dead..on the rising ground beyond a young British Lt.lies with his

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head on his arm as though shielding himself from the wind..he is dead too,.. Near him is a German anti-tank gun its muzzle pointing at the sky..Pichon itself is a miserable dirty little town with a few whitewashed houses..their sides scarred and chipped with machine gun bullets..much of the firing was high..The Germans seem to have taken with them every piece of removable metal including door knobs.XXXXX Friday was the big day in front of Fondouk and again it was a day of wind and dust..There is a fairly level plain in front of Fondouk... covered with cactus and cut by one big dry river bed..there are bare hills to the north and south but they taper off to make the pass..the Germans held the hills..the whole thing looked something like a huge pair of ice tongs, the points not quite meeting at Fondouk..standing at the hinge of the tongs you could see one white tower in Fondouk..It was an attack carried out by American British and French forces and it was opposed by minefields, guns, and the remnants of German armour..Standing on high ground at the hinge of the tongs you could see our guns firing from a position down on the plain near the river bed..over to the left behind the hill the black bursts of mortars told that the French were meeting stiff opposition..a battery of heavy guns ~~xxhundredxyardsxx~~ a couple of hundred yards away but completely hidden, suddenly opened up..the thorn bushes and the cactus for yards around bowed down to the ground..a man with steady hands would have had time to fill and light a pipe before he saw the shell bursts near the german positions away on the hill to the left..~~aixdayxthexfiringzmentxamx~~ We had a lot of armour somewhere down on that plain but it was well hidden..couldnt be picked out with the strongest glasses..All at once we saw six tanks go streaming out of the cactus heading for the hills to the right of

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the town..German shellbursts kicked up the sand around them..one burst into flame..another began to smoke and the others turned left handed towards the dry river bed..and made it..There was practically no air action..Once in the afternoon the Germans sent over three dive bombers and we heard that screaming sound so familiar during the battle of Britain as they pelled into their dive..Later we were told they had bombed one of their own gun positions..In the afternoon down on the plain it was surprising to discover the ground carpeted with blue daisies,bright red peppies and many old fashioned dandeliens..British shells were somewhere overhead. ~~a small lonesome Piper Cub was up there spotting for the guns~~ and down on the ground men were eating bully beef sandwiches,drinking tea and hauling the guns to new positions..An American Colonel was in a gully with a couple of jeeps and a command car,a sargeant with a voice from the coast of main was talking by radio to American units up on the hill..The Colonel was asked..Whats holding you up?..he replied.."mortars and mines and the fact that there is no more cover up there than youll find on a bald mans head"...Late in the afternoon a huge cloud of dust could be seen behind Fondouk..a sign that the Germans were moving their thin skinned stuff back to safety..later came word that the hill to the North east of the little town had been taken..But the germans were still shelling the road leading thru the pass..Today the pass is clear and we are racing for the coast. ~~may in fact have reached it by now~~.The fighting round Fondouk was bitter but there is worse to come..Romell is pulling back with great speed and ability..back behind the Mountains of North Tunisia ~~Sousse and its doubtfull whether we have been able to cut off more than the straglers..~~

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When he reaches these mountain positions in the North, the taking of each one will be like opening a stubbern oyster ...the mountains are high and the passes narrow..We have Superiority in the ~~pretty well broken the~~ ~~German~~ air ~~force~~ in North Africa but air power ~~may~~ is not likely to play a decisive role in those mountain passes..The Germans will have a formidable concentration of anti aircraft guns and our supplies have a long way to go..that tip of Tunisia may appear small on the map but when you travel over our supply routes you understand the problem that faces us..Its true that we have more men in North Africa than the Germans have, but this is a big place and we havent anything like all ~~p~~ of our men in position where they can fight Germans..~~Yxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ When you see them moving tanks about these roads..see the stuff coming ashore and realise how far it must go before it gets within striking distance, you appreciate what that overworked phrase "Long lines of supply" really means..No one seems to doubt that we shall have to throw the Germans out of here..they arent going to cut and run.... The other day I saw a long line of tank carriers moving over narrow mountain roads..thru country covered with cork trees..they looked grand..each tank was on a trailer wearing ~~fxxxxxx~~ twenty four rubber tires and the truck pulling it had ten tires and I thought..thats where the tires of american automobiles have gone..Then I ~~thx~~ remembered the hundreds of miles those tanks must travel before they moved against the enemy under their own power..Its not an easy problem..But I do wish that the people who make those Sherman tanks could see them when they charge thru a field of cactus..could see the boys driving them.. how they look out thru the slot like schoolboys who should be riding their first bicycle with a coaster brake...

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There is one story of a week spent with fighting troops that must be told..This happened at an advanced flying field..two boys from well south of the Mason Dixon Line sat down beside me..one said..whats that C on your uniform stand for? I replied.."supposed to mean correspondent". He said..what do you correspond for..I said Columbia Broadcasting.. The other remarked..so you are a radio announcer ..I said,well not exactly,some people call us reporters,others call us commentators.... The first boy then passed judgement..he said..'guess they must have changed the name to commentator just to make it sound more military...at the end I promised to announce anything they wanted announced..and they both said.."tell them we want more mail....." and so I have told you....

PASSED FOR PUBLICATION
Robert McHughes
FIELD PRESS CENSOR

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY APRIL 25, 1943.
12.00 12.15 P.M. DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: England at Easter - it's always pleasant, and especially so when one has just come come back from a few weeks in North Africa. Flying the length of the Island in turbulent air over a steady land, you appreciate anew the greenness of the country - the incredible number of airfields - the absence of traffic on the roads - and above everything else the fact that there are no long streamers of dust marking the path of wheeled vehicles. This seems to be a land of pale-faced people, dwelling in dull tired cities, surrounded by green fields, hedges and meandering streams. One of the first sounds to greet the returning traveller is that of church bells. It's a holiday weekend here, but out in North Africa it's different. Up on that tip of Tunisia the Allied offensive continues to move, but progress is slow and costly. We have not yet broken through the vital German defences, although British troops have taken two-thirds of Longstop Hill. That's the Hill that lies like a large loaf of brown bread, just north of Medjez-El-Bab. The Germans are still clinging to one corner of it, where they have immensely strong gun positions blasted out of the rock and covered with concrete. So long as they hold that point their guns cover the road that runs from Medjez down to Tunis. The men now fighting on Longstop ought to be able to see the city of Tunis through low-powered binoculars. We hold at least one hill north of Longstop, and when the guns have been wrestled to the top of it, they will overlook the German positions on Longstop Hill.

This is terrible, desolate boulder-strewn country, and a little further north where the Americans are fighting it's even worse. About a week ago you could hear the Germans blasting gun positions in the hillsides at night, and one officer told me that in the night fighting the tracers from German machine guns came in such a steady, straight stream that you could step right over it; maybe he was exaggerating, but I doubt it. I saw the Americans move up to the positions from which they are now advancing; and studied the big maps with some of the men who are commanding them. The task that confronts them is as hard if not harder than that facing the Allied troops in any section of the line. It's difficult enough to imagine what fighting in that country is like unless you've seen it; and it's completely impossible to appreciate the strain of wading through country strewn with German mines. You walk through a minefield even behind the lines, watching for trip wires, trying to look beneath the surface of the ground before you put each foot down - until finally everything goes out of perspective, and you feel that you must fall flat on your face...and probably on a mine. It is much worse than being shelled or bombed, and an altogether diabolical form of warfare.

One of the most encouraging aspects of this war in Tunisia is the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ integration of ground and air forces. It isn't only that our bombers blast the enemy positions while our fighters knock their bombers out of the sky. It isn't only that

our planes can spot for our guns. The ground Commanders can ask for bombs on a certain place, just as they can ask for a concentration of artillery fire - and they get it. But this air war is much more than bombers and fighters. The photographic units bring back material for maps that are incredibly detailed. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ A Company Commander before he orders his men forward will probably have a map which shows the exact location of the enemy gun positions, weapon pits, and even individual trees. The enemy strongpoint may be on the other side of the hill from him, but his map shows every detail of it. There's another job being done by American flyers out there - the men of the Transport Command. They fly unarmed transport planes all over North Africa, right up to the advanced aerodromes; and they haul everything.... gasoline, mail, ammunition, jeeps and passengers. At one place there was a well-fed Sergeant sitting behind a desk made of old packing boxes - it looks like the Sherrif's desk in an old Keystone comedy. Over the desk is a sign which says simply: "Transportation". The Sergeant sits there with a home-made fly swatter, waging unceasing and unsuccesful war against the flies. If your business is urgent he will arange for you to fly anywhere in the world. And there are times when sergeants and Second Lieutenants take precedence over Majors and Colonels, just because the junior men happen to have technical skills that are needed in some far corner of the world. Those transport planes are unarmed, unromantic, weatherbeaten aircraft. They aren't luxury airliners, but they are as important to the war in North Africa as the guns at the front.

North Africa is full of contradictions and surprises. You walk through the narrow, twisting streets of an Arab town in Morocco, followed by twenty or thirty curious children who have learned to say: "Chewing gum, Chocolate; thank you very much". There was even one whose vocabulary ran to: "What's cookin' kid?" And as you wander through the narrow streets with the open sewers, the ground suddenly seems to tremble, you look up and see seventeen Flying Fortresses a thousand feet above a city that has been there for a thousand years. At Marakesh in the Casino where the wealthy once gambled, you find pilots and air crews sleeping on the floor. At the fashionable hotel you meet a pilot of the air transport command who says: "Oh yes, I was in Kansas City two or three days ago, and some friends of mine asked me to say Hullo if I should meet you." Then there was one of the finest replies ever made to an address ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ by a local dignitary welcoming the arrival of a liberating army. It happened in the holy city of ~~Kairxxxx~~ Kairouan. American and British troops had burst through the Pass at Fondouk, and most of the scout cars and the armor were bypassing the city of Kairouan which had been evacuated by the Germans. In that way ithappened that a group of War Correspondents were first to enter the city. They were led by a certain Major Pilkington of the 16th/5th Lancers. He is a huge, towering man of limited linguistic accomplishments. One of the local dignitaries rushed up to him and delivered an eloquent speech, welcoming the Allied forces. He concluded the oration by shouting: "Vive La France; Vive L'America, Vive La Great Britain!"

The Major looked down at the small citizen and replied: "Too true Chum, too true".

The other day I was sitting on the curb with some American flyers; they were bound for the front. A little Arab boy came along selling newspapers. One of the pilots shouted: "Hey, Abdul"; the boy came over and delivered the paper. Laboriously the big, lean, leather-faced pilot translated from the French the announcement that American flyers who had bombed Tokyo had been murdered. He raised himself from the curb, stuck the paper in his hip pocket and said to his crew: "We'd better go and check over the ship; there's some work to be done here before we can go to Tokyo". No one said a word; they just went off to the field to check the ship.

There are plenty of things to criticise in North Africa, but nothing ~~thatxisxlikelyxtoxix~~ can be said that is likely to improve our chances of an early victory. Our political mistakes are a matter of record; and we are still being obstructed by certain elements, particularly in Morocco. There are still those ambitious French politicians who hope to produce a tailor-made political garment or a strait-jacket into which France can be squeezed after the war has been won. But there is a great battle now in progress, and until that has been settled other matters are of little importance. The time to review a campaign is when it has been concluded.

The other day I talked with an American soldier who said: "I think I've fought all over North Africa". I said: "Where have you fought?" He replied: "Well, we landed somewhere and fought a little; and then we travelled several hundred miles and then fought some more; and we were thrown out of there; and since then we've been fighting in various places". As a result of a lot of questioning I discovered that he had in fact landed at Oran; then gone to the South; had been in the Kassarene Gap and nearly everywhere else. But he didn't know any of the names. I asked him what he was doing with his money, and he said he thought someone at home was buying War Bonds with it. I am supposed at this time to ask you to buy War Bonds. I don't suppose that private's pay has bought very many, but his money came the hard way, and I am not able to command language half so eloquent as his act. Somehow, without being aware of the facts, he understood that he was fighting in country thick with the ruins of Rome and Carthage - a country that has been fought over since the beginnings of history. And maybe he understood too that every country that has lost that vital shoulder of land jutting into the Mediterranean, did so because what we now call the Home Front crumbled behind victorious armies. ~~Whatever you invest in War Bonds~~ No investment you make in War Bonds will be quite as great as that made by the Private who didn't quite know where he had been doing his fighting.

It is customary, I believe, for broadcasters to say something about their sponsors when they begin a new series. I refrained

from doing so when this series began a year ago tonight, for I didn't know how the thing would work out. But it seems to me fair now to say that at no time has International Silver told me what to say or what not to say; there have never been any suggestions that these reports should be weighted or coloured in any way. As I understand it, International Silver is now engaged in war work exclusively. The craftsmen who once made fine silver are now making rifle parts, incendiary bombs, surgical instruments, cartridge clips, bomber parts and all kinds of military equipment. ~~They could afford to make mistakes~~ I saw some of their products being used in North Africa, ~~and~~ ~~only hope that the men~~ with the realisation that men whose work gave pleasure in peacetime are now ~~contributing~~ producing the weapons necessary for survival. It is no mean achievement, ~~and it is a small responsibility to attempt a weekly report~~

B.B.C. Sunday Postscript, May 9, 1943.
9.15-9.30 p.m., DBST.

Edward R. Murrow.

North Africa is full of Isolationists. The British and the Americans are interested in only one thing - that corner of Tunisia still held by the Axis. Mr. Eden may go to America; there may be big bombing raids on Germany; Congress and the House of Commons may debate important issues - all such things go almost unnoticed out there. The rest of the world, and indeed the rest of the war, is far away. Occasionally a soldier will ask you what won the American Derby, or has the Two Thousand Guineas been run yet; but the real interest is in the fighting. Many people have been misled about this war in North Africa. Months ago we were told that we had a half-million men there while the Germans had only a quarter-of-a-million. That was true but misleading. British and American troops are scattered all over Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. We have seldom enjoyed numerical superiority at the front...and we have often been outnumbered. The roads are poor; the Germans stole most of the transport before we arrived; and the distances are enormous. It takes you nearly five hours in a fast plane to fly from Casablanca to Algiers; and about three hours more to fly from Algiers to the front. In that time you could from London to Glasgow and back, twice.

This war in North Africa has the smallest front and the largest behind of any campaign in the history of human conflict. All the tools of war must come by sea, and once they arrive they must travel hundreds of miles by road. The roads are cut to pieces...when the

original surface goes there is dust...the dust is blown away by cold winds...and then the transport must crawl along over the bare rocks. There are no words to describe the fighting in that country; it's like trying to describe the shape and texture of an oyster to someone who has never seen an oyster. And then there are German mines - they never seem to run out of them...they are constantly changing the type and the method of planting them. Did you ever walk through a minefield? It's much worse than being bombed or shelled. You start out with great confidence...watching for trip wires, trying to look beneath the surface of the ground before you put each foot down...there is nothing in the world half so important as where your feet are going...after a few steps everything goes out of perspective...you feel that you must fall flat on your face... and probably on a mine. The men who clear the minefields will tell you that you must treat them gently but firmly, especially those mines that leap up waist high and then explode. Many men tried to tell me how they clear the minefields during a night attack, but I still don't understand it.

But I started to try to tell you something about the British troops out there. If you went out to North Africa now you'd see many strange things...there would be the sun, small, high and intense...there would be little Arab boys with the faces of old men, asking for chocolate and chewing gum....there are oranges on trees.. and there are eggs in shells. And there is a change in the British soldiers...I'm not sure I can describe it...maybe it's presumptuous

to try. Their appearance hasn't changed...except that they have sun-tanned faces, and when the dust is thick their eyes remind you of two smouldering holes in a grey blanket...their speech is the same..not much changed even when they speak the French of Anglo-Saxon fighting men...but they are different. There is new confidence and assurance. I have watched British soldiers since before this war began..watched them through almost four years of defensive..of hanging on..of being thrown out...of one disaster after another. In defeat they were grand...but out there in North Africa they are different - it would lift your heart to see them. Perhaps it's because they are attacking and winning...feel themselves part of a goodly company of men who deserve and demand victory. That's true even of the "chairborne" officers at Allied Force Headquarters. The troops are now fighting in dust and heat over country they traversed when it was cruelly cold. We called it the First Army when it was little more than a division...we didn't know that they had to put parachutists into the line and keep them there fighting as infantry for months. We looked at the map and the area seemed small...we couldn't see the hundreds of miles of narrow, icy roads which had to carry the food, the guns, the tanks and the ammunition up to where the fighting was going on. We were inclined to write this campaign off in advance and to wonder why they didn't finish it sooner. For some time we have all been sure of the outcome...the men who are fighting have been sure too...but don't ever discount what they have done. The French have been fighting with the indomitable spirit of 1914 - and often with weapons of the same

vintage. But that's changing - modern equipment is now reaching them in increasing quantities.

~~One British soldier said to me: "We hear a lot about the fanaticism of the Japanese and how well they fight...but you might tell the folks at home we haven't been up against schoolboys out here".~~ No one here, or in North Africa, would question the glory and gallantry of the Eighth Army...but when they came up against the mountains North of Enfidaville, the men in the North who had been fighting in that kind of country for months said: "Now they will scratch their heads...this won't be Desert warfare".

But I wasn't to talk about tactics,or politics, or anything but what you would have seen if you had spent a few weeks in North Africa. One of the first things you would have noticed is the way this whole military operation is being conducted. Mr. Churchill once said something about American and British affairs getting more and more mixed up together...he must have been talking about North Africa. At Headquarters you find British and American officers like leaves in a book...you walk down a corridor and in one room you'll find a Group-Captain of the R.A.F. - in the next room an American Colonel. You walk down the street and notice that at one corner the traffic is directed by an American...at the next corner a British Tommy is shepherding cars to the right just as though he approved of driving on the right; and at the next intersection the man controlling traffic will be a Frenchman. Up at

the front there is an Englishman writing pamphlets for the Italians... those pamphlets are shot across into the Italian lines...and the pamphlets written by this Englishman say something about: "We Americans have come to free you and your country". Even the censors are mixed up...a not unusual state...but it's hardly fair to the Correspondent; for how can you complain about stupid American or British censorship when you aren't sure whether it was an American or a British officer who censored your story? Up at the front American and British ground crews sit side by side on an airfield and utter profane prayers for the return of their planes. The Americans have become fond of British battledress...and some American supply Sergeants are going to have a terrible time explaining what happened to those battle jackets they have given to the British. I don't expect you to believe it, but I did meet a British soldier who said he liked American Spam.

I talked with one Brigadier about this Anglo-American mixture. He said: "You know, the thing has got to work - that's all there is to it. We'd never be able to sort ourselves out again." The British and Americans aren't engaging in any love feast out there, but they have achieved a unity never before seen between Allies. The main reason for it is that Generals Eisenhower and Alexander are almost fanatical in their insistence that this is really a Combined Operation. I don't believe that either of our two nations has ever been served by more selfless soldiers - men who have little

appetite for publicity, and are quick to defend their Allies.

One of the most impressive features of this fighting is the close integration of ground and air. I talked with one field officer who has been through most of the fighting in this war, and he said: "It doesn't seem right somehow to be able to ask for air support and get it; and it seems strange to see all those planes up there and realise that they're ours." We were standing watching British guns blowing the top off a mountain. He looked at his watch and said: "I've asked them to lay on a little air before dusk to shake the Germans up a bit before we attack; they ought to be along about now". I asked him whether it would be British or American air. He hadn't the least idea. In a few minutes over they came - ~~twelve~~ American Bostons flying tight formation at six thousand feet, with British boys in Spitfires riding high above them.

But most of the fighting you can see takes place on the ground. And it's ~~being~~ done by men who live like animals in little holes they dig in the stony soil of the hillsides. They look somehow bigger and tougher than when they left this country. I saw ~~the~~ a London ~~Irish~~ Regiment lying under some scrubby little trees on a hillside North of Medjez-el-Bab. Every man of the lot was shaved, and some of them had even shined their shoes. A water truck came crawling up the side of the hill, and the men gathered round to fill their water bottles - laughing and joking and pushing. Watching them you

would never have thought that when the sun dropped behind that two thousand-foot hill ahead, they would move out and try to take it again. They had been up there before, and knew what it would be like. But they were relaxed and very steady.

You see some strange sights out there. One afternoon while British and German shells were whispering high overhead, a Cavalry Colonel came riding around the nose of the hill. He was beautifully uniformed, booted and spurred...mounted on a good-looking roan horse. He wasn't even wearing a tin helmet. He seemed to come riding out of other and earlier wars. The Colonel was in charge of the mules, hundreds of them carrying supplies up where no tracked vehicle could travel. He took a very poor view of mechanised warfare. It seemed that he'd had to detach several mules to haul gasoline up to three tanks stuck high on the other slope. No one knew how they had climbed up there, but they couldn't get down. The Colonel made it quite clear that in his opinion they'd had no business going up there in the first place, for he had better uses for his mules than carrying rations up to tanks.

Down near Fondouk, where the ~~Sixth~~ 6th Armoured Division were showing the Germans what that mailed fist on their shoulder-flash means, I talked with a Private who was trying to build a fire. A cold, cutting wind blew the flame flat along the ground. The Private was disgusted. He remarked: "My old man is doing more to win this war than I am". I asked him what his old man did, and he said:

"He's a fireguard in London". That army of yours hasn't lost its sense of humour. There is even a Captain who has found time to write a song called: "There's a New World Over the Skyline". I don't know whether it's a good song or not, but the judgment of one Sergeant, who had only heard the title, was that it couldn't be a good song because there wouldn't be a new world over the skyline; there'd only be more blinking Germans, more mines, another hill that had to be cleared...and no beer.

Africa is a mysterious place, and ~~mmfx~~ one of the major mysteries is how the British soldier communicates with the Arabs. They teach them how to build roads, and the conclude some really remarkable business deals. At an advance airfield there's a cook who comes from somewhere North of the Tweed. He has two Arabs working for him, cutting wood. He <u>thinks</u> they are paid thirty francs a day by the proper authorities, but his deal is purely personal, and he pays them in well-boiled tea-leaves. The arrangement seems to be mutually satisfactory, but the cook is inclined to think he may have to terminate it, because one of the Arabs sits on the ground, holds the piece of wood in place with his two feet, and chops in slow tempo. It makes the cook nervous; he's sure the Arab is going to amputate his foot one day, and he feels somehow responsible for the safety and well-being of his employee.

This Tunisian campaign ~~is~~ wasn't not a place where you would expect to hear fine speeches. But an extraordinary speech was made when the

forces of freedom entered the holy city of Kairouan. It came about in this way. The Germans had evacuated the place, and the British and American armoured columns had swung right and left-handed around the town. The result was that a few War Correspondents were first to enter Kairouan. They were surrounded by enthusiastic citizens. The correspondents were being conducted by a very tall, Major of the ~~16th~~ 16th/5th Lancers. One of the local citizens, who was definitely not tall, delivered a highly emotional address of welcome, and concluded his oration by shouting "Vive La France, Vive La America, Vive La Great Britain". There was considerable applause. The Major, ~~being the senior officer present, was obviously obliged to reply. He~~ looked down with a kindly smile at the spokesman of the citizens of Kairouan, hesitated for ten seconds and then delivered on behalf of the United Nations his reply to the address of welcome. I am able to repeat it verbatim, and his words should find a place in the history of this campaign. He said: "Too true, Chum; too true!"

I have tried to talk about North Africa ... the men who are fighting out there .... They aren't supermen, but they will do till others come along. They are doing their fighting a long way from home. They have made friends with the desert and the mountains, but I didn't meet a single man who wanted to become a colonist in Algeria or Tunisia. They ~~aren't~~ weren't fighting for those hills and valleys ... although many of them ~~have~~ found graves on the sunny side of the slopes ... they ~~are fighting~~ fought for other hills

and other valleys ... the ones at home ... the ones they talk about while they wait to move forward through the minefields. This is a new kind of army in Africa ... these Americans and Britishers who dig their fox holes on the lee side of Roman and Cartheginian ruins. No one has described them adequately ... they couldn't do it themselves ... for there are no words that will catch the glint of bayonets coming down to the charge - and there has been ~~considerable~~ a lot of bayonet work out there. There are no phrases to tell you of the terrible torment of taking a hill, and then the thundering German barrage followed by a slashing counter attack. A Sergeant tried to describe it to me by saying ... "If the hot iron doesn't get you the rock splinters will" .... "And they tell me the mosquitoes are bad out here later on". He said he couldn't stand mosquitoes.

This Army that's fighting in North Africa is thinking of home ... for that's what they are fighting for. If you asked most of them why they are out there they would just look at you and grin ... and ask you who's going to win the World Series - or what will win the Derby. But if you were to spend time with these men you might conclude, as I did, that their feeling was expressed by the younger Pitt .... They are fighting for "everything dear and valuable to man on this side of the grave".

7th June, 1943.

Dear Mr. Barnes,

Your note about Mr. Murrow's Sunday Postscript arrived after he had left for a brief trip to the States. It is good to know that the talk was rated high by those who heard it and I shall be sure to tell Mr. Murrow about it when he comes back.

Yours sincerely,

G.R. Barnes Esq.,
Director of Talks,
Broadcasting House,
W.1.

kc:awd

7th June, 1943.

Dear Miss Sprott,

Your letter of May 14th has just turned up on my desk. I do not know whether Mr. Murrow saw it before leaving for a brief trip to the States on May 24th, or whether the letter was delayed somewhere and only delivered on Saturday morning.

However this is just to let you know that Mr. Murrow would certainly give permission for extracts from his Sunday Postscript to be used in the way you suggest. I hope the recordings will prove to be helpful.

Yours sincerely,

Miss Elsie Sprott,
Head of Lecture Section,
Broadcasting House,
W.1.

kc:awd

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Broadcasting House, London, W. 1
TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

Reference 04/GRB 28th May 1943

My dear Murrow

Sunday Postscript, 9th May

You may like to know that our Listener Research Report on this talk states that many more people than usual kept their sets on after the 9 p.m. news, and that the talk was rated very high by those who heard it. Its reception was compared very favourably with your last postscript given in June, 1942.

Yours sincerely

G.R. Barnes
Director of Talks

Edward R. Murrow Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
49, Hallam Street, W. 1

HJS

Headquarters,
U.S. Naval Forces in Europe,
London, England,
May 10, 1943.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I listened to the post script last night.

If you will not consider it perhaps a little presumptuous on my part to say so -- I was proud of you --- not only because of what you said, but also because of the way you said it.

You gave out a very interesting descriptive story and, interspread with the factual part of it was good liaison; and though I would hardly call it propaganda, it certainly was some of the best material I have heard, for promoting good will between the British and ourselves. Good will among the English speaking people is, in my humble opinion, one of the most desirable things in and for this old world, at least for the years immediately ahead.

Congratulations and all good wishes,

Sincerely,

H R Stark.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
49 Hallam Street,
London, W.1.

Charges to pay
_____s. _____d.
RECEIVED

No._____
OFFICE STAMP

WESTERN DISTRICT OFFICE W.1 * 10 MY 43

POST OFFICE

TELEGRAM

Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

From Lord Alf 1st May 10-28 Beaconsfield FR 15

Edward Murrow Columbia Broadcasting System
London W.1.

Thanks magnificent postscript Peter Lunick
Pat Wallace Frere.

For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form and, if possible, the envelope.

B or C
T.51-5268

Charges to pay
_____s. _____d.
RECEIVED

POST OFFICE

No: Murr 27
OFFICE STAMP

WESTERN DISTRICT OFFICE W.1. 10 MY 43

TELEGRAM

Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

From Wat _____m 4.42 Waterloo Stn 34 To _____m

21493
Edward Murrow Flat 9 49
Hallam Street W1
Heartiest congratulations on one
of finest Broadcasts of the war
No other American could have done
it so well Glad your back regards
John Elliott

For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form and, if possible, the envelope.

B or C
T.51-5268

My dear Ed,

Warm congratulations & sincere thanks for Sunday's broadcast postscript. It was magnificent! First class reporting. A fine swap of American style at its best. A great service to Anglo-American solidarity.

Bless you!

Yours

Herbert Morrison

Mr Ed Murrow.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W. 1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

Reference: 01/P/EIS 14th May, 1943

Dear Mr. Murrow,

This is just to let you know that I am having some extracts from your last Sunday's Postscript dubbed on recordings which I will use in talks to various Units of the British Army.

I have been talking to troops for the last two and a half years and have recently found that relations between the British and American Armies in some quarters could perhaps be improved by a little more understanding. Being a fervent believer in the necessity of Anglo-American co-operation that worries me quite a lot and I do think that the extracts from your Postscript showing the extremely good co-operation on the battle-fronts will be very helpful. I hope that I have your full permission to use your talk in this way.

Incidentally I should like very much to have a chat with you sometime but like yourself I travel the country a great deal and it is usually difficult to find a mutually convenient time.

Yours sincerely,

Elsie J. Sprott

(HEAD OF LECTURE SECTION)

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W. 1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

Reference: 04/GRB 6th May, 1943

By hand

My dear Murrow,

Quick notes after a first reading

SCRIPT

I like it very much, and it is just what is needed for Sunday.

Suggestions: I think the introduction is laboured. It could all be cut, and the point about your words being heard in North Africa as well as in this country could be worked into a sentence elsewhere.

A start at A. on Page 2 ~~grips.~~ would be gripping

Pages 3 and 4 could be reduced in length without harm.

Don't reduce 5.

Page 6: personally I should have preferred a short close-up of Eisenhower to the rather formal marked passages, but please keep Spam.

Of the four illustrations on Pages 7-8 the last impresses me most, but I am not suggesting that you should necessarily cut the other three.

Page 9: I prefer the Arabs to the tall Major.

I like the conclusion very much indeed.

ARRANGEMENTS

I should like to have a second draft of your script by 3.30 p.m. on Saturday, if that is possible. Please address it to Christopher Salmon, in Room 224 Broadcasting House, who will be on duty then. He will get it censored for security and military policy, and copied. I suggest that you and he should

meet between 6.0 and 8.0 p.m. on Sunday in order to make final adjustments and to run over it together.

Thank you for all you have done. I am sure it will be a success.

Yours ever,

George Barnes

George Barnes
Director of Talks

Edward R. Murrow Esq.,

With the Compliments

of

The British Broadcasting

Corporation

COPY

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W. 1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

Reference: 04/GRB 1st May, 1943

Dear Murrow,

I want you to do that fifteen minute talk about North Africa. I hope that we can place it in the Home programme as the Sunday Postscript on 9th May (i.e. after the 9 p.m. News Bulletin), but as you know I cannot commit myself finally to this important space until I have seen the script because the final choice does not lie with me! Could you therefore let me have a script by Friday morning so that we could broadcast it on Friday if other arrangements have to be made for Sunday. Personally I want your talk on Sunday as I think it would be very popular with our public, and because, if I may say so, I do not think that you did yourself justice in the last Sunday Postscript which you gave.

I made the attached notes of our talk but of course I will come over and see you if they are in adequate, and if you want help of any kind. Please think of the talk as a Sunday Postscript, i.e. that the emotional note may be struck louder than is usually allowable in British broadcasting.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.) G. R. BARNES

Director of Talks

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.

4th May 1943

Notes on North Africa

1) The appalling difficulty of the country, (strange conditions for the Eighth Army). Numbers; much has been made in both Britain and America of our half-million troops in North Africa to the Germans' quarter-million, but what is never explained is the extent of territory over which our half-million is dispersed. At the front we have often been out-numbered.—

2) Cooperation in practice. Stories to illustrate unselfconscious interchangeability of British and Americans, e.g. at G.H.Q., in traffic control. Equipment interchangeable, Sherman and British six pounders, British battledress preferred by Americans, British officers raiding American stores for holland jackets.

3) A picture of Eisenhower at work, (referring, I hope, to your American Portrait of last year).

4) The grumbles of British and of Americans and how they differ. All are variations on the soldier's old ground base: mails, food, leave. No drink in Algiers.

5) Human stories about particular regiments where released.

6) Short note on French fighting.

German mistakes —

British officer defending Americans. —

People in U.S. listening x

Doubt most anyone who wanted to be a Colonel x —

sum that high rank & intuition —

Idea trying to describe form & texture of an oyster x

Cavalry Colonel — Sailor in plane —

Kaufman —

Co-op land and air x

Ice & snow — now dust & heat x

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY MAY 9, 1943.
MIDNIGHT

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Three years is a long time to wait for a major victory. It was just three years ago that the Germans overran Holland and started the series of conquests which left this Island the only country in arms opposing German ambition. Those three years saw the British stagger through an amazing series of disasters. They took their defeats calmly, and they have taken the news of the war's best week in similar fashion. The sudden collapse of the Axis forces in Tunisia came as a surprise, but it has not produced any easy optimism or any belief that the time has come for relaxation. ~~The withdrawal~~ Everyone seems to realise that this development merely makes possible the beginning of the major and costly effort; and the news that British forces have withdrawn in Burma serves to remind people that ~~the war will not be over~~ Tunisia is only the first step along a road that will be long and difficult.

During the next few weeks there will be much looking at maps and much speculation about future operations. The natural inclination is to consider Sicily and Sardinia as the next objectives. That would seem to be the obvious move, for it would be the final step in clearing the Mediterranean from end to end. But strategists do not always prefer the obvious course of action. Allied strategists are now presented with at least four alternatives. The invasion of Norway would, if succesful, clear the supply route to Russia, but it would not rank as a primary

objective, for such a move would not be decisive in determining the outcome of the war.

For many weeks many people have concluded that Italy would be next on the list. The airfields in the North would make it possible for us to bomb industrial targets in Germany and in Austria - the places that are hardest to reach by bombers based on England. The occupation of Italy would of course eliminate the Italian Fleet, and make possible a move across the Adriatic into the Balkans. The conquest of Italy would be no easy matter, for the Italians might be expected to fight better in their own country than they have in North Africa. The occupation of all of Italy would bring us up against the Alps, and leave the German forces intact behind that formidable barrier. The Germans would still have their Italian labour, and they would no longer have to supply the Italians with heavy raw materials. One thing is certain, and that is that the British and American armies in North Africa, and the French troops that are training there, are going to be used.

A return to Greece might be an attractive alternative to the invasion of Italy; it might even be easier to land there, and the well-trained Ninth and Tenth Armies are standing by in the Middle East. Any campaign in the Balkans is likely to involve Turkey, and that country still remains

an uneasy neutral. Last night Turkish rumors were flying thick and fast around London. The first one was that Turkey had declared war on Bulgaria; and then that she had declared war on Germany. The Turkish Embassy say they haven't declared war on anybody - and they ought to know. The best unofficial opinion here seems to be that Turkey will at some stage enter the war on our side, but that the time has not yet come. The difficulty about a campaign in the Balkans is not only one of terrain and mountain masses to be crossed. It is the fact that the fighting would be a long way from our principal European base, which is Britain, and a long way from the place where the Germans must be finally defeated, which is Germany.

A landing on the coast of France might provide the best opportunity for an immediate decision. Certainly the air cover for the original landing would be greater than at any other point. There are no mountain barriers to cross; airborne troops could be used with the maximum of fighter protection; and the problem of supply - both by air and water - could be overcome more easily than in the case of either Greece or Italy. In France we should be up against the strongest coastal defences anywhere along the European shore-line; and later on would encounter the West Wall and the Rhine. The Germans are holding a considerable number of bombers in Northern France, but they aren't using them against England. The assumption is that they are being held ready to bomb back any invasion attempt.

In considering the alternatives in the coming battle for Europe, it is always well to remember that we went to North Africa because we didn't have the strength to go directly on to the Continent. ~~Since~~ Now we are stronger; American and British divisions have been battle tested, and some hard lessons learned. The Germans aren't lining the coast of Europe waiting for us in equal strength at all points. Most of their defensive power, other than that concentrated in fixed positions at vulnerable points, is well back from the coast, held ready to be thrown at whatever point is threatened. Those planes, tanks and men represent what the military writers call "the strategic reserve". One of our objectives must be to divide that strategic reserve - to throw it off balance - to mislead it as to the point where our major effort is to be made. That is not an easy thing to do in these days of constant air reconnaissance, but that's why there has been a revival of the campaign against careless talk in this country. The need for secrecy has never been greater. No one that I have talked to, here or in North Africa, fails to understand the price we shall pay for a foothold on the Continent. As the time for the effort approaches it is more than ever necessary that the people of the Continent, including our enemies, be told the kind of world we with their help propose to put together when the destruction stops.

The Conference on food problems will interest a lot of people in Europe. It might even give some of them hope. We are

told here that it isn't to deal with relief, but with long-term problems; that it's to be provisional and exploratory. It will be the first of the post-war conferences, and itwill raise great expectations. This week's issue of The Economist remarks: "There is no Democratic monopoly of order and security. Indeed, the Totalitarians have hitherto been more successful than the free nations in providing at least the illusion of these. But none of the Totalitarians can safely offer to make men's minds free or their stomachs full. The conference at Hot Springs is the first shot in the counter-offensive of butter against guns. If it does not record some advance it will prejudice the whole of the larger cause."

The most important thing to do about food is to see that people who are hungry can get more of it. But the Economist concludes "That the chief concern of the Conference will almost inevitably be to get prices up, and to restrict the supply of food as a means of doing so." There is nothing more likely to interest a hungry Continent than food. And there is nothing more sure to discourage hungry people than to be told that distinguished delegates met and talked, and decided that restrictive measures seemed to be the best solution. Sometime within the next few months American and British soldiers will be called upon to die on the fringes of a hungry Continent. If the people who

meet to talk about food dare to plan great plans to prove that we have the vision to free men's minds and fill their stomachs, then we shall have given hope to people who are tired of words. I remember trying to praise British courage under the bombs. An English friend said to me: "When this war is over we aren't going to be very much interested in praise or glory. We will prefer a good steak. ~~There probably isn't very much that propaganda or psychological warfare can do to pave the way for an Allied landing on the Continent~~ No one is going to suggest that our invasion of the Continent will be made easier if we promise to give everyone a steak. But the fact of the matter is that every piece of evidence coming out of Europe goes to prove that people are looking to the Allies for a new pattern - a new hope. There was a crisis of confidence in Democracy in Europe, and Democracy lost. If it is to be revived, made strong and steady, we must demonstrate that lessons have been learned - that we can ~~provide~~ create a climate in which free minds and full stomachs are possible. The Conference on food, which is exploratory...which won't commit anyone to anything, is not expected to produce immediate results; but it might produce hope - and that is a valuable commodity even to people who have been living on nothing but that for three years.

The victory in Tunisia has made more urgent the need for French unity. There have been no recent developments in the

relations between Generals Giraud and de Gaulle. So far as anyone knows they are still arguing about where they are to meet. However, there is discernible - in print and in conversations - an increasing tone of irritation at what appears to be petty squabbling over a matter involving personal prestige and popular acclaim. Tonight it seems probable that the two French leaders will be meeting somewhere in the near future.

The past week has seen no improvement in the relations between Russia and Poland. It seems that neither ~~xide~~ Government is fully convinced of the honest intentions of the other. Premier Stalin has made it clear that Russia has no quarrel with her major Allies; and he has said that Russia wants a free and independent Poland. That sounds definite enough; but as one English weekly puts it: "Could free mean Soviet? Could independent mean free only to opt for inclusion in the Soviet Union?" Few people here are willing to place all the blame on either country; but there is agreement that the first task of Anglo-American diplomacy is the restoration of confidence between the two governments.

Complete understanding between Allies isn't easy to achieve even in unimportant matters. For example, yesterday there was a football game between two American Army teams here in London. The first kick-off was returned 95 yards for a touch-down, whereupon one English sports writer was heard to remark: "Very interesting! Is that customary?"

I return you now to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. ED MURROW 24th May, 1943 0000 - 0012.30

THIS IS LONDON: An important, and perhaps dangerous thing is happening over here. The British are not by nature an optimistic people: they are often inclined to expect the worst and then be pleasantly surprised when events aren't quite as bad as they had feared. But right now optimism seems to be the national industry. This bright view of the future is not inspired by the Government; it is the press reaction to a whole series of events. Today our papers tell us - in headlines - that the 'battle of Europe has begun'; that the 'last hours of great decisions have been reached in Washington'; that the 'Prime Minister and the President are ready with invasion plans'. Another paper announces that Italy is 'rocked by the Blitz' ... 'cities are in chaos and food is scarce ... Mussolini may leave Rome'. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Minister of Production, says the blow may not fall in the Mediterranean at all. Somehow the impression is created that even the dissolution of the Comintern will help to beat the Germans. Now such reports are calculated to torture the nerves of the enslaved peoples ... to create false hopes on the Continent and in Britain; the reaction ... the appreciation of reality, will come, and thoughtful people should be ready for it.

The fact is that the military news of the last week has been confined to the air, at least so far as Europe is concerned. Fleets of Allied planes have been sweeping the Italian islands of the Mediterranean. Since Wednesday they have destroyed 303 Axis planes for the loss of twenty. There is reason to believe that the Axis has drawn on its strategic reserve of aircraft ... has been pulling squadrons out of the big pool they keep in readiness for an invasion attempt ... Over Northern Germany fighters have been met wearing the dirty brown camouflage of the Tunisian squadrons. Axis air power is

stretched ... there is no doubt about that.

Soon there may be small amphibious operations in the Mediterranean, but that will not bring us into contact with the German armies. All the information reaching London indicates that the Germans will soon make another bid for Moscow. If that happens, and the predictions of an invasion of the Continent are not fulfilled, there will be an outcry here, and there will be more deep disappointment on the Continent. The Russians won't be pleased either. And if at the same time there is no major offensive in the Pacific, there won't be much pleasure anywhere on our side.

The point is, that people here are being led to expect too much too soon. The general impression here is that the dissolution of the Comintern is a good thing ... that it may rob Goebbels Bolshevik bogey of its sting ... and that it will improve relations between Russia and America. In this country it is not likely to change anything. The Communist Party of Great Britain has been asking for membership in the Labour Party ... they have been turned down. The fact that Moscow has dissolved the international Communist organisation will hardly cause the Labour leaders to change their minds. Marshal Stalin's action is considered a gesture towards closer relations with the Western powers ... it removes one more ground for suspicion about Russian foreign policy. It may also be the recognition of a very important development in the Occupied countries. In many places the communists have been the leaders of the movement~~s~~ of resistance. At the same time there has been a great increase in nationalism in the lands controlled by the Germans. The Norwegians, the Dutch and the French have made it quite

clear that they want the minimum of Allied interference in their own lands. It is of the utmost importance that we understand one thing about the political complexion of Europe ..... There is little appetite to go back to where they were. There is a certain "sense of guilt" about the systems that didn't work. There is bound to be a demand for more control of industry and of finance ... more security for the State and for the individual. It isn't possible to predict that will happen, but the evidence is overwhelming ... everyone who comes out of Europe confirms it ... that there will be no return to the old order unless the Allies try to re-impose it. The old allegiances, like the old institutions, have gone. That's true to a certain extent in this country. It is astonishing the number of people who say to you: "I was a member of the Labour Party", or "I was a Conservative"; now they aren't sure what they are.

The passing of the Comintern won't make Communism on the Continent either more or less likely; and it won't reduce the chances of revolution when the war is over. We are committed to certain broad and fundamental policies; they were stated in the Atlantic Charter and they still stand. We have said there will be no territorial changes which do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned ... All people to choose the form of Government under which they will live ... Victors and vanquished, great and small, to have access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity. And we have promised the disarmament of all aggressor nations pending the establishment of a permanent system of security. These broad and sweeping principles we have promised to apply when we have secured the unconditional

surrender of our enemies. It will not be easy. It is not true that war settles nothing; but it is true that victory isn't going to settle the old problems of Europe ... it will merely provide a chance to settle them. Take the example of East Prussia and Danzig ... a pretty strong case has been made for their transfer to Poland ... But the inhabitants of those territories could invoke the Atlantic Charter against any such action.

The peace isn't going to be plain sailing; but what happens to Europe - whether it moves to the right or left - will be determined by Allied adherence to principles, not by whether the Comintern is liquidated. Communism is an item for export ... so is Democracy; the two are bound to compete. The realisation of that fact is the basis of German propaganda; and it is also the basis of the Allied efforts to reach agreement with Russia about matters other than those directly connected with killing Germans. People who have had much talk with Stalin tell me that he isn't interested in acquiring more territory, or in the spread of his version of Communism. But Russia's neighbour nations aren't so sure about that ... they would like to learn that Britain and America had come to some agreement with Russia which would insure them .. that they could in fact count on the blessings promised in the Atlantic Charter.

Mr. Churchill has described the times in which we live as a "convulsive formative period in world history". He chooses his words carefully ... just as he did during his speech to Congress. The general feeling here is that he had faced some pretty stiff pressure about the Pacific, and had done a good job in making the case for dealing with Germany first. No one criticised or questioned his pledge that Britain would fight

on against Japan ... it will unquestionably be in Britain's interest to do so, and Mr. Churchill is unlikely to forget where Britain's interests lie. The whole structure of the Commonwealth - Australia, New Zealand, India and Malaya - plus the memory of disaster at Singapore will certainly keep Britain in the war against Japan. However, it would be a mistake to under-estimate the unconscious fatigue that is present in this country ... or the problems that will demand her attention on the continent of Europe. When Germany is finally defeated there must inevitably be some relaxation ... how much depends upon how long it takes, and how many lives it takes to do the job.

Most people over here fail to understand our sympathy for and attachment to China. You will have noticed that Mr. Churchill referred to her as "hard pressed and long-tormented" ... he chooses his words carefully. Way back at the beginning of this trail of aggression, at the time of Manchukuo, the British did not react as strongly to Japanese policy as we did. Just as our reply to German aggression in Poland wasn't as forceful as Britain's. But so far as anyone can foresee the future, there can be no set of circumstances that would cause Britain to abandon the war against Japan ... for to do so would be to abandon all hope of her position as a world power. Many people here are convinced that Russia will eventually enter the war against Japan, but no well-informed person expects her to do so in the near future. The Russians can't afford a purely Anglo-American victory in the Far East ... just as Turkey can't afford to have Russia dominate the Balkans. But to expect the Russians to provide air bases for Allied bombing of Japan at this stage would be like asking us to provide bases for a far-away Ally to bomb a neutral Canada; while we were fighting the Japanese along the line of the

Mississippi, we would probably feel that one war at a time was enough .... which is what the Russians feel now.

Last week we saw an example of how hard it is to effect change in this country. During the debate on the Beveridge Report the Government agreed to establish a comprehensive health service. The Ministry of Health, over a period of two months, held meetings with a representative group of Doctors. The idea was that Doctors should be employed as salaried officers, mainly whole-time, by a new type of local authority. The representative committee of doctors felt that such proposals would be "contrary to the public interest", and unacceptable to the majority of the profession. The Minister of Health agreed to discard the proposals, and to re-examine the whole situation ... And so the first attempt to put into practice one small section of the Beveridge Report has failed. But the discussions will continue, and some kind of compromise will probably be worked out.

I've just received some information from home which indicates that there is no time for compromise about America's health in wartime. We need sixty-five thousand Student nurses, and we need them urgently. Now I don't know a thing about nursing ... it's never seemed to me a very glamorous or rewarding sort of job ... just hard work for people who often don't appreciate it. But I have seen nurses give a shot of morphine, or whatever it is they use, to broken men who were suffering the agonies of the damned ... I've seen them walk calmly through a street that was full of sudden death, just to minister to a few people who probably only had head colds, or maybe an ankle sprained in the blackout. Out in North Africa I saw some Americans ... they

were fighting and winning ... but behind the whole mechanised might of front-line action there were a lot of people at home ... some Student Nurse had probably bound up the finger of a guy named Joe, so that he could finish assembling the tank that over-ran a German mortar position. Some of the nurses working in base hospitals had been relieved by student nurses at home. Already thirty-three thousand nurses have gone into the armed services, and they must be replaced. I suppose you make more money in a factory ... maybe have more fun in one of the Women's Auxiliary Services ... but if you are between 17 and 35, with a High School education, and want to do something about this war ... you might write to your local Nursing Organisation, or to Student Nurses, Box 88, New York City.

I return you now to Warren Sweeney in New York.

S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

Edward R. Murrow

(July 11 - August 15, 1943)

S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

And Cables

Edward R. Murrow

(August 22, 1943 - February 13, 1944)

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JULY 11, 1943.
1930 -1945 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: These are memories of a great ship ... her voyage from a port somewhere in the United States to another port in Great Britain. In wartime it's forbidden to do much talking about ships; I can't even tell you her name ... the port from which she cleared ... or the place and time where passengers disembarked. But such things aren't very important. It is important only that a troop transport shall arrive and that the men shall be landed with dry feet ... that they don't have to stand up and drink salt water somewhere between America and Britain.

A troop transport is like a community built to house and feed and sleep say three thousand people. The community must now hold fifteen thousand men ... its size can't be increased ... the men must be fed and they must have a place to sleep ... and the whole community must be moved across the Atlantic ... naturally things are crowded. As you stand on the deck watching those long lines of brown, bent figures come aboard, it's like one of those old movies where twenty men emerge from a single taxi cab ... it seems that the ship must burst her sides, or the men must spill into the harbour. Even to one who has done some travelling on crowded cruise ships the thing seems impossible; someone must have made a mistake ... forgot to give the order to stop that long twisting line of boys coming aboard, bent double under field packs and barrack bags. There is no noise ... only the sound of shuffling feet; and when the line stops for a moment you can hear soft sighs as they ease the packs to a new position. One private reaches inside his shirt to adjust two sponges he has placed so they will keep the straps from cutting into his shoulders ... and you think: "That private will be a sergeant soon". You walk up to the boat deck and lean on the rail beside a big corporal who has Iowa written all over him. He looks down at the oil-streaked water

wandering along the port side of the grey-painted ship. He turns to you and says: "Man, it's higher than the silo back home".

There is no smoking during the embarkation ... you wander down into the maze of decks and corridors ... the long lines are twisting about down there ... the whole inside of the ship seems to writhe. You notice that the cabins have been stripppd ... no running water ... triple-decker bunks ... the partitions between staterooms have been torn out ... everything has been done to make more room. The ship is a mere shell filled with men. She is being double-loaded ... that means that the men will have twenty-four hours below decks with some kind of bed ... then they will have twenty-four hours without any bed. You stop and talk with an MP stationed at the head of a flight of stairs ... he says: "Sure would like to catch someone smoking". You ask what he'd do if he did ... he grins and says: "Just stand and inhale the smoke for a bit, and then take him to the Lieutenant who'd probably show him where they peel potatoes ..."

The long lines keep moving ... there are numbers chalked on every man's helmet, and the faces beneath them are frozen with fatigue. One man drops his duffle bag and it splits open; he looks down at it, the contents spilling out onto the floor, and sighs: "For a minute I didn't know whether it was me or the barracks bag what split open". Finally, as happens with all ships, the gangplanks were pulled ashore ... and the great ship eased away from the pier. As the lights of the city faded astern you hear a boy who must have come from the Texas panhandle say: "Never liked that place much anyhow". There is no cheering ... no singing ... no bands ... and no crowds to see the boys off.

When we are clear of the Harbour, the loud-speakers located all over the ship come to life. A steady confident voice from Scotland talks to all officers and other ranks. It's the Staff Captain of the ship ... you know at once that he's

spent his life at sea ... knows what he's doing. He welcomes everyone to the ship ... regrets that it can't be under more pleasant circumstances ... appreciates the conditions under which we will live, but war is no respecter of persons, and every ship we possess must be used to its fullest capacity. He goes on: "I am well aware that the ship is crowded but you will, I hope, have two reasonable meals per day and somewhere to sleep; and as far as I am aware, it will not be for any great length of time". The staff Captain reminds them that they are no longer in a safe area ... enemy attack may come at any time ... but if it does it must not find us unprepared. He tells them that the ship is equipped with every modern safety device ... she has crossed the ocean many times in safety. Even one glowing cigarette, carelessly smoked on an open deck at night, may bring attack from an unseen enemy vessel ... after all, lights do not grow upon the ocean ... there must be no smoking or use of lights on any open deck during darkness ... all ports and windows must remain closed and secured during blackout hours. The staff Captain then talks about trash ... it must not be thrown overboard, for it would leave a continuous track on the surface of the ocean ... and that would tell the enemy that a large vessel had passed that way - and the direction in which the ship was travelling. He warns about fire ... and orders every man aboard to carry his life preserver with him wherever he goes; and every man does just that. The orders for emergency stations are explained ... and a practice muster is held ... when the men have all found their stations, the staff Captain chuckles through the loud-speakers and says: "You did that so well that as soon as you've had some food we'll do it again".

By the end of the first day out the ship begins to settle down ... but it's still crowded. A warrant officer remarks he thinks he'll go and see the dentist. Someone says: "Trouble with your teeth?" and he says: "Not a bit ... but they

tell me the dentist's chair is the only place on this boat where you can sit down!" You ease up and listen to a red-headed corporal telking to his squad. He has them well forward on the promenade deck ... you hear him say: "Look fellows, this whole thing is just like crossing the street, and not much more dangerous. One of his men asks: "Corporal, can you swim?" and he snaps back: "A fifth columnist, Huh? Of course I can't swim ... and I don't expect to have to learn - at least, not on this trip". A boy whose parents must have been Italian says: "Why is it that the ocean seems to bend up at the edges this way?" Nobody answers that one. The siren sounds for boat drill, and a young citizen from Pittsburgh says: "Sounds just like the factory whistle back home" ... he's a trifle homesick. You stand on one deck, looking down at another; the men are standing closer than the pickets on a fence. The soldier beside you says: "Anybody who gets a sunburn on this ship will have to be bald-headed ... there isn't room to turn your face up!"

There is much talk of where we are going. After X number of days they tell us officially we are going to England. Somewhere about mid-Atlantic there is a change in the conversation. Up to then most of the boys had said: "Here in this country" ... or ... "At our last camp you could stand in mud up to your waist, and the wind would blow dust in your eyes"; but somewhere about mid-Atlantic they began to say: "Back home it wasn't this way or that way" ... home became far away. There was much talk about what wives or mothers would say when they heard we were overseas. We saw some whales ... and then some porpoises ... and there were rumours about submarines. After a couple of days there was singing - lots of it - mostly old songs. The singing swept round the ship like a crown fire in the western woods ... the guitars and banjos and saxaphones came up on the deck ... forward, she was coming round the mountain; amidships down on B deck she was on the sidewalks of New York; on the deck below she was truly loved; while aft two

boys dolefully avowed their love for the little brown jug. By the way, the ship was dry ... no beer ... no whiskey ... But there were two stout meals every day, and there were plenty of chocolate bars for in between. It was a smooth crossing ... didn't see a seasick soldier. There was plenty of gambling, and the stakes were high ... but there were plenty of boys who thought it wasn't so smart to put your month's salary on a pair of dice. Once I saw eight straight passes made, which is something to see on a troop ship ... or anywhere else for that matter. Then there was the warrant officer who came up and said: "You know anything about these outfits that send you pictures of your baby you've never seen?" ... I didn't. He told me his wife had a nine pound boy a few days before he sailed, and he'd like to have a picture of him ... So if Mrs. Thompson out in Spokane, Washington will send me a picture of the baby, I'll see that her warrant officer husband gets it.

These boys on this ship were just like they are at home ... they argued the relative merits of California and Pennsylvania ... they came from all over the country ... their names were English, Dutch, Scandinavian, Polish and all the rest. They endured considerable discomfort, and they did it without complaining. They slept on the floor in the corridors when their buddies had their twenty-four hours below in the bunks. You could see them any night, sprawled out like khaki-clothed dolls thrown aside by some petulant child ... sometimes they smiled in their sleep ... at other times they were expressionless and relaxed - like dead soldiers I have seen. During their waking hours they wanted to talk about England: what would the weather and the girls be like? Could they get any food when they were on leave? And what would they do about this English tea, and warm beer? There was a boy from Minnesota ... said he was sure he couldn't drink that warm beer; once he'd tried to drink milk right out of the cow, and couldn't do it ... so what about the beer? He ended up by saying he never drank beer anyway ... but he

understood that sometimes English people might invite him to tea, and he didn't like tea either ... and he couldn't drink tea ... and he didn't want to offend people by saying he didn't like tea ... and would it be alright if he just said, no thank you, when people offered him tea?

Shortly before we landed, the pictures of folks at home began to appear. By that time home was a long way away ... and hearts were turning west again. These boys with whom I crossed the Atlantic are not to be described ... they were healthy ... they were curious and courageous. The discipline was excellent ... there were no heroics ... the boys were serious, and they seemed to know more of what this war is all about than did the men in North Africa. We sat and talked about everything ... already before we reached these shores they were talking about things at home ... hoping that they could end this thing ... get out of those monkey suits and go home. One Second Lieutenant, talking about politics at home, remarked: "It's all a matter of perspective ... whether you are interested in the next election or the next generation".

When we saw Britain's shore the hills were green ... there were white sheep on the hills and white clouds overhead. A soldier from California said: "Boy, that's a nice piece of real estate". A Scotsman standing beside him answered: "Aye, we've spent a thousand years improving it". The long lines moved out of the ship ... the men looked more confident than when they came aboard. After all they had crossed the big ocean ... hadn't been seasick ... and the big adventure was beginning. There was a band playing on the quayside ... there were women driving trucks and handling civilian baggage ... the troop trains were waiting ... the Red Cross was there with tea and doughnuts. The men started stowing their baggage aboard the train ... there was no confusion ... pockets were stuffed with chocolate for British kids ... the band was playing "It's a long way

to Tipperary" ... One sergeant had a well-worn horseshoe strapped outside his field pack. As the men stood in line waiting to go aboard the train, I heard one say: "I'm going to write my Mother and tell her I crossed the ocean standing in line!" They talked about the strange posters advertising unfamiliar British goods. Finally the lines quivered and moved ... the commands were crisp but notloud ... the men went aboard and flopped into their seats ... decks of cards and mystery stories provided by the Red Cross came out of pockets. The engine gave a little toot, and the train began to roll ... I stood on the platform with a British friend, and watched car after car slide past. Every window was filled with brown grinning faces ... occasionally a bar of candy or a package of cigarettes flipped out to someone on the platform. It seemed to me that the whole of America was on that train ... the faces were from the mountains of West Virginia ... from the far west coast ... there were negroes ... and Indians, Swedes, Poles and Italians. As the train gathered speed the windows were filled with a blur of brown faces, white teeth and close-cropped hair. My British friend remarked: "There is a grand advertisement for your country". A snatch of song floated out of the last car — something about ... "The second lieutenants would win the war so what the hell are we doing here" ... I turned and looked at that great ship lying in the harbour ... the men were still coming ashore ... looking down at those brown tin hats was like looking down from a second-storey window at the cobblestones on a street. I hope never again to cross in that ship ,.. someday, if she lives, she will be luxurious ... there will be thick carpets ... richly decorated staterooms ... soft music and good service ... there will be men in evening clothes, and women in elaborate dresses. But for me that ship will always carry the ghosts of men who slept on the floor, ate out of mess tins twice a day, carried their lifebelts with them night and day ... the ghosts of men and boys who crossed the ocean to risk their lives ... as casually as they would cross the street at home;

END

xxxxxx .... Thursday..Think 'll go down and see the dentist..thats the only place on the ship that isnt crowded...'his is just like crossing the street..Why is it that the skxxx ocean seems to bend up at the edges...Going to train hard whereever we are going because we have an idea that we are going to be used for maintenance work behind the lines and if we train well maybe they will use our engineering company on combat work..that from a private who was a college graduate and who had written his thesis about the Spanish war..thought we had mad e a mistake then and still thinks so...Another thought this was so much better than the camp from which he came where you could stand in mud up to your waist and the wind would blow dust in your eyes...THE FEEDING..two meals a day... sometimes the mixtures..you start eating backward out of the mess kit..what it feels like when you have a small mound of cole slaw and then someone puts a dollop of ice cream on top of it..,,Canadians Dutch Negroes,the variety of accents..the fear of being sent where nothing will happen....

Poker..the stakes are substantial..the airforce plays higher and handsomer... The talk about what wives and motherers will say when they her that their men are abroad...Maybe the life preserver..which you must carry everywhere ,will break your neck when you jump..the answer to that is to stand up straight till you can drink salt walter and then you will just float off..the way I figure it you cant break your neck that way... ..The KP who had been an MP and discovered that a wet mop was better than a bayonet when it came to keeping boys out of the mess hall.....Do you think well see any whales?...

WHAT ABOUT HEROES..IS IT ALL PUBLICITY...The sargeant who thought it was just a matter of remembering what you had been told..and then doing it..I crossed with a whole boatload of heroes...The casualness of the whole thing.. the confid ence...the germans who used to talk about the master race..these boys who are so sure of whats behind them that they dont even talk about their superiority..It never ocurred to them to doubt that they would have all the food and guns and gear they need.....Hope to come home again in a year...

xxx Twenty four hours up and twenty four hours down..nobody dont get seasick that dont expect to..and that from a boy who had never been to sea before...

On A deck she was going round the mountain..down on B deck she was on the sidewalks of New York..while in between she was some where between the high and low roads..Out on the promenade deck a group of sargeants were asserting that the second lts would win the war so why was anyone else here...The sargeant who was in spain and thinks maybe there will be more work to be done after this is over...Where did he want to go..back to NY..My heart is turning west again...

7

No smoking during embarkation...

First muster..tired.. You have done this so well that as soon as you have had some food we will do it again...Man Id sure like to find someone smoking a cigarette just so I could smell it MP..Checking the speeakers..

Keep moving men..tired bearded faces...' higher than a house'
Rather nice old boy..getting ready for England...The four sargeants...

Last look at the lights...

Can we have a little organisation on the lower decks..this is presumed to be a military parade..your life belt is your best friend..dont leave him behind... May also be your worst enemy for it is a constant fire hazard.....There goes the Emergency stations..sounds like the factory whistle at home..There isnt any excitement in then faces..there is no sunbathing..anyone who gets a sunburn will get it on the top of his head forthe re is no room to lie down...This is really crossing the Atlantic in a Que...the long lines snaking down the stairs and around the corners of the corridors almost out od sight ....front of the boat. and the left side.....Sure hope we are going to England...NA for me ..otherwise I it...

Voives...The security officer...the English public school and the negro from alabama on the same stairway..cant understand each other....Wher xxx do we eat.. The voice saying..the ship is getting badly littered up..but dont throw anything overboard..for we would leave a trail that would tell the enemy that a great ship has passed this way.....

"good piece of real estate — 1,000 years +
good advertisement for your country".
loading baggage — going away cake.

When the booklets came out..one boy from Minn. read his..and was much impressed..said he didnt think much of that warm beer amixx he once tried to drink warm milk right out of the cow..and couldnt stand it..Then a out tea..couldn t drink that either..but he didnt want to offend the British by telling them he didt like the stuff so hed just say no thank you when they offered it to himXXXXXXXXX The soldier who was looking for the Purser to hold hismixxx winnings...the boys who dont gamble..and it stops at ten at night...their gratitude for good food and surprise that it can be provided....The boy who was writing a letter leaning on the railXXXX The talk about the various places they have seen..and the debate about the relative merits of Cal.and Penn....The worry about moneyXXXXX The piano player who will make his fortune if he lives.....The pictures come out...In mid atlantic the conversation changes..up to that point the talk is all about ...this country..after the middle the phrase is..back at home....Going to Church... The comment on the English..they dont exactly come up and slap you on the back do they

Talking with twelve second Lts in a hot cabin..talking about politics at home..he said its all a matter of perspective,,,whether you look at the next election or at the next generation..which one are you interested in

ACTION STATIONS:- A series of short blasts on the klaxon horns throughout the ship.

Unless you have been detailed for duties in defence of the ship, or guard duties, you will be required to remain below decks, under cover. Open decks will be kept clear of all personnel except defence units.

Dispersal under cover is the general order, but corridors and stairways must be kept at least 50% clear, to allow rapid and unhampered movements about the ship of Fire or other working parties should they be required.

Should an air attack develop suddenly and without warning personnel caught on the open decks and not close to a stairway should lie flat on the deck taking cover as may be available until an opportunity occurs to get down below decks.

EMERGENCY

Emergency Stations:- A prolonged continuous blast on the klaxon horns

When you will be required to fall in at positions designated by the Military Commandant. An Emergency Muster will take place daily so that all personnel may be as familiar as possible with the procedure. The purpose of the Muster is to have the entire personnel in such a position that the ship can be rapidly abandoned should that ever be necessary.

You will please remember that the order to abandon ship is the responsibility of one person and one person only: That is the Captain of the ship. Should such an order ever have to be given, it is possible that all communications may have failed. Be wary of an order passed by word of mouth, and check where it comes from. A false order might lead to confusion and even panic, causing a loss of valuable life for nothing. One good guide for those who are in a position to observe it, is that such an order is not likely to be given if the ship is moving through the water. Before attempting to launch boats and rafts, the ship must be stopped, and making no headway. Remember "Action" does not mean "Emergency" and "Emergency" need not necessarily be followed by "Abandon Ship". As long as the ship floats our best place is on board.

ABANDON SHIP ROUTINE

BOATAGE

There are lifeboats available sufficient to accommodate 3,724 persons. There are rafts sufficient to support everyone on board.

Sufficient ladders and knotted life lines are provided on both sides of the ship for personnel to climb down into the sea. Rafts should not be thrown into the sea from any considerable height, but should be lowered by the lines attached to them.

Should it ever become necessary to abandon ship the following procedure should be adhered to as closely as circumstances permit. Every effort being made to keep the situation well under control.

WHEN THE EMERGENCY SIGNAL HAS BEEN MADE.

(1) Ships company will clear a way and lower lifeboats to embarkation position at boat deck level.

(2) Embark passengers or troops in lifeboat, filling each boat to capacity.

(3) Move up more troops from promenade deck to boat deck to clear away and stand by rafts.

Troops on open decks at each end of the ship clear away rafts and stand by to launch.

When the order to "ABANDON SHIP" has been given:

(1) Lower and launch all lifeboats. Boats to get away from the ship's side to a distance of about 50 yards as quickly as possible, and stand by to assist, if necessary, by towing rafts away from the ship's side.

(2) Lower all boat ladders and life lines over side. Open all windows and doors on promenade deck.

(3) When boats are clear, lower all rafts into the sea.

(4) Troops climb down ladders and life lines into the sea and go after the rafts.

When the number of troops carried is large it may be necessary to interrupt launching of rafts and allow troops to abandon ship, in which case their main effort must be to get themselves and their rafts away from the ship's side, to give clearance for the launching of more rafts.

As the open decks at each end of the ship are cleared, troops should be moved out from the covered promenade deck to the open decks.

If time does not permit the ordered drill of passing men up to the boat deck and out on to the open decks until all rafts have been launched then all promenade deck windows and doors should be used to get men rapidly out of the ship.. Many, if not all of the rafts would be left afloat after the ship had

sunk.

Finally, to facilitate rescue, all life boats and rafts should be kept together, and not allowed to become scattered over a large area and out of sight of each other.

LIFEBELTS:

Under the conditions outlined, you will realize the importance of having a lifebelt and of knowing how to use it. Your lifebelt may be your best friend, and you must never be separated from it. You should treat it with the greatest respect and care. It was not designed to be used as a cushion for sitting upon, but it is intended to save you from drowning should you ever require that assistance, and it will save you from drowning if it has not been abused and its buoyancy destroyed. Finally, your best friend may become your worst enemy. The lifebelt which might save your life is highly inflammable. A fire hazard which you must continually guard against, particularly if you smoke. Also, don't jump from any considerable height into the sea, if you can possibly climb down to a lesser height, when there will be less chance of injury from striking obstructions in the sea, or from entering the water at a bad angle. If you have to jump, hold your lifebelt down firmly with both hands to prevent it from being forced up over your face as you enter the water. If the lifebelt is not properly secured or if the tapes should happen to break, the drag of the lifebelt might be transferred to your neck with unpleasant consequences.

If using a knotted lifeline, lower yourself hand over hand. If you attempt to slide you may tear or burn the flesh of your hands and legs.

OFFICE OF THE TRANSPORT COMMANDER

EMERGENCY MUSTER FOR TROOPS:

1. This muster is naturally of vital importance and having in mind that the ship reaches a danger area within a few hours of leaving dock, a first muster drill must be carried out before the ship leaves safe waters, and takes precedence over all other matters.

2. Responsibility for the orderly marshalling of troops will rest with the various unit commander, acting under the orders of the Ship's Commandant and Officers commanding the various services which may be represented on board.

3. The purpose of the Muster is to have all personnel in such a position that the ship could be rapidly abandoned, if necessary and give every man a chance to get clear of the ship, if sinking.

4. When the ship leaves the dock all troops, with the exception of the "Overload" will remain in their quarters until it is possible to commence a muster drill. In order that the first drill may be a success, no troops will move until so ordered by loud speaker. By carrying out the drill by sections and in slow time, all troops will reach their assigned mustering spaces, which should help to avoid confusion during the voyage.

5. Loading Officers should take the earliest opportunity of finding the Emergency route from the section which they control, to the deck where they are to muster, bearing in mind that watertight doors will be closed and that no Emergency route passes through a watertight door. (C and D Deck)

The following mustering spaces will be occupied by troops from the sections indicated:

SPORTS DECK, between bridge and No. 1 Funnel. SUN DECK, Section No. 9, (Troops) (approximate total 100). Women and Children (if any).

PROMENADE DECK
(forward part)

PORT SIDE				STARBOARD SIDE
		Reaching deck, by No.1 Stairway		
Section P 6		(to be kept forward)		Section 5
Section P 8 Section P 10 A Section P 12 Section P 14 Section P 16	Standee Berths on deck	Troops to tip up standees and fall in, in recesses between standees, facing outboard	Standee Berths on deck	Section P 7 Section P 9 A Section P 11 Section P 13 Section P 15
		Reaching From Deck from No.2 Stairway		
Section P 10				Section P 9
Section A 6 (Cabins)				Section M 11 (Cabins)
Section A 8 "				Section M 13 "
Section A 10 "				Section A 5 "
Section A 12 "				Section A 7 "
Section B 6 "				Section A 9 "
Section B 8 "				Section A 11 "
Section B 10 "				Section B 5 "
Section B 12 "				Section B 7 "
Section C 10 "				Section B 9 "
½ Troops Berthed in "B" Mess Hall				Section B 11 "
Section C 12 "				½ Troops Berthed in "B" Mess Hall
Section D 10 "				Section D 9 "
Section D 12 "				Section D 11 "
		Reaching From Deck from No.3 Stairway (P & S)		
Section A 14 (Cabins)				Section M 15
Section A 16 "				M 17
Section B 14 "				A 13
Section B 16 "				A 15
Section C 14 "				B 13
Section C 16 "				B 15
Section D 14 "				D 13
Approximate total on Port Side 2000				Approx. total on Starboard Side 2000

FORE DECK (MAIN DECK)

PORT SIDE	STARBOARD SIDE
Section M 6	Section B 1
Section B 4	Section M 5
Section B 6	Section B 3
Section R 8	Section B 5
Section C 4	Section R 7
Section C 8	Section D 3
Section D 4	Section D 5
Section D 6	

Proceeding by No. 1 staircase to Main Deck and forward through Section M 5 and 6. Approximate total 1500

PROMENADE DECK (After Part)
(including open deck and raised terrace deck)

PORT SIDE	STARBOARD SIDE
Reaching Prom Deck by No.4 Stairway	
Section A 18 (Cabins)	Section M 19 (Cabi
Section A 20 "	Section M 21 "
Section B 18 "	Section A 17
Section B 20 "	Section A 19
	Section B 17
	Section B 19
Reaching Prom Deck by No.5 Stairway	
Section A 22	Section A 21
Section B 22	Section B 21
Section C 18	Section C 17
Section C 20	Section C 19
Section C 22a	Section D 21
Section C 22	
Section D 22	
Section E 21 (Swimming Pool)	Section E 22
Approx. total 1300	Approx. total 1300

MAIN DECK, AFT (including docking bridge)

PORT SIDE	STARBOARD SIDE
Section M 24	Section M 23
Section B 24	Section B 23
Section R 22	Section R 21
Proceeding direct, or by No.6 staircase (Port) to Main Deck	Proceeding direct, or by No.6 staircase(Starboard) to Main Deck.

Approximate total 825

"A" DECK AFT

PORT SIDE	STARBOARD SIDE
Section C 26	Section C 25
Section D 24	Section D 23

C 25 and 26 proceed direct by crew exit
C 23 and 24 proceed aft across mooring deck and up by crew exit.

Approx. total 210	Approx. total 210

By Order of Staff Captain FRASER:

Paul S. Pasch
PAUL S. PASCHAL,
2nd Lt., TC,
Adjutant.

CONCURRING:
William R. Barnett
WILLIAM R. BARNETT,
Lt. Col., TC,
Transport Commander.

DUTIES OF TROOPDECK OFFICERS

You are appointed Troopdeck Officer for the voyage and will be guided by the following instructions:-

During Embarkation

1. You will remain in the vicinity of the Section or Group of Cabins which has been allotted to you and personally supervise the berthing of the troops under your charge.

2. You will be assisted by a Senior N.C.O. who will be detailed for the voyage. The Draft Warrant Officer will inform you of the name of your Troopdeck Sergeant.

3. The following details will be supervised by you personally in the order mentioned:
   (a) As the troops arrive in their Section or Cabins, instruct them to stow their kit neatly and remain in their Section or Cabins.
   (b) After the men have stowed their kits, a Cabin Senior and a Cabin Orderly will be detailed. The Cabin Senior will be instructed to prepare a Nominal Roll in triplicate. These Nominal Roll forms will be issued to you previous to the arrival of the troops. The Nominal Roll (Cabin Roll) must show the Cabin Number, Deck, Regimental Number, Rank, Name, Initials, Trade and Draft, and is to be handed in immediately on completion to the Air Force Draft Orderly Room.
   (c) Personnel will not be allowed to leave their quarters until the above information has been obtained.
   (d) Ship's Standing Orders will be read to your men at least twice during the voyage.

Daily Routine

1. Daily Routine will be carried out as laid down in the Cabin Orders which are attached. These Cabin Orders are to be posted in each Cabin.

Emergency Muster

1. You will acquaint yourself with the shortest route to the Emergency Stations which the men under your charge must use.

2. On the first Emergency Muster Signal, you will guide your men to their proper Muster Station and then return to your Section. This you will do only for the first Emergency Muster and for the remainder of the voyage you will remain below during Emergency Muster and await the Inspecting Party.

Inspection

1. The Troopdeck Officer will report to the Adjutant of the Air Force Draft daily at a time and place which will be previously arranged.

2. You will see that each Room Orderly remains at his Cabin and is properly dressed to meet the Inspecting Party.

3. You will be prepared to meet the Inspecting Party and accompany them on their inspection tour of your Section.

Over.....

Disembarkation

1. The Troopdeck Officer will supervise the preparation of Cabins for disembarkation in accordance with verbal instructions which will be given by the Officer Commanding Air Force Draft.

General

1. The Troopdeck Officer and his Troopdeck N.C.O. should at all times be watchful for any unrest in their Section and every complaint, no matter how trivial it may seem to be, should be gone into carefully and corrective measures applied as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to consult the O.C. Air Force Draft or any other member of the Ship's Conducting Staff.

2. All breakages, damages, plumbing and lighting defects etc., will be reported to the Air Force Draft Orderly Room in writing as soon as possible.

3. The Troopdeck Officer will visit his respective Section each evening to assure himself that there is no smoking, no gambling, no portholes open and that the lights are out at the time laid down in Ship's Standing Orders.

4. Particular attention is to be paid to enforcing Ship's Standing Orders pertaining to;

(a) Smoking.
(b) Portholes.
(c) Refuse and Litter.

Smoking in confined space on board ship presents a serious fire hazard which must be kept under control. It is pointed out that lifebelts, though of good buoyancy, are highly inflamable. The security and safety of the ship is weakened when portholes are opened except under orders. Blackout regulations must be rigidly adhered to and in the case of sudden attack resulting in damage to the ship, the ultimate safety of those on board could easily depend on closed portholes preventing much water from being shipped. It is necessary to stress frequently, proper disposal of refuse and litter and that it must not be thrown overboard.

5. To date, Air Force drafts have established an enviable record in deportment at embarkation and disembarkation and during the voyage. It is desired that this voyage will not only equal but better previous efforts. This will be possible in no small measure through the efforts of the Troopdeck Officers and the manner in which their duties are performed.

D S Grant

(D. S. Grant) Wing Commander,
R.C.A.F.,
O.C. Air Force Draft.

SEQUENCE OF DECKS

SPORTS DECK - "GUN"

SUN DECK - "S"

PROMENADE DECK - "P"

MAIN DECK - "M"

"A" DECK

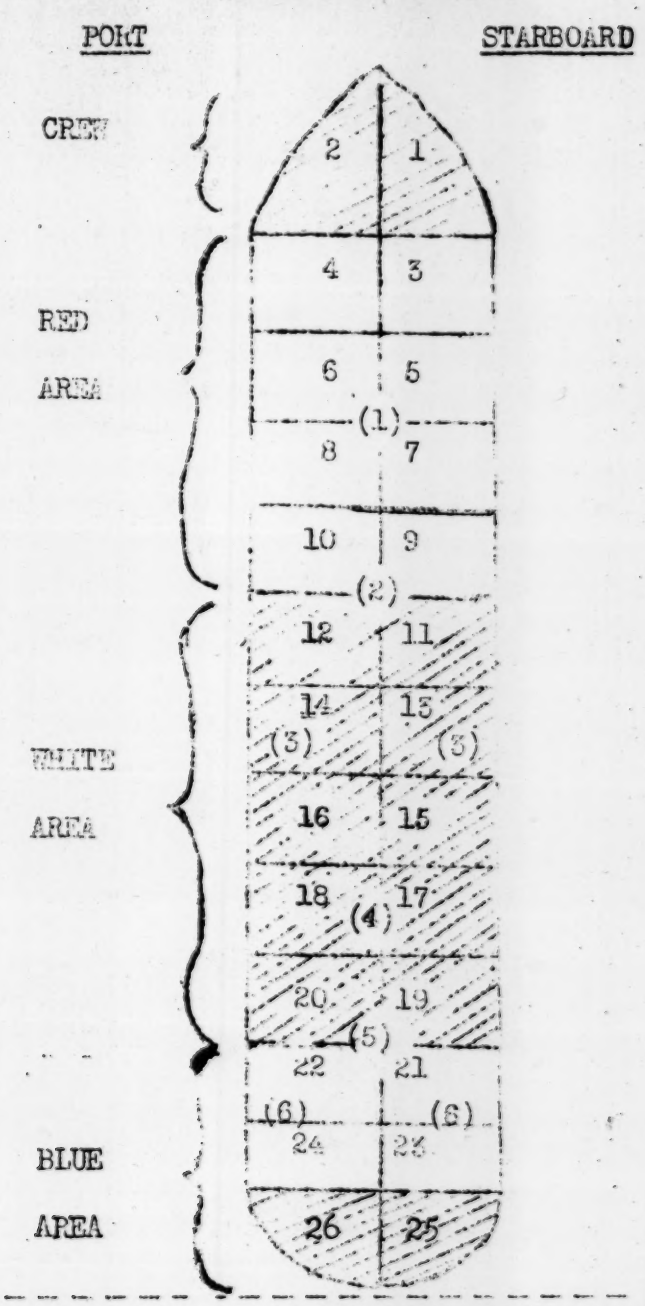
"B" DECK

RESTAURANT DECK - "R"

"C" DECK

"D" DECK

VERTICAL SECTIONS



Troop sections take their names from the Deck on which they are situated and the vertical section within which they are contained.

Figures in circles ( ) indicate the position of staircase.

For all purposes, Even numbers are on the Port (or left-hand) side and Odd numbers on the starboard (or right-hand) side.

Cabin numbers run consecutively from forward to aft.

Even numbers on port side and Odd numbers on starboard side.

SHIP'S STANDING ORDERS

Note : These orders apply to all personnel embarked whether civilians or service personnel.

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1. SHIP'S ROUTINE

Ship's Routine, Meal Hours, Canteen Hours and Sick Parades will be shown in Daily Routine Orders.

2. STANDING AND DAILY ROUTINE ORDERS

Ignorance of Standing and Daily Routine Orders will not be accepted as an excuse in any breach of discipline or failure to obey these orders.

3. SHIP'S ORDERLY ROOM

The Ship's Orderly Room is situated on "R" Deck Aft.

4. SMOKING

Smoking on open decks during Blackout is strictly forbidden and all offenders will be severely dealt with as such conduct endangers the lives of all on board this ship. Cigarette ends are not to be thrown overboard as they frequently blow back into the ship through the open ports. Smoking at any time is not permitted within the ship, i.e. in Cabins, Troops' Sleeping Quarters, Mess Halls, Alleyways and Squares.

Smoking is permitted in Lounges, Canteens, Promenade Deck at all hours and on Open Decks during daylight hours.

5. EMERGENCY STATIONS

Emergency Stations Drill will be carried out daily at an hour to be specified in D.R.O's or by Public Address System. Troops will not return to quarters until the order to dismiss (Recall) is given over the ship's loud speakers. All other than permanent duties, fatigues, guards and fire patrols are to attend.

Emergency Stations are as follows:

(1) Promenade Deck.
(2) Open space on Main Deck forward and the open decks aft,
(3) Deck Squares. (Deck Squares are open landings near the main stairways).

(4) Special allocations.

Emergency Signals

(i) The signal for "EMERGENCY DRILL" is one long continuous sounding of the klaxons throughout the ship.

(1) When this signal is sounded all personnel not otherwise detailed will move quickly to their Emergency Station on the Promenade Deck or if nearer to the open space on Main deck forward or the open decks aft. Personnel who cannot quickly get to the Promenade Deck or to the open space on Main deck forward or open decks aft will muster in the nearest deck square, filling the deck squares on the upper decks first.

5. EMERGENCY STATIONS (Contd)

Emergency Signals

(i) (2) Personnel are to avoid rushing and crowding on stairways and in alleyways and upon arrival at stations will fall into line and keep on the alert for any orders from the officers in command.

(ii) The signal for "ACTION STATIONS" is short intermittent soundings of the klaxons throughout the ship.

(1) When this signal is sounded the OPEN DECKS ARE TO BE CLEARED IMMEDIATELY of all personnel except members of the guns' crew. All others must go to Promenade Deck or below. Personnel quartered on Promenade Deck or below will go to their respective sections or cabins.

(iii) The order to "DISMISS" (Recall) will be given over the ship's loud speakers.

(iv) The signal for "ABANDON SHIP" will be given only by order through megaphone or loud speaker from the bridge.

(1) All will abandon ship except guns' crews who will remain and fight, and ultimately use the rafts provided for them.

(v) Routes to Emergency Stations from cabins and troops quarters are indicated by arrows throughout the ship. There are also red and green arrows painted in alleyways and on bulkheads indicating routes to port (left) and starboard (right) sides of the ship. Red arrow indicates to port, green arrows indicates to starboard. The emergency stations of officers are the emergency stations of the respective units.

6. DISCIPLINE

(1) On no account must anyone sit on the Ship's rails, or in exposed positions. It is pointed out for information that in the event of anyone falling overboard it is not permitted for the ship to stop. The first person to observe anyone falling overboard will shout loudly "MAN OVERBOARD" and will at once throw a lifebuoy to him and report the occurence to the Officer on duty on the Bridge. If the witness is near the after end of the ship he will telephone the Bridge from the A.A. Gun platform telephone.

(2) On no account must the Emergency Lights or water tight doors be tampered with.

(3) Any personnel suffering from Venereal Disease must report sick immediately. It is an offence to conceal any form of V.D.

(4) Saluting - Compliments will not be paid on board ship except when reporting direct to a superior officer or when on parade. Personnel will stand to attention when addressed by or addressing a superior officer. Sentries will pay the correct compliments to all officers when addressed by them or when encountering inspecting parties or visiting rounds.

(5) Personnel will not change their accommodation without authority from the ship's Commandant.

7. BLACKOUT

Blackout hours will be published in Daily Routine Orders. As the safety of the ship and all on board depends on 100% blackout any violation thereof will be most severely dealt with.

8. REFUSE AND LITTER (DISPOSAL OF)

Cigarette ends, matches, empty bottles and waste paper etc. must not be thrown overboard. Such articles form a trail in the Ship's wake which can be seen by the enemy and reveal the ship's whereabouts. ALL refuse and litter will be placed in the receptacle provided and carried to the after end of 'A' Deck. Chewed gum must not be thrown down anywhere on the ship but must be placed with the refuse.

9. SECURITY (CABINS)

Occupants of cabins and sections will ensure that doors are left open or on the hook. On no account will Cabin doors be closed.

10. FRESH WATER

The fresh water supply of this ship is limited, and it is imperative that the utmost care should be exercised to eliminate waste. Fresh water must not be used for washing clothing or bathing purposes.

11. PORT HOLES (SCUTTLES)

Port holes below 'M' Deck are to be tightly closed, all nuts being screwed tight home for the duration of the voyage.

It is obvious to all that where there are closed watertight doors there must be closed watertight portholes.

In the event of an emergency or enemy attack, all portholes are to be immediately closed and all nuts screwed tight home.

12. LIFEBELTS

Lifebelts are to be carried by all ranks and passengers at all times after the ship sails and until further notice. Life belts are not to be used as cushions as this destroys their buoyancy.

13. SHIP'S PROPERTY

Troops will take every care to avoid damaging ship's property. No nails will be driven in the walls. Railings, decks, pillars etc., will not be marked or written upon, and under no circumstances must names or initials be carved into the woodwork.

14. SHIP'S OFFICERS (COMMUNICATIONS)

All communications with the Ship's Officers and other ship's personnel will be made through the Ship's Staff Officer in the Ship's Orderly Room.

15. BOUNDS

The following places are out of bounds to all ranks except on duty:-

(a) The Ship's Bridge, Engine Room, Crew's Quarters.
(b) Officers' Gallery Deck.
(c) Ship's Officers' Cabins and Ward Rooms.
(d) Fordeck and afterdeck upon entering or leaving port, or at any time when ship's work is in progress.
(e) Ship's dispensary and hospital.
(f) Lifeboats and outside of rails on boat deck, ship's rigging and area about any guns mounted on the ship.
(g) Troop Orderly Rooms.
(h) All areas marked 'Out of Bounds'.
(i) All areas designated in Daily Orders.

16. TOILET PAPER AND USED RAZOR BLADES

No paper will be used for toilet purposes other than that provided by the Ship. Newspapers must NOT BE USED. Razor blades are not to be disposed of in the Ship and must be taken ashore for salvage disposal.

17. CREW'S QUARTERS AND CANTEENS

On no account must personnel enter crew's quarters or canteens. Trading with members of the crew is forbidden.

18. STAIRWAYS AND DECK SQUARES

Loitering on the Squares and Stairways is strictly prohibited. When moving about all ranks will KEEP TO THE RIGHT and move smartly.

19. ELECTRICAL FITTINGS

Electrical fittings must not be interfered with. Any defects will be reported at once to the Ship's Staff Officer in writing.

20. CABINS AND TROOPDECKS - RESPONSIBILITY FOR CLEANLINESS ETC.

Cabins and Troop quarters are to be kept scrupulously clean and Troopdeck Officers are responsible that this work is properly carried out.

21. RADIOS, ELECTRIC RAZORS AND ELECTRIC IRONS

No radios, either electric or battery operated, electric razors or electric irons may be used on board ship. Their withdrawal will be notified in Daily Routine Orders.

22. FIRE

(a) The danger of fire on board ship cannot be over emphasized. A fire which gains a footing on board ship is the greatest menace to the lives of all on board.

(b) To guard against the possibility, the utmost precautions must be taken and unceasing vigilence maintained.

(c) One of the most likely sources of fire on ships is careless cigarette smokers. Smoking in sleeping quarters constitutes a serious hazard. Therefore, it is STRICTLY FORBIDDEN for personnel to smoke in their Sleeping Quarters. This is the most important regulation on the ship, and disobedience of this rule will be regarded as a very serious offence.

(d) Any person discovering an outbreak of fire will immediately break the glass of the nearest fire alarm. Fire alarms will be found in all alleyways and deck squares etc. It is pointed out that it is not only necessary to break the glass to ring the alarm but the button must be pressed.

23. MATTRESSES AND BLANKETS

Mattresses and Blankets must NOT be taken out of Cabins for sleeping on Deck or removed from one section to another. Any damage will be charged for.

24. CANTEEN PRICE LISTS

It is pointed out to all ranks that Canteen Price Lists posted throughout the ship are, owing to War Time conditions, liable to considerable alteration and fluctuation.

25. DIARIES

Diaries must not be kept on board ship.

26. CAMERAS

Cameras must not be used on board ship. Their withdrawal will be notified in Daily Routine Orders.

E.R. Fall Captain.
Ship's Master.

[illegible] Group Captain
Ship's Commandant.

[illegible] R.N.
O.C. Navy Personnel.

W. Thickwood Lt.Col.
O.C. British Army Personnel.

W.R. Barnett Lt.Col.
O.C. American Personnel.

[illegible] Lt.Col.
O.C. Canadian Army Personnel.

B. Grant W/Cdr.
O.C. Air Force Personnel.

J.V. Fraser
Staff Captain

S.S. QUEEN ELIZABETH.

STAFF CAPTAIN TO ALL OFFICERS AND OTHER RANKS.

In offering you a welcome to this ship, I regret that it cannot be under more pleasant circumstances.

CONDITIONS:

I fully appreciate the conditions in which you will have to live for the next few days, but war is no respector of personal comfort and furthermore it is essential that every ship we possess should be used to its fullest capacity.

I am well aware that the ship is crowded, but you will, I hope, have two reasonable meals per day and somewhere to sleep, and, as far as I am aware, it will not be for any great length of time.

ON BOARD SHIP.

A good many of you may be travelling in a ship for the first time, so I will endeavour to explain some of the points which may well be strange to you.

COMBAT ZONE;

The first and most important point for you to remember is that you are no longer in a safe area. Enemy attack may come at any time but, if it does, it must not find us unprepared. Our job is not to hunt the enemy; it is to arrive safely at our destination.

SECURITY:

Unceasing vigilance, constant attention to detail, the use of everything that science has produced which can aid us - these are the means whereby this vessel has been enabled to cross the ocean many times in safety.

Similar vigilance and carefulness on your part in the duties you may be called upon to perform will not only help to provide safety for the ship, but will also ensure to you such comfort and convenience as may be associated with this voyage

DISASTER:

It is my gloomy privilege to remind you that as long as a state of war exists, we are liable to disaster, and I am sure you will agree that I cannot over-exphasize that in all our Security and Safety arrangements we must aim at perfection.

PREVENTIVE MEASURES:

To carry out such security arrangements as may be ordered is not just the duty of any individual or unit, it is the plain and obvious duty of everyone on board.

If this ship should be attacked and damaged, let us be in a position to know that it was not because we had omitted any one safeguard that the enemy had his chance.

BLACKOUT:

During daylight and clear weather this ship is plainly visible for miles. But the enemy suffers the same disadvantage; he also is visible.

At night under cover of darkness, detection is more difficult; but of what service is darkness if lights are allowed to show from the ship. Lights do not grow on the ocean. The presence of a light indicates the presence of a ship, and even one glowing cigarette, carelessly smoked on an open deck at night, may bring attack from an unseen enemy vessel, with potential disaster.

There must be no smoking or use of lights on any open deck during darkness. All ports and windows must remain closed and secured during blackout hours. Against the possibility of disaster to all, personal comfort of the individual is not important.

WATER-TIGHT COMPARTMENT:

Furthermore, in order to ensure that water-tight sub-divisions of the ship are at all time water-tight, all ports below the main deck will remain closed and secured throughout the voyage.

Certain exceptions to this order do exist, but they are under/

under my authority and control and do not concern living spaces.

PORTS:

Ports above the main deck may be opened during daylight, in suitable weather, provided permission has been received, but at no time must ports be left open or unsecured in an unoccupied cabin. It must be clearly understood that when any port is open during daylight there must be someone immediately available to close and secure such port if any alarm signal is made, whether for drill or otherwise. Responsibility will rest with the person or persons occupying the cabin, and I advise you to be guided by the Military Commandant's written orders, and not by hearsay.

TRASH.

Until you have seen it, you probably have no conception of the quantity of trash or litter which is collected in the ship each day, and trash is a potential aid to the enemy. If each individual on board disposed of his trash overboard as soon as it became trash, the ship would possibly be much tidier, but unfortunately there would be a continuous track on the surface of the sea to indicate first - that a large vessel had passed that way, and secondly - the direction in which the vessel was travelling. To hand to the enemy a fixed position and direction of advance from that position would be the extreme foolishness, so throw nothing overboard which will float. The trash from bins will be disposed of under orders at fixed times.

In addition to enemy action, there is one other grave danger, that of fire. Human carelessness is the cause of most fires, and above all, careless smoking. Smoking in places other than those designated in the Ship's Standing Orders, will not be tolerated. Fire can bring total disaster, so you will find that in most parts of the ship smoking is forbidden.

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY JULY 18, 1943.
19.30-19.45 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

7-2

This is a bla k week-end for the Axis powers. The German attack in the Kursk salient has petered out, and with ten weeks of good fighting weather left the Russians have gone over to the offensive. It seems possible, at least, that Orel may become another Stalingrad. The reports from Russia indicate that the Germans' love for the offensive led them to attempt a massed break-through with their tanks leading - tactics which have not been succesful since the campaign in France and the Low Countries. Only the foolish will believe that the Germans have met disaster in Russia; but only the blind will deny that they have suffered a defeat which will powerfully influence the course of the war.

So far the Axis has failed to counter the speed and effectiveness of the Allied landings in Sicily. The Italian mainland is being hit from end to end by heavy bombers; while the Allied navies move at will through Mediterranean waters. The Italian Fleet remains in hiding...possibly because its loss of destroyers in convoy work has been so great that an adequate screen of light, fast vessels can no longer be provided for the big battleships.

There are rumors and more than rumors of uneasiness and disaffection in the Balkan States. Taken altogether the Axis is having its worst week-end of the war. This state of affairs has naturally produced a great deal of optimism here, and some of the exiles are hoping to be home by Christmas. Warnings of heavy

fighting ahead; reminders that we have not yet come up against the major German defences - do no good. The optimism is here, and only events will dissipate it.

News of the establishment of Amgot, the Allied military government which will control Sicily and later on perhaps the Italian mainland, has been welcomed in London. Amgot is a strictly military government, without political implications; and its establishment means that the Allied generals will handle such problems as maintenance of order, the feeding of the population, and the re-establishment of public services. The Generals will not be responsible for political decisions. Sooner or later this military administration must be taken over by a government of non-Fascist Italians. No statement has been made as to how and when this is to be done. The joint message of the President and the Prime Minister asked the Italian people to aid in getting rid of the Fascists, but said nothing about the methods by which Democratic government is to be restored. Perhaps it was too early to publish even a broad outline, but most observers here seem to be agreed that the sooner it can be done the greater will be our chances of securing Allies inside Italy.

The Germans are facing one problem that hasn't got anything to do with the fighting fronts or with the heavy aerial bombardments launched from this Island. It has been estimated that they have some twelve million foreign workers and prisoners of war inside the country. There are Serbs and Frenchmen in the mines

of the Ruhr; Slovaks ploughing in East Prussia. Most of the foreign conscripts come from occupied Russia. They are badly fed, miserably housed, and their clothes are ragged. The mere presence of these bitter, sullen millions is a strain on German nerves. An effort has been made to segregate them from the German people, but that can't be done with the farm labourers. Every Allied victory must raise the hopes and stiffen the determination of this slave army. No one knows what will happen to the French, the Dutch and all the rest when the Allied armies reach their native lands. The Germans have hinted that they may treat these twelve million workers as hostages. Whatever happens, these millions - or what's left of them - will form one of the first post-war problems.

There has recently been published in the Economist an estimate of economic conditions that may confront France when the war is over. It is a picture of utter impoverishment. The lack of raw materials, fuel and lubricants has caused the machinery of textiles, silk, leather and other light industries to stand idle and to deteriorate. The total output of French heavy industries is about half its pre-war volume. The German policy of shifting essential war production outside the range of bomber attack has led to industrial expansion in Austria, ~~Czechoslovakia~~ Czechoslovakia, parts of the Balkans and even in Poland. What those areas have gained, France has lost. She has lost men, too.

It is estimated that somewhere around two-and-a-half million Frenchmen are either prisoners or workers in Germany. A high percentage of them will probably return to France as invalids. It may be that there are sound grounds for optimism about the future of military operations, but not many people are underestimating the magnitude of the problems that will confront what's left of Europe when the fighting ceases.

Last week the House of Commons talked at length about what's going to happen to British colonies when the war ends. There was a promise from the Government of economic and social measures, to prepare the Colonial peoples for further and future responsibilities. There is a plan for the development of higher education in the Colonies, and for British Universities to train students from the Colonies. Sir Edward Grigg summed up the real problem when he said: "Economic development lies at the root of political development. Subsidised self-government is an impossible idea. ~~Thxxx xhix~~ Self-government implies the ability to pay one's way. The ability to pay one's way implies production". One of the great problems of the Colonies is that they have not in the past received sufficient income from their own production, their own labour, and the exploitation of their own natural resources. This income has not gone to the British Government here in London, but it has gone to Corporations and private individuals. Profits that come to London cannot be used to develop industries or

education in the Colonies. Only one hard fact emerged from the Colonial Debate, and that was that the administration of the British Colonies will continue to be the sole responsibility of Great Britain. There will be no internationalisation, at least not so long as this government is in power. But the government is considering the possibility of establishing Commissions for certain regions. These Commissions would include not only the countries that have colonies in the region, but also other nations which have a major strategic or economic interest in the region. ~~For instance, the African Commission would include Britain, Belgium~~ In other words, the British would welcome a Commission made up of all the countries having Colonies in Africa, but they would insist upon the right to have the final say about their colonies in that area. The conclusion seems to be that the progress of British colonies towards self-government will be slow and perhaps painful, but there will be progress.

The British public has now been told how twice in this war, when the shipping situation was so serious as to threaten the whole future, the United States saved Britain and the Allied cause. The first time was in the Spring of 1941, when it looked as though factories would have to close; that people might go hungry; and that supplies to the armies in the Middle East would have been inadequate. America was a neutral at that time; but the President removed the Red Sea from the war zone, and American ships carried supplies to the Middle East. President Roosevelt also directed

that two million tons of shipping be put into war service, and that saved Britain and ourselves. The second crisis came in the summer of 1942, and that one was met by America expanding her shipping output far beyond what the experts said was possible. Now, month by month, we have more ships at the end of the month than we had at the beginning. Gratitude for this timely and mutual aid does not blind the people here to the fact that the British Merchant Navy will end this war in a position vastly inferior to that of the United States, and they are worried about it. The future of British shipping depends on government policy, and government policy depends upon what agreements it can make with other nations. So the future of Merchant shipping is just another of those things that must be put in the bulging file marked "To be Settled when the War is Over".

Mr. Elmer Davis, our Director of War Information, is due in London this week. Some people are hoping that he'll be able to work out a joint Anglo-American propaganda policy which will be more effective than anything we've been telling the Germans and Italians so far. The time is coming when a carefully considered statement of policy, ~~might~~ telling our enemies what's going to happen to them when they give up, might shorten the war. The Americans have worked out such a propaganda plan, but so far as I know it hasn't yet been agreed to. If Mr. Davis can get an agreement, and arrange to fire it at the Germans about the time they begin to feel the pinch, he will deserve well of his country - and of Congress.

ERM Sunday. 18 July 1943

The other day the Archbishop of Canterbury made a special apeal for everyone to resist what he called..the really alarming collapse of honesty and sex morality..And Dr Temple had this to say about the post-war world..After the war we shall all be extremely tired,and weariness is a selfish condition..So we must expect,unless we sucesfully guard against it,a graet acess of selfishness,in the individual,family,class and nation...Thats a pretty frank warning from the head of the Church of England..Certainly there are signs of fatigue in this country..Ive heard taxi drivers shouting at each other and at pedestriand..telephone operators sound cross and irritable..waiters in restaurants have lost some of their patience and courtesy..Things didnt used to be that way..not even during the blitz..The British in their own country are equipped with courtesy and good manners but they are getting irritable...I think its probably caused by fatigue... ~~maybex~~
Maybe its ~~mxmx~~ the result of optomism..the let down that comes with the first glimpse of victory..and the subconscious realisation of the problems that will be pressing in upon the country even after victory has been achieved...People have been told repeatedly that rationing and restrictions will continue for a long time after the war is over..many of them understand that its easier to kill people than to arrange for them to live together in peace and dignity...Of course it may be that th this change in temper exists only in my imagination...Ive spent most of the last four months in North Africa and in America....But Janet Murrow has been here throughout the war and has done a lot of travelling and talking during the past few months...What about it Janet?

THIS IS LONDON: Last night the R.A.F. carried twenty-three hundred tons of bombs to Hamburg, in the heaviest raid ever made. Twelve bombers were lost. Big Lancasters coming back from North Africa bombed the Italian port of Leghorn without loss. Big formations of Allied fighters are making sweeps over Northern France this afternoon. The Russians continue to make slow progress towards Orel, particularly from the South.

The day has brought no news of important ~~changes~~ progress in Sicily.

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY JULY 25, 1943.
19.30-19.45 D.B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW.

The complete conquest of Sicily may be a matter of days or weeks. The Germans are still getting in reinforcements; and the fighting in the northwest corner will be bitter. But the final outcome is not in doubt. Once the Island has been taken the Allies will be presented with many alternative objectives. There may be further Allied landings in Sardinia, or on the Italian mainland. Sea and airborne attacks on Rhodes and Crete will be possible. If the Allied Generals decide to fight the largest number of Germans in the shortest possible time, they may go to Southern France. According to the German commentators our strength in the Mediterranean is now sufficient to allow us to launch more than one operation at a time. ~~This confronts the German High Command~~ The Germans must decide where to place their reserves, and whether or not they have enough of them to protect all of the threatened points. They may possibly have enough armour and enough infantry, but wherever the next attack comes they will probably be short of aircraft. If the decision is to invade Italy the opposition will almost certainly be heavier than it has been in Sicily. The complete conquest of the Italian mainland would give us airfields from which to bomb German factories in Austria; and it would demoralise the thirty Italian divisions now stationed in the Balkans. It would also present us with some staggering problems. All supplies for our armies and for the Italian people would have to come by sea. Italy's import

requirements of coal, for example, are at the rate of five to six million tons a year. The creation of some sort of government to replace Fascism would not be easy. It is assumed here that Amgot, the Allied Military Government established in Sicily is the pattern that would be followed in Italy. Now it is certainly true that the Sicilians have welcomed our armies and, so far as we know, our administration. When the Americans arrived in Palermo there was much screaming and shouting, kissing and shaking of hands....flowers, apples, lemons and melons were showered upon the advancing army. Most of you will remember that something of the same sort happened when we arrived in North Africa. Since that time, enthusiasm for the Allied administration has diminished noticeably. But in Sicily, with Amgot, we are supposed to be charting our course for Europe. So far we have not produced anything that could be called a constructive peace policy towards Italy. The elimination of the Fascist regime has been taken out of the hands of the Italian people; it is to be done by a foreign military power; and certain Italian officials will be permitted to cooperate with us. We have prohibited any and all kinds of political activity. It is obvious that an Army of Occupation in the initial stages does not want to be bothered by civilian political agitations. But political activity by the people is the very core of the liberal and democratic idea. The question then arises as to how long this freezing of political activity is to continue. Unless a transition from Amgot can be arranged, it will become a semi-permanent foreign military government; and

the Italians associated with it may come to be held in contempt by their fellow-citizens. It is worth remembering that one reason for the defection from Mussolini's regime was that it was too closely tied up with the Germans. If we intend to hold enemy countries under military and political domination for anything more than the minimum time required for military operations, then the attempt will fail. The whole history of Europe proves that. Spain, Sweden, France, Russia, Austria, Germany and Italy have all tried it, and all failed.

Some time ago the question was asked in the House of Lords whether the British Government was more interested in fighting Fascism or Communism on the Continent of Europe. The answer was given: "Equally interested in fighting both". If it is Allied purpose to suppress revolutions all over Europe we shall have to seek for puppets and collaborationists. That's what the Germans did, and it didn't work. In today's Observer the situation is well stated. This is what is said: "If we want to lead Europe - and let there be no mistake about it, unless we lead Europe our position between the American and Russian giants will be uncomfortably weak - we must export political ideas round which the best Europeans everywhere can rally with enthusiasm. The export of political ideas can by no means be replaced, even if it may be supplemented, by the export of material commodities. Many people nowadays stake much to much politically on our ability after the war to feed Europe. They

should know better. The nations of Europe are very old and proud communities. They will feel gratitude for benevolent leadership which enables them to pay their own way, and to recover their self-respect. But they will eat the bread of charity with a feeling of humiliation, and with corresponding ingratitude. To think that we could bribe any European nation into renouncing her dignity and her own political life by large-scale gifts of food, medical supplies, etcetera, would be a perilous error".

There is at the present time no recognisable British policy in European affairs. Mr. Eden has said that the old world is dead; but the outline...the terms of reference for the new world have not yet appeared. No one knows what is to be used to fill the political vacuum that will be created by the defeat of Fascism and National Socialism. ~~Probably the comment~~ It seems to be widely believed that the defeat of Germany and Italy will mean the elimination of the totalitarian idea from the Continent of Europe. That may happen, but there is nothing in history, nor in present policy, to guarantee that it will.

The Russians have produced a plan through the so-called National Committee of Free Germany. The manifesto emanating from Moscow may be cynical, but it is at least realistic, and it may help to win the war. Whatever we may think of Russian policy or principles, it must be admitted that ~~they~~ their fighting during recent weeks has been second to nothing so far in this war; and that their statement of policy regarding Germany and the future

is more concrete than anything produced by the English-speaking Allies. It is an incitement to revolution. The manifesto states that a free German Government can be set up only as a result of war for liberation, waged by all sections of the German people. It will rely on fighting groups which will unite to overthrow Hitler. This government must immediately cease military hostilities, withdraw the German troops from the frontiers, and enter into negotiations for peace, relinquishing all conquered territory. That is not necessarily incompatible with the demand for unconditional surrender, but it is a demand for revolution. The Germans are warned that if Hitler is overthrown solely by the armies of the Allies, it will mean the end of national independence and the dismemberment of Germany - and that is a plain threat, likely to carry increasing weight as the German cause appears more hopeless. This National Committee of Free Germany, which has been given time on the Russian radio, and whose leaflets are being dropped by the Red Air Force, promises the German people a number of things that do not exist in Soviet Russia. There is to be freedom and human dignity, the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ restoration of political rights, freedom of speech, press and religious faith. There is also the promise of the guaranteed right to labour, to legally acquire property, and the return to their legal owners of property stolen by the Fascist rulers. A just and merciless trial of those guilty of the war is also promised; at the same time there is to be amnesty for all those adherents of Hitler who recant in time and join in the movement for a Free Germany.

This ~~manifestax~~ threatening promise by the National Committee of Free Germany cannot be dismissed as the irresponsible product of German emigrés and disillusioned prisoners of war. It is a major development in Russian policy, and its issuance was as carefully and cleverly planned as any Russian counter-attack. The pivot of the whole thing is the recognition that a revolution in Germany is ~~inexpedient~~ desirable, and that anything that is done to promote it will shorten the length of the war. Internal revolutions, like wars, have a habit of spreading. ~~When this time~~ If the future should find the Russians preaching revolution on the Eastern frontiers of Germany, and the Allied armies, with Amgot, approaching from the west, the Germans may have to make a choice...and that choice may determine the future of Europe. If there is to be revolution on the Continent, non-intervention is not likely to be a paying policy so far as Britain is concerned. That's why an increasing number of people here are anxious for ~~exclusive definition~~ some assurance that the United Nations are united, at least to some degree, about the solution of Europe's major problem, and that problem is what to do with Germany. There is an increasing tendency, or at least so it seems to me, for the British to wait for a policy lead from the United States. Back in February the Prime Minister, in discussing the North African campaign said: "I have gladly accepted, with the approval of the War Cabinet, the position of Lieutenant in this sphere". Some people here privately wonder

whether Mr. Churchill has accepted the position of ardent and loyal lieutenant in matters other than those pertaining to North Africa. The British position in matters of high policy is one of great delicacy. They find themselves in one sense between two powerful Allies - Russia and the United States. They feel that it would be disastrous if, in the post-war world, they were forced to choose between them. But they are at the same time aware that in order to survive they must be in association with a strong power on the Continent of Europe - and it looks as though that strong power would have to be Russia.

~~Recently~~ Last week in the House of Commons there was some talk about an old problem of policy. It had to do with North Africa, or rather with General de Gaulle. Mr. Churchill was asked whether he had anything to say about a document prepared to acquaint British officials and the British press with the views of the Prime Minister on the subject of General de Gaulle. Mr. Churchill said he took full responsibility for this document; that he had drafted it personally; but that it was a confidential document and he wasn't prepared to discuss it otherwise than in secret session. The contents of the document, or at least a summary of it, has been published in the United States. It is believed here that the contents were divulged by an American official. The practice of issuing secret directives as to the way the news regarding a man who enjoys tremendous popular following in a conquered nation shall be treated, may be open to

question; but the official who ~~xxxxxxxx~~ divulges the contents of a secret document prepared by the head of an Allied state is certainly ~~xxxxxx~~ assuming a heavy responsibility.

Judging by the general tone of the British press, Mr. Churchill's directive indicated that a favorable reference to General de Gaulle would not be helpful. The British Government would now seem to face two alternatives: they can either recognize the Committee of Liberation in Algiers, or they can inform the public - and perhaps more importantly the people of France - the reasons why recognition is withheld. Incidentally, the visit of General Giraud, who is now back in North Africa, failed to create any noticeable public acclaim or excitement in this country. Much more discussion was created by Mr. Bevin's suggestion that he might draft boys of sixteen and seventeen into the coalmines. The need for coal is desperate. The conquest of new territories increases the demand - Sicily alone will require fifty or sixty thousand extra tons a week. But the drafting of boys is a serious step. It would have to be applied universally, and it would stop secondary education altogether. ~~Today xxxxxxxxxxxx though Mr. Bevin's proposal might not be put into operation~~ The sons of miners are increasingly unwilling to go down the pits; the old men are growing older; and the coal outlook is chilly indeed. This is just another example of the manpower crisis facing this country.

It seems a long time since the London Stock Exchange was worth talking about. But the improved military outlook has produced some interesting results. Hope of a quick victory in Europe has apparently made buyers believe that even enemy countries will have enough money left to pay their bond holders. The Italian five percent loan of 1862 is now quoted at 32½. Last year these bonds could be bought at 7. The German five percents have risen from three-and-three-quarters to 12½. There is even some optimism about the Japanese bonds. One issue is now quoted at 17 - that's about four times the price of a year ago. The securities of the Occupied Countries are looking up, too. ~~The Greek 7 percent bonds were down to 8 ... They are now quoted at 29~~ One issue of Greek bonds went down to 8, and is now quoted at 29. The Stock Market is certainly optimistic, but as many people have discovered the Stock Market is not always right.

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SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1943:

CBS: THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD VANSITTART: 19.30 19.45 DBST:

B.B.C. NEWS ROOM 3741
21A SENATE HOUSE

I met Mussolini once or twice in the earlier thirties, and therefore knew him - not well of course, but as well as one usually knows foreign notorieties before forming some sort of judgment upon them.

In the earlier thirties Mussolini had one outstanding point about him - he was anti-German. He had the sense to man the Brenner against Germany in 1934, when German agents murdered Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor. I met him in that year, and again in 1935, when we were endeavouring to build security for Austria at Stresa. After that the decline set in, and the fall began. He abandoned his anti-Germanity, which externally had been his guiding principle for twenty years; and, having no other principles at all, he just ran amok, and made not only a brute of himself but an utter fool as well.

If Mussolini had confined himself to internal politics, he would have left a name that was only detestable. Betaking himself to the fields of foreign affairs, wherein his conceit was only equalled by his ignorance, he became that rare combination - a cynic and a fool. A card-sharper looks silly when spare aces are always slipping out of his sleeve. From being anti-German, Mussolini became a jackboot-licker, and finished up as a buffoon. I doubt whether he has the physical

courage to commit suicide, but nothing now could make his end anything but ridiculous.

From the moment when Mussolini went over to the Huns and their methods, there was nothing but unmixed evil in him. All that Germany wanted for a Second World War was an Ally. Fascism provided that Ally. Mr. Churchill said on Tuesday last that our main adversary was and is Germany. On that conception I based my policy throughout my tenure at the Foreign Office. Mussolini and his inefficient bandits overlooked two things, which any capable professional could have told them, and which I did try to tell them. Anyone who becomes a partner of the Germans inevitably becomes first a sleeping-partner, and then the office-boy. Look at Austria before Germany's first World War. The second thing overlooked was the fact that any country that lends itself to German aggression inevitably wrecks itself. [~~Look at Turkey before and after 1914;~~] [~~and~~] look [~~also~~] at Hungary and Bulgaria. Their subservience to Germany brought them to disaster once, and will do so again. They seem incapable of learning. But Italy had been on the right side in the last war, and got as much out of it as she deserved. Fascism has dug its own grave.

But while Italy's collapse is a matter for rejoicing, the episode must not be treated as anything but a side-show.

We have still to deal with the main criminal. Meanwhile we shall have to reserve judgment on the regime that will ultimately replace Fascism. It is evident that the present outfit is only a transient makeshift. No one would accept it as anything else. President Roosevelt was right to rebuke the broadcaster who called the King of Italy a moron. The word nonentity would have been justified. The King of Italy has never amounted to anything. You cannot make empty sacks stand upright, least of all at 74. The present representatives of the House of Savoy are worthless; and Marshal Badoglio himself has a record which would rule him out as a permanency. Not only all practising Fascists but all collaborators with Fascism are ultimately unacceptable. Italy will have to come to unconditional surrender, to a thorough purging of past offences, and to a thorough change of regime. She will then settle down a great deal more easily than Germany. We should do nothing to hamper the liquidation, which may be quicker than many think probable. The problem of Italy presents only a fraction of the German problem, and the task of keeping her in order is comparatively a light one. Among the many difficulties of the future, there is at least one comforting feature. No State will ever want to go freebooting with Germany again. That will soon be also the case of all the jackal States.

The collapse, the impending doom of Germany, are of course

already shaking the whole structure of the Axis. The effects will next be apparent in Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania. These three all sold themselves for a mess of pottage, and have only got into a mess. The totalitarian edifice is on fire, and all the uninsured will soon be scrambling to get out. You need not be surprised when they begin to tell you how much they have always detested the Germans; and strangely enough that is true, individually - a fact which does not mitigate the misdeed.

The repercussions will go even further than the Balkans. With Fascism a fugitive and Nazism shortly to be smoked out, it is not conceivable that totalitarianism should last long as an isolated specimen in Spain. When Fascism has collapsed in the stronger countries, in the weaker one it will run down like an unwound clock. The side-show is therefore a far-reaching one. And this is exactly what we intend it to be. We do not want, we will not have, a new world which is only somewhat better, that is somewhat less bad, than the old one. Germany has made a second attempt to smash the clock of civilisation; we want it to be cleaned before we rewind it. For that purpose totalitarianism must be rubbed out everywhere and in every form. This is what we mean by total victory, and, in President Roosevelt's words of Wednesday, we here "will not settle for less."

That brings me back to Italy and on to France. And here I am sure that you will allow to me the frankness with which you have so often addressed us. A lack of frankness is only saying in four words what can be said in two:- self-deception. We do not, we believe you do not, contemplate as a possibility that there should emerge as the ruling force in Italy any sort of patched-up, half-repentant, semi-benevolent totalitarianism, a leopard that has changed its spots and manicured its claws in a beauty-parlour. The old order must go altogether; the ultimate sweep must be clean, if we are to have a clean earth. If we take this decision for our guide, we shall not go far wrong in Italy. You will forgive me for saying that, for lack of such a guide, you have already gone wrong in France, and have taken us along with you.

I have had two life-long convictions: that our interests are wedded to those of France and the United States. There is a Victorian motto on marriage which we should all remember: Begin as you mean to go on. I am going to act on it now, in the hope that we are at least engaged. In other words I am not going to conceal my thoughts and feelings, which are those of many here. We are twenty miles, and you are three thousand miles, from France. We are therefore more vitally interested than you in ensuring a future France that will be

strong, contented, progressive and Anglophil. That new France can only be brought about by the clean sweep of all that soiled, embittered, ruined the old France. There must be left not only no vestige of Vichy, but no taint of that corrupt and calamitous Third Republic, which even the stoutest Francophils found hard to stomach. We want no form of reaction. What is reaction? The dog that returns to its vomit. We want, we insist on having, a Fourth Republic in which not only the front but the back of the Augaean stable will have been disinfected. That is a great task, but the only way to the France that is needed not only by all good Frenchmen, but by us British as their nearest neighbours. I am not sure that the policy hitherto pursued by your State Department is the one best calculated to ensure this result; indeed I am sure of the contrary.

I trust that in all our dealings with each other we shall be not only amicably but affectionately outspoken. There is no other road to collaboration. If we cannot be frank with each other in the present, we are less likely to become so in the future, when misunderstanding may have increased by the very delay. My message to you tonight is therefore one that I believe to be the key to Anglo-American relations: for the sake of all that we both hold dear, let us both begin as we mean to go on.

E.R. Murrow Sunday August 8, 1943.

The atmosphere in London xxx and in this country is a combination of optomism and foreboding..its omething like the time of Munich..in reverse.. Then there was relief that war had been averted,but with it went the grim conviction that the testing days were ahead..that the fundamental problem had xxxxxxxxxxxx not beem splved ...There were assurances that plans were being made..rearmament progressing..Britain prepared for this war with a lot of comittes of coordinators...and we saw the results of that policy in the grim days of forty and forty one..when it became clear that the plan plans and the men were inadequate...Now,after years of trial the weapons of victory have been forged..the planning for war has been adequate...the xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Russians have won major victories..Italy is ready for the reaper..the war against the U boats is going better than anyone dared to hope..As the nights lengthen the w weight of our air offensive against germany will increase..There is a kind of supressed optomism rampant in the land..a belief that the long night will end..in short a conviction that this great allied xx war machine will achieve victory..perhaps sooner than most of us think..During the past week I have heard several responsible men assert that they see a reasonable prospect that this European war may end this year....That is their opinion ..I report it xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx without sharing it....But now as at the time of Munich there is a deep down uneasiness..a feeling that Victory has not been planned...Mr Churchill has recorded his impressions at the end of the last war..the end of fifty-two months of battle..he told how the whole vast organisation of war vanished at a stroke.." leaving xxx a void behind" There we have the basis of the unceartainty and the uneasiness that walk

hand in hand with todays optomism..It is the fear that victory may leave that void behind..the fear that the peace will catch us unprepared.. perhaps as unprepared as the war did..We are told that the conduct of the war should be left to the generals..nothing should be done to hamper or hinder the prosecution of the war...at the time of Munich the people were told to leave it to the statesmen,their objective was peace and the boat should not be rocked..Now no one who has seen anything of this war would utter one word clculated to cost a life or delay victory..But politicians should not seek to conscript the generals to conceal the absence of a policy...It has been said that General Eisenhower commended the house of Savoy on getting rid of Hitler...That is nonsense..the statement was approved in London and in Washington..General Eisenhower is a non political general..as all generals should be..the fact of the matter is that the two governments..the united States and Britain were not prepared for the departure of Mussolini ..and they misjudged the situation..The real question is whether they are prepared for future and perhaps more startling developments...We are told that our leaders are too busy working on the war to concern themselves about the peace..just as before the war the word went round that the statesmen were too busy preserving peace to prepare for war... It may be argued that they were justified..that war might have been averted.. but no one can now deny that the problems of peace will press in upon us at some future date..The excuse of military expediency will not last foreever... So far as Italy is concerned the allied position ,at least for the immediate future is now clear..we will accept the unconditional surrender of anyone,Badolio,the King ,Grandi,anyone..The reasone for that are clear..

we want to avoid anarchy and revolution in a country that is occupied and used as a base by allied forces..food munitions trops and equipment must be moved with speed and with the least possible interference..no one can object to that..it is necessary and it is propwr that the generals should insist upon it...but under the Roosevelt Churchill statement of July Sixteenth we are pledged to destroy the false leaders and their doctrines which have brought Italy to her present condition...The Italian people are to be free at some future date,to choose their own form of government..There is the real question...if they appear to be on the verge of choosing a socialist or communist government..will the allies controlling the supply of food and co coal and most other essentials stand by and let them do it..there are not many here..even of the left who believe that that will be the case..Of course we have Amgot for the administration of occupied territory..Officially they do not deal with fascists.. but as there are not many amgotters they ahve to keep the administrations running somehow and naturally this can be done most easily with the people who have been running them for years past.... From private reports it appears that this is what happens..the mayor and the chief of police and maybe one or two other big fellows are fired and then we say to the municipal engineers,the mail carriers,the firemen and the men who colect the garbage..are you a fascist..and these men reply naturally enough..I have always been an enemy of fascism..and they are told to carry on withtheir job..It may well be that thats the right way to do it..but it also may not be the best way to eliminate fascist doctrines and to allow the Italian people a free choice of government....anyhow thats the way its being done..

Insert...
There is no widespread criticism of Amgot in this country..the military need for some kind of allied administrative agency is fully recognised.. but there is particularly in left wing groups a fear that this organisation may be used to prevent or at least slow down the process of eliminating fascist doctrines...For nearly four years this has been spoken of as a revolutionary war... there has been much praise for the forces of resistance in the occupied countries..they have been told to wait for the signal...there is no doubt about their desire to eliminate fascist doctrines ..they may want to do it with violence..if they do will they be termed red revolutionaries by the allies..and will they be denied our support..there is the real question...So far allied policy has been aimed at preventing revolution in liberated or occupied territory..most people here see the sense of that..the short term military sense and they approve..what worries them is what comes next...memories are fairly long..and there are many who remember the praise showered upon musolini,much of it by men who still hold high office in this country,untill it became clear that he represented a threat to Britains interests...This peturbation about the future is really only an expression of the fundamental political differences in this country as reflected in continental policy.. So far this questioning is confined to a fairly small group...It does not have the makings of anything remotely approaching a political crisis...Mr Churchills hold upon the country has never been stronger..it is difficult to imagine any policy or programme in which the country would fail to follow him...He is the architect of victory as Mr Chamberlain claimed to be

the designer of peace in our time...The country followed Mr Chamberlain with many misgivings..today there are the first signs of difference in policy about post war europe..they are faint but they are here..they may be expected to increase as the prospect of peace brightens...Probably the only thing that could resolve them would be news of a thoroughgoing agreement between America Britain and Russia...It is significant that the speculation about the rumoured meeting of the three leaders centers around... not where it may be happening..but whether Stalin is there...

But the basis of this concern about the outbreak of peace is naturally..... domestic..People want to know whats going to happen in this country..there is still a great deal of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ cynicism carried forward from the unfullfilled promises made during the last war...~~xxxxxxxxx

will depend upon what agreements it can reach with other governments..It becomes increasingly clear that an organised economy..government controll of essential industry and manpower is easier to establish than to abolish... More and more it appears that the only alternative to increased or at least continued controll of industry by government is that industry should take over the government..These considerations are far from academic over here..and each victory brings nearer the day when decisions must be made... The belief that such problems are not receiving attention is at the basis of the thoughtfull concern about the post war world..It would be senseless to pretend that the thinking of the majority of people in this country is of such character..but there is I think that sub surface worry and skeptecism about the peace..about its permanebcy..about our preparation for it..Thats why I have ventured to draw ~~the~~ some kind of paralell between the present temper of this country and that which existed at the time of Munich... Now there is relief,perhaps premature,at the prospect of victory..Just as there was relief when Mr Chamberlain came back from Munich...But at that time there were grim forebodings of future events.~~xthatsxtrumznorzlomzxzxz~~ the same is true today..Then pople were looking for somekind of new faith..they didnt find it till Dunkirk and then they went back to ~~xnxoldxfaithxzx~~ a faith that wasnt new..It was a simple thing..faith in themselves,,,~~Thexxxxxxxxxthaixxx~~ they ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ discovered that the horrors ~~xxxx of all bunk about had been~~ exagereted...that ~~thexthingthayrxxxx xxxx theirx fears of what~~ would follow on ~~from Munich had benn~~ justified

That they still have....But they are assailed by doubts..they know now that they entered this war unprepared..that they survived and that victory if not imminenet is at least attainable..~~They know that the objective in the defeat of Germany and Italy but they are not sure~~ And those who think are a little bit frightened lest our leaders know not what to do with that victory..~~Still the question~~

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY AUGUST 15, 1943.
18.30-18.45 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

As Britain prepares for the ~~third~~ fifth winter of war these things are certain. The Germans, being everywhere on the defensive, see their sole hope of avoiding defeat in delaying tactics and the splitting of the Allies through political action. ~~The present conference in Quebec is the first meeting of Allied leaders~~ Interest in the Quebec Conference revolves more around political than strategic considerations. It is certain that Anthony Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary, is on his way to Quebec, and unless something unexpected happens he will go from there to Moscow.

The Italian statement that Rome is now an open city has been greeted here with what might be called a well-modulated "Sez You". There is some speculation about the possibility of using parachutists and airborne troops to make sure that the Italian capital is not used as an administrative or transportation centre. There is a widespread feeling that the Italian declaration is insincere - probably designed to gain time. ~~The final point~~ If military necessity should make the further bombing of Rome necessary, there will be no outcry in this country.

The outstanding military certainty is that the Russians are fighting three battles, each one against more troops than the Germans ever had in Africa and in Sicily together. They are still demanding Allied action to draw off sixty German divisions. If predictions that this will be done before the leaves fall are to be

fulfilled, it will have to be a very late Autumn this year. Certainly the most important and encouraging piece of military information released last week was contained in the review of the war at sea issued by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. In any long-term considerations of war, both in Europe and the Pacific, it far overshadows Sicily, or Rome, or even the glorious progress of the Red Armies. The importance of the statement rests not so much in the announcement that ninety submarines were sunk in three months, but rather in the phrase which said: "Such sinkings as have taken place, in distant areas, have had but an insignificant effect on the conduct of the war by the Allies". That means that we are reaching the point where men and machines can be moved with speed and safety to the places where they are needed. And that has always been the primary question in considering offensive operations.

CBS: BRIG. GENERAL F.H. OSBORN & EDWARD R. MURROW:

AUGUST 15TH,1943 18.30 18.45

MURROW: Our guest today is Brigadier General Frederick H. Osborn, Chief of Special Services who is making his first inspection tour of overseas installations ... General, as I understand it you are in charge of Education and entertainment for the army .. and that includes such things as music, movies, athletics and such publications as Yank and the Stars and Stripes. In other words, you are responsible for most of what the army gets in the way of education and entertainment. It must be the biggest combination of education and show business the world has ever seen. Let's start with a definition of objectives. What's the aim of this Special Services Division?

OSBORN: The aim of our work is threefold; to provide athletics and recreation, to provide educational services, and to provide information to the American soldier.

MURROW: What do you do in the way of information?

OSBORN: We want to give the commanding officers such help in the way of information services that every soldier will have the day to day news of the war and news from home. He will have a larger conception of what the war is about and why it must be fought this time to a finish. And we want every soldier to come back after this war knowing what he fought for and determined not to have the United States fail to face reality

OSBORN: in its relations with other countries.

MURROW: How are you getting the news to them?

OSBORN: First, we provide a daily news service to all overseas theatres. News of the war, news of home, news of sports. These bulletins are mimeographed for soldiers everywhere to read and discuss. Then we provide the materials for army newspapers. Army newspapers are published wherever we have troops, from the Aleutians clear around the world to New Delhi and Chunking. In England the Stars and Stripes is a daily newspaper, fully able to stand on its own feet in its broad presentation of the news. Yank is the Army's Sunday weekly, giving the soldier the whole global picture of our troops fighting all over the world. It's published in London, in New York, in Cairo and in other strategically located places.

Besides news services and newspapers, we have a world-wide army radio service with 55 army stations, supplementing commercial broadcasts, so that troops everywhere can get the best American entertainment and news.

MURROW: Have the troops in the field enough receiving sets so they can listen?

OSBORN: The service is extraordinarily good, but too many troops lack receiving sets and this is something we are trying to remedy.

MURROW: As I understand it, there's a small network of low-powered stations operating in this country designed to serve American troops stationed in Britain. Have you had a chance to look at that at all?

OSBORN: I have been to the central army broadcasting station in London. I have heard reception in many of our bases here, and the enthusiastic response of the soldier, who at last is able to hear American programs.

MURROW: But General, isn't the position this. The American troops here read Yank and the Stars and Stripes, they now listen to American broadcasts over this small network. Isn't it possible they are going to be pretty completely isolated from this country, from British papers, from British broadcasting?

OSBORN: In both papers, particularly in the British edition of Yank, we try to give our readers an understanding of the country they are working in. I don't think their contact with home through the army information services lessens their appreciation of England. We hope that it will help interpret their stay here. Just as Yank carries articles directly relating to our British hosts, so the army radio programs combine American home news and entertainment with British news broadcasts and news of the world.

MURROW: What are you doing about books and periodicals?

OSBORN: Eighty thousand copies in lightweight paper editions of the two leading weekly periodicals are flown out to troops overseas. Other periodicals are sent out as transportation permits. We want to give the soldier the same broad picture that the public is able to get at home.

Now as to books. In the established bases the soldier has them in quantity, in other places we are just beginning to catch up. The army busy millions of lightweight paper editions to send overseas. The selection is based on soldier interests. They like detective stories. Next they like technical books on engines, planes and tanks, but they like the classics, too.

MURROW: General Osborn, a moment ago you said you were anxious that American soldiers should understand the issues of this war. Many of us who were out in North Africa had the feeling that our troops did not know very much about the origins of the war, still had the feeling that they were helping someone out, fighting someone else's war. Can you tell us a little of what Special Service is doing about this?

OSBORN: We are producing a series of films on the causes and events leading to our entry into the war, and on our allies and our enemies. Four have been finished and are being shown to all troops. Six or eight more are in production. The next, "The Battle of Russia", will be out in a couple of weeks. We send out each week 60,000 copies of an army newsmap

OSBORN: and poster telling the current story of the war for discussion by officers and men. These are a good beginning, but there is much more to be done.

MURROW: Have you had an opportunity to see anything of what the British army is doing in its discussion groups on political and international affairs?

OSBORN: My chief purpose in coming over was to study the educational system in the British army. We have had long talks with the British staff officers concerned, and the officers engaged in this work under them. Over a two-year period they have taught their commanding officers, down to company commanders and platoon leaders, that it is a test of leadership to create in their men a knowledge of the cause they are fighting for, and a sense of their personal part in it, and a pride in their service. It hasn't been easy. Few men are born leaders; most have to learn. The English have sent their young officers back to school for brief instruction in these aspects of leadership. Now each officer in the British Army conducts with his men each week during an hour of the King's time, a discussion on the progress of the war and on current affairs. The British believe that this develops qualities of leadership in their younger officers; that it is making the men better soldiers and that it will make them better citizens when the war is over.

MURROW: If the British can do it, why can't we?

OSBORN: We can, but it isn't easy. We are not accustomed to thinking of our place in the world as a whole. Since the time of Queen Elizabeth the British have had to think of foreign relations if they were going to survive, and there are mighty few farmers or workmen in Britain who don't know it. We in the United States thought we had gotten away from all that when we moved to our great and self-contained country. Now it seems we've got to reconstruct a lot of our thinking and play a part in the world. It is not easy to change one's ideas and that is one reason why we are behind the British.

MURROW: General, you are as determined as the British were two or three years ago to stimulate thinking and curiosity of American troops. You've certainly as good material with which to work, but what is the major problem?

OSBORN: I found the American Command in the European Theatre intensely interested in these problems. They know the difficulties and out of their thinking on the matter they will develop a plan suited to the experience of our officers and the present conditions in training our troops.

MURROW: Are you doing anything about correspondence courses for men serving abroad?

OSBORN: The Armed Forces Institute in the United States, serving both the army and the navy, is already popular in the farthest corners of the earth. Four hundred men on Guadalcanal, one thousand in the Aleutians are taking correspondence courses in subjects which will fit them to be better soldiers and later better citizens. In order to give better service to our troops in the European Theater, a branch of the Armed Forces Institute is now being established in Great Britain to serve both army and navy personnel.

MURROW: Does that mean that soldiers and sailors serving abroad can take correspondence courses and get college credit for them?

OSBORN: Yes. Already the majority of the great colleges and universities of the United States have agreed to give full credit for Armed Forces Institute courses.

MURROW: How about foreign languages?

OSBORN: Foreign language instruction is very popular with the men. Special language records have been developed by Special Service to teach simple colloquial phrases. In many cases these records accompany troops on transports going overseas. Records with more detailed instruction are sent them for use in the different theaters. Japanese itself is an easy language, so long as the written form is not presented to the eye. In ten hours instruction over a weeks period with this new type of instruction, any average person can get a colloquial

OSBORN: acquaintance with Japanese.

MURROW: I think I should get hold of a set of records.

OSBORN: We'll give you a set of records for your coming trip to Japan.

MURROW: Well, General, you're responsible not only for the educating and informing of American troops, but for their entertainment. That must present a considerable problem in places like Iceland and Alaska. What do they want and what do they get?

OSBORN: They want movies, and even in isolated posts they are beginning to get them. The motion picture industry gives us their best films in 16 millimetre size. We circulate them all over the world. We were short of projectors; we are catching up now.

MURROW: What do they prefer in the way of live entertainment?

OSBORN: American girls. The USO furnishes shows from the United States and they are very popular. The Red Cross is providing local talent. But the big job of the Red Cross is that Red Cross girls from America are serving as hostesses in Canteens and community clubs in all the larger communities of England and at our airfields over here. They are doing a grand job.

MURROW: You've told us a lot about the education and information

MURROW: of the American Army, how does it compare with what's done in other armies?

OSBORN: The English are ahead in education and give their troops more live shows. The Germans go in for shows too. They had entertainments in Crete the day after the occupation, but their strong point is news services, which until recently were the best in any army. The Russians are strong on news, strong on theatricals of a patriotic type, strong on indoctrination by special service officers accompanying/every unit. That's something we don't go in for.

MURROW: Do you mean none of your officers are advocating a Fourth Term?

OSBORN: The Army has always stayed out of politics and it's going to stay out of politics now. The men will get their political news through civilian publications as they would at home.

MURROW: How about the Japanese?

OSBORN: They don't believe their soldiers should be entertained or have much fun. They give them 32 little books to read - 32 different ways in which it is glorious to die for the emperor.

MURROW: Who's been handling Special Service for the Italians?

OSBORN: No one, and you can draw your own conclusions.

MURROW: Well, General, you've seen a lot of American troops overseas. What about the spirit of our troops in Great Britain?

OSBORN: Ithink it is a spirit of determination.

MURROW: Do they want to go home?

OSBORN: They all want to go home, but they want to finish this thing first, and this time they want to do a thorough job. That's not my opinion, it's on the record. It's from the men themselves.

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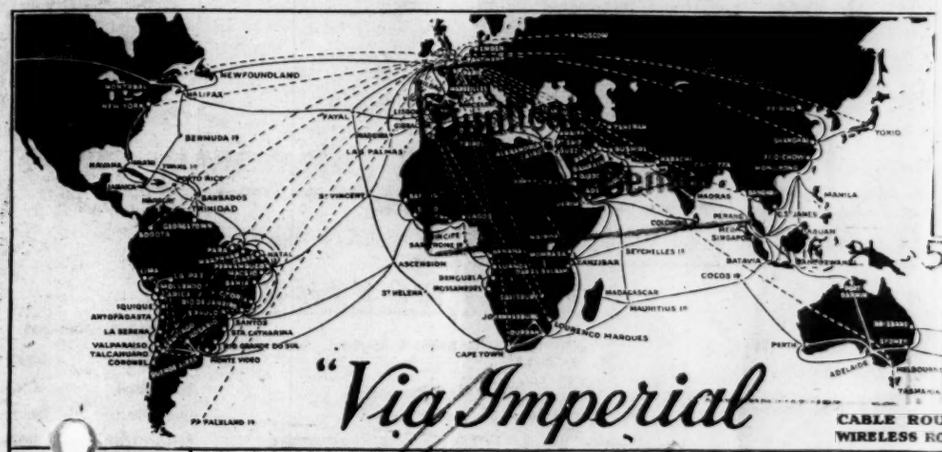

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The momentous decisions taken this week although designed to end the war, will, undoubtedly affect the peace... Nobody here knows or questions the decisions of the Quebec conference.., These people's faith in their leader Churchill is profound and almost unshakable...But they have been distrurbed by the sudden dismissal of of the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Maxim Litvinov.. They feel that the replacement of Litvinov in Washington and the replacement of Ambassador Maisky in London by minor diplomats, has only one interpretation...The xtreme displeasure of Russia. Both those men represented A soviet policy of collective security and friendliness with her Anglo-American allies...Now one ofthem has been released, the other kicked up stairs...Stalin's deliberate gesture is removing them, makes it obvious to many here, that he feels that they have failed in missions, and that their usefulness is over, either temporarily or permanently...

Britain has been assured, that Russia has been kept fully informed of the decisions taken at the Quebec Conference; therefore the sudden ousting of Litvinov is interpreted by knowedgeable people here to mean that Russia does not approve of the measures contemplated by herm allies.. It's well known that Russia will be satisfied by only one decision...one that would result in a second front designed to end the war quickly..

Therefore many people here assume that the such a decision was not taken at the Quebec conference...

It's possible that Stalin's gesture of extreme impatience with his allies is tinged with his own disappointment over the set-back suffered in his first summer offensive..

A week ago the Red Army was at the gates of Karkov...

But the strong counter-attacks of the german tank divisions, which admittedly not engaged elsewhere, have now forced the Red Army to try other methods against Karkov...They are using the much slower method of trying to envelop the city...And their progress must be measured against the coming ofthe heavy rains in September.. Failure to take Karkov, this summer will not be irreparable, but it will certainly affect the accomplishments of Russia's winter offensive.

People here realized for the first time that the Russians had suffered a set-back when they read last night's Soviet Communique... It was put out to indicate that one stage in the first russian offensive was over... And it showed that the Red Army's offensive had been only a conditional success..

Now there's been much talk in London about the prospects of a minor invasion ofthe continent from here--an endeavor to seize a port on the enemy coast where supplies could be built up during the winter for a decisive invasion next spring..

But few people here are actually thinking in terms of a grand invasion ofthe continent...Reports reaching here indicate that one of the decisions of the Quebec conference was to findways of substantially increasing aid to russia.. So it's not thogght unlikely that an attack might be aimed in that

direction...Security bans on speculation as to where the Allies ~~xxxx~~ might strike prevents me from being more specific..

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The improved war news of the past few weeks has seen a noticeable desire by some of the smaller countires to get together and determine their place in the future world... Here in London we've heard repeatedly that the Scandinavian countries are eager to draw together and form a real bloc...~~XXXX~~ It is said that Finlandwouldnot be denied a place in this northern bloc...And some ardent spirits ~~xxxxxxx~~ who have come in from Sweden even say that the Swedes are showing signs of willingness to take active steps toward the liberation of Norway...Even to the point of~~xx~~ possible military action when the times comes..

Meanwhile the central european countries are showing signs of impatience to get their future positions ~~XXXXX~~ defined.. It's obvious to the members of their governments here that ~~xxxx~~ those to the East of Germany...a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ place where anglo-american troops are unlikely to fight....will find their futures closely bound up with that of Russia..

Doctor Benesh, the president of Czecho-slovakia expects to go to Moscow in the near future... Those close to him say that he is almost certain to sign a Soviet-Czech treaty of alliance.. Probably a 20-year one, like Britain's... Other governments here, particularly Poland's, are worried over frontier delineations which might be drawn in the Czech-Soviet treaty..For instance it's known here that Russia favours the return to Czecho-slovakia of Teshen, seized by Poland anfter Munich...But what the Poles

6:42:20

want to avoid most is an implied recognition in the Soviet-Czech treaty of the Eastern Polish frontierw of 1940 after the Russo-German partititicn...The British government's attitude toward this unrest on the part ofthe little central european countries is that these countries should restrain themselves from doing anything that affects frontier questions which still have to be settled..

The war in Europe has resolved into a simple but apparently imponderable position.

Russia and the enslaved countries urgently need a quick end to the war, if their populations are to survive... In England and America if the war goes on another year, it will be regretable..but nobody will starve and few civilians will die. It is a fact that the great feeling of urgency simply isn't there...We want to win the war with the greatest dispatch which entails the least loss of Anglo-American lives... And we mean to preserve our democratic systems..But I heard a warning the other day from two leaders of enslaved countries..They said that it would be almost impossible to avoid some forms of state capitalism in their countires after the war, because all those persons who possessed the initiative and brains for private enterprise were being being methodically weeded out and cooly slaughterd or starved by the Germans...

These people thought that the Nazis were taking out this form of insurance so that if they lost the war, Fascism wouldhave a good chane to win the peace..

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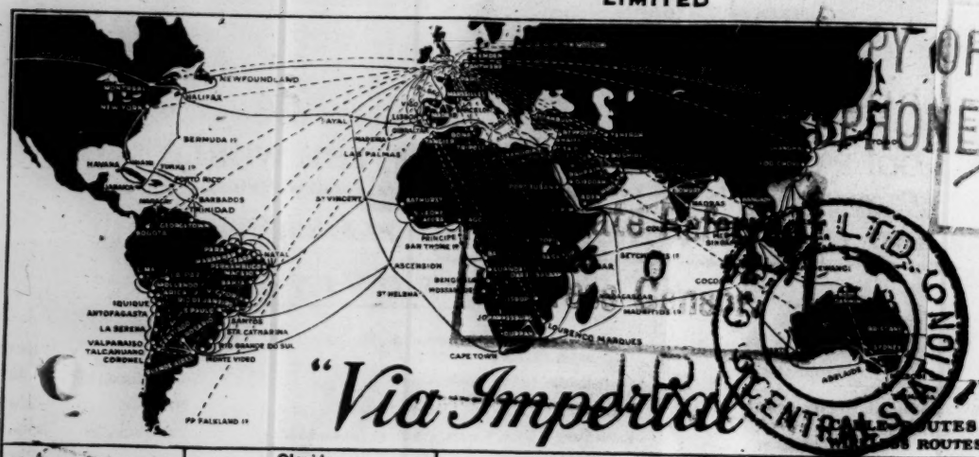

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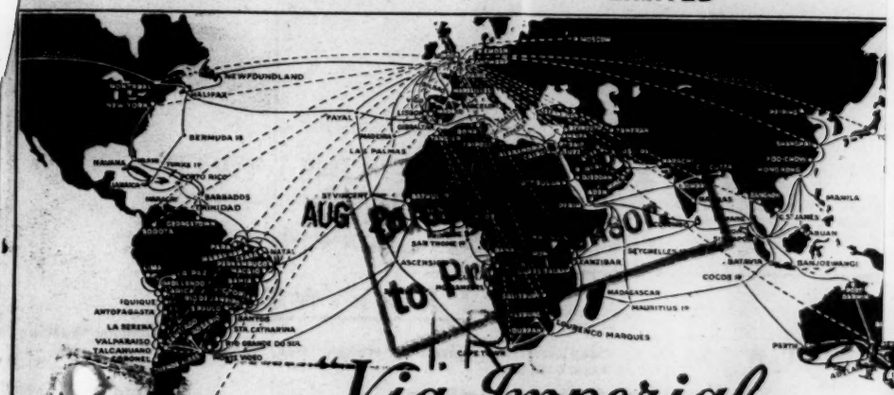

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C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY AUGUST 29, 1943.
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Few people here expected anything in the nature of a startling pronouncement at the end of the Quebec Conference. They were not disappointed. The time when inter-Allied conferences could excite people's imaginations has passed. It cannot be denied that some concern has been caused here by the statement that the military discussions of the Chiefs of Staff turned very largely on the war against Japan, and the bringing of effective aid to China. The British have always been fearful lest American interest in the Far East should result in dividing our available forces to the end that we would not be sufficiently strong either in Europe or in the Far East. There are those who interpret the attention given to the war against Japan as a sign that the plans for Europe have been completed and agreed upon, and that we are now strong enough to operate simultaneously on both sides of the world. But there aren't many who expect Russia to share that view.

Some time within the next few days there will be preliminary conversations here in London between Mr. Eden and Mr. Maisky. And there are good reasons to believe that those talks will be followed by a three-power conference, although it is unlikely that Mr. Stalin will attend.

Today Quebec is pretty well forgotten and attention centres upon the possibility of securing some basic agreement with Russia.

Probably the best way to give you an idea of British reaction to the Quebec Conference is to quote the ~~headlines~~ titles of stories about Quebec appearing in three weekly magazines. One reads: "Second Front in Borneo"; another "The Half United Nations"; and the third, "Uncertain Alliance". Now let me read you another sentence that appeared in the leading editorial of the powerful London Times. "The tone of urgency which is apparent in the announcement from the Conference is timely. A phase is apt to be reached in any long-drawn struggle when a people, particularly if it has for years been engaged in a fight against odds, has so habituated itself to endurance that it may be tempted to forget that war is ~~fundam~~ fundamentally an intolerable thing." That's quite a sentence. What it means is that in a long war - and Britain enters the fifth year of it this week - people are inclined to forget that war is intolerable, and to accept wartime conditions as normal. The people may lose their vision and their hope. And that would be a serious situation, not only for the present but for the future.

In his speech at Ottawa the President said: "It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world". But there was nothing in the communique to indicate the nature of those discussions. And many people here reason that if the war in Europe is going so well that the Chiefs of Staff can afford to concentrate on planning the war against Japan, then it's high time that we had a policy for Europe.

One result of the Quebec Conference might be called political and domestic. The British Government is a coalition of all Parties headed by Mr. Churchill. He went to Quebec where, as President Roosevelt says, "there was much talk of the post-war world." The Prime Minister was accompanied by members of his own Party. The Labour Party joined the Government in the dark days, and some of the Labour men in the Government, particularly Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labour, and Herbert Morrison the Home Secretary, did more than most of Mr. Churchill's colleagues to achieve unity and equality of sacrifice. The Labour Unions gave up practically all of their hard-won rights, because they had confidence in Bevin. To Morrison must go most of the credit for the organisation of civil defence, and incidentally, for some of the best speeches made by any Cabinet Minister on post-war planning. It would be unfair to give the major credit for Britain's unity to either political party. They both played a part. But at Quebec, where there was much talk of the post-war world, the Labour Party was unrepresented - and some of the leading members of the Party do not like it. The fact of the matter is, there is almost universal admiration for Mr. Churchill as a war leader, but there are many, including some members of his own party, who doubt his qualifications as a peacemaker and reconstructor.

It would be unwise to exaggerate the immediate ~~importance~~ effect of certain Labour leaders' resentment - nothing like a

political crisis impends. But Mr. Churchill has placed an added and, in the opinion of some, unnecessary strain upon the coalition.

It is equally obvious that the alliance between Russia and her allies has undergone some strain during the past few months. Since it seems possible that there may soon be a meeting of the three powers, it might be useful to review the record. It was in June of 1942 that Mr. Eden told the House of Commons of the full agreement between the Russian and British Governments with regard to the "urgent task of creating a second front in Europe in 1942." It was in the same month that Sir Archibald Sinclair said that"Bomber Command is blazing the trail preparing for the return of the British Army to the Continent". In January 1943 Mr. Churchill returning from Casablanca stated that within nine months the enemy would be engaged with the largest possible force on land, at sea and in the air. It was about the first of March of this year that the Soviet policy began to change. Since then the situation appears to have grown worse. Diplomatic relations were broken off between Poland and Russia. The Union of Polish Patriots was set up in Moscow, and after that came the Free German Committee. Washington and Moscow argued about whether or not Russia had been invited to the Quebec Conference. Mr. Maisky was recalled from London and made Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Litvinof was removed from his post in Washington, and hasn't yet been given another job. The Russian press has made it clear that the Kremlin takes a very poor view

of Mr. Churchill's tentative proposal for a European Federation. Some objection was raised here about President Benes going to Moscow to sign a treaty between Russia and Czechoslovakia. But he will in fact be going shortly.

All of these developments certainly do not mean that Russia contemplates a separate peace. They may be nothing more than diplomatic pressure for a second front. The Russians have not appeared to be enthusiastic about either military or political cooperation with their Western Allies. It is against this background of limited confidence that any Three-Power meeting must function. There is in Britain a widespread belief that all that's necessary is for three men to sit down around a table, and all will be settled. There appears to be a failure to realise that economic and ideological conflicts cannot be resolved at a week-end conference. Mr. Churchill summed it all up very nicely when he wrote: "The uncontrollable momentum of war, the inadequacy of unity and leadership among Allies, the tides of national passion, nearly always force improvident action upon governments or commanders. Allowance must be made for the limits of their knowledge and power." The Prime Minister wrote those lines about the last war, but they are as true today. There are limits to the power of all leaders, even Stalin; and no three men can sit round a table and abolish the differences between the United States, Britain and Russia....differences created by history, economics and indoctrination. Probably the

most that can be hoped for from such a meeting is the restoration of confidence between Allies. Whatever can or can't be done, there is nothing except perhaps an invasion of the Continent that would give people here more hope for the future than would the news that a Three-Power Conference has definitely been arranged.

Here in this Island on the edge of the Continent one gets the impression that the next six weeks - which is about all the good fighting weather left - ~~may see the complete isolation~~ will ~~that~~ the political and military planning of the Allies. The Germans are in trouble in Denmark, where they have had to declare martial law. The death of Boris of Bulgaria, whatever the cause may have been, can only serve to weaken the German hold on the Balkans. There are Bulgarian troops doing garrison duty in Yugoslavia and Greece. And there are Russian diplomats still serving in Sofia. The country to watch in that part of the world is certainly Turkey. The Turks are fearful of Russian penetration into the Balkans; and if the death of Boris should produce an explosion, the Turks, who under their treaty with Britain were pledged to go to war when Italy entered it, might decide that this is the time to honour that pledge. Probably the strongest argument to the Turks would be the Allied re-occupation of Crete. Whatever happens it is clear that the German High Command must regard all of its satellite divisions as of doubtful quality.

Meanwhile the weight of the air attack against the cities of Germany will increase. Last week's efforts against Berlin and Nuremburg were successful and, with the possible exception of one raid on Hamburg, unprecedented. No nation and no people has ever been subjected to the trial and torment that is coming to the Germans in the next couple of months. If the Germans a few years ago had laid down a program of heavy four-engine bombers, they would long ago have won the battle of Europe. It may be that the population of Germany's major cities can stand up under what's coming to them, but if they do it will be to achieve something that has never been done before. The bombing of London or of Coventry or of Plymouth was ~~impromix~~ an improvised, amateur performance when compared with what is happening now to German cities.

But while we wait for the bombers, the Statesmen and the Generals to do their work, there is no lack of material for speculation. Sir Samuel Hoare has had an interview with General Franco, and is now in London. We are told here that Sir Samuel's interview with Franco was for the purpose of a frank discussion of Anglo-Spanish relations; and that the British Ambassador talked about various complaints previously made by the British Government, particularly regarding the favorable treatment of the Axis in Spain, Spanish Morocco and Tangier. The object of the interview appears to have been a frank statement of

British grievances. Sir Samuel Hoare left various specific notes and memoranda with General Franco. The implication is that far from giving assurances to Franco,he was in fact told that he had better begin changing his mind about who is going to win this war. In any event it is unlikely that Sir Samuel Hoare, in view of his past record and utterances, would have been empowered to negotiate with Franco except under conditions and limitations laid down by the British Government.

With all the uncertainty about the future, both military and political there is still in England much talk about the post-war world. The other day a friend was discussing what should be done with the barrage balloons after the war is over. He confessed a desire to buy six of them: one to shoot down just for the fun of it, and the other five to be used to carry neon signs advertising certain goods high in the sky above London. That is one post-war aim which I hope will not be realised.

Printed in England. Sept. 1942.
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Edward R. Murrow. September 5, 1943.

LEAD.

THIS IS LONDON: The British can't seem to get excited about the invasion of Italy. I have seen them become more excited about an international cricket match. It's as though they realise that the amputation of a toe or of a leg may be painful but not fatal. The resistance so far encountered has been weak, mostly Italian, and progress is stated to be satisfactory. Everyone here is expecting news of further landings, probably by American troops, either in Sardinia or further north along the coast toward Naples. An Algiers report that the Italian fleet has left Taranto is so far without official confirmation of any kind.

While the Russian armies continue to advance Marshal Stalin has received leaders of the Orthodox Church, has granted them permission to create a Patriarch of all Russia, and in general resume religious activity. The Germans have made much propaganda about the religious freedom allowed ~~the Russians~~ in the Russian territories occupied by them. Much of that territory is now being reconquered by the Russians. My colleague Larry Lesueur, who spent a year in Russia, suggests that Stalin may have found it advisable to permit the Russians, particularly in the Ukraine, to retain their freedom of religious worship, which was about the only freedom they had under the Germans.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 5, 1943. EDWARD R. MURROW.
18.30.35-18.42.40

Britain has entered the fifth year of war. Four years of darkness, uncertainty, sacrifice and defeat lie behind. In four years you can get a College education....nations can die and be born again....alliances made and broken.... hopes and fears follow each other in bewildering fashion. These have been four years filled largely with destruction and disappointment. No one has even attempted to estimate the value of the property destroyed. The British losses - killed, wounded and missing - were 514,993. To that must be added 16,000 men of the Merchant Marine who failed to make port during the first three years, and some 50,000 civilians killed during air raids. But war, at least this war, as viewed by this reporter is more than headlines, air raids, communiques, and places with musical names in far corners of the world. It is a matter of people - what the war has done to them, and what they have done with their country and their heritage. No one could presume to condense or digest the history of the last four years. After all, this war started before the official histories of the last one had been completed. I do not pretend to know whether the man who built that graceful Spitfire around eight machine guns, or the man who devised the answer to the magnetic mine, or the Prime Minister who mobilised the English language and made it fight - I know not which of these and many others contributed most to survival. Who can measure the value of Lend-Lease, or of the fifty old destroyers, or of the reckless but gallant campaign in Greece?

There are few bold enough to apportion blame for ~~disasters~~ mistakes made from Murmansk to Munda; and none eloquent enough to pay tribute to the men and women who died.

Four years of war has produced many changes in this country - some you can see. The bomb damage, the shabby clothes, overcrowded transport, closed shops, the general feeling of fatigue and irritation; increased taxation, increased government control of industry and manpower, the disappearance of luxury goods - all these things may be seen and felt. But there are more important, though perhaps less apparent changes. This war has been full of surprises, and they have not all been of a military nature. The individual civilian can stand up to more punishment than most people had believed. He quickly realises that things once thought to be essentials were, in fact, luxuries. He has lost his fear of the dark, and much of his faith in promises. He is, in this country at least, more concerned about relations between nations, more interested in serious literature, much less provincial and insular than he was four years ago. Four years have proved that Democracy can unite and organise if the danger is sufficiently great. ~~Someone once said~~ The people of this country never saw their principles more clearly than in the light of burning buildings. In those days, or rather nights, the individual was important. Every act, every utterance was important, because it might be the last. The individual had a sense that he was participating in determining

the destiny of the nation. In those days none were for the Party and all were for the State, because the individual and the government had a common objective - survival. Mr. Churchill said the other day: "It is not given to the cleverest and most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty". In the darkest days during the last four years the interests of the Government and the interests and duty of the citizen were one and the same. For in those days the enemy was determining where, when and how the war should be fought. Now as we enter the fifth year of the war things are different. It is true that we have yet to meet anything like the main force of the enemy, and equally true that he is both desperate and strong. But the Allies are now determining where and when the fighting shall take place. We are told that our production is three times that of the Axis, and next year it will be four times as much. The days of decision, both military and political, are approaching; and some of the old cleavages are beginning to reappear. To put it bluntly, there are those who say that if Britain has a policy toward Europe it is not discernible. There are many who fear that peace will return them to the scrap-heap of unemployment from which this war rescued them. There are those who maintain that a post-war government controlled by those who controlled it before the war will mean that the objective of the government and the people will not be one and the same thing, and that unity

will be lost.

Probably the most important political lesson taught by four years of war is that people will cheerfully accept unprecedented privations and restrictions, so long as they believe them to be in the interests of the nation, and so long as they are fairly administered and universally applied. That's just another way of saying, people will work hard and do without provided they are convinced that it's for the common good rather than for the benefit of a class, a corporation or an individual. And it has been demonstrated that that can be done without sacrificing the essentials of Democracy. The House of Commons still controls this country; it has complete freedom to change the Government tomorrow if it wants to. When the historians get round to writing of this war the record of the House of Commons will stand out as Europe's shining example of Democratic Government in wartime. It will also be found that a nation as a whole can be better fed, maintained in better health, by fair and equal distribution even when there is less food available. It will be found that doctors in factories protects the workers' health and increases output; that people accustomed to maintaining a large staff of underpaid servants can do their own work. These things are important. And the lesson is not likely to be forgotten when the Germans are defeated.

There's a currently popular song over here called: "We're going to get Lit up when the Lights go up in London". I'm not

sure if that will happen, there is already a considerable shortage of alcohol; but I am sure that when this war is over the average Briton is going to insist on greater equality of opportunity, and the continuation of some at least of the existing government controls.

So far as Britain is concerned the last four years have been a test of faith, endurance, and capacity for hard work. I suppose that the British civilian has been as brave, though probably no braver, than the people of Madrid or Warsaw or a hundred Russian cities. But it is impossible not to believe that the next four years will witness the supreme test of British statesmanship, both at home and abroad. The problems will be complex almost beyond human comprehension, but British policy will flow from British experience, and that experience demonstrates that any attempt to divide Europe into spheres of influence, or to provide for its domination by one power will lead to another war. Most people here would probably vote to go on fighting this one for another four years, rather than face that prospect.

The outstanding military lesson of the last four years is certainly the emergence of air power as the dominant weapon. So far as the European war is concerned you may take any campaign from Poland to Sicily, including Norway, Dunkirk and the destruction of the Bismark - and find that air power

made them possible. Today we may hear of battleships moving close inshore along the Italian coast, but they are there only because of the fighter umbrella up above. The Germans were the first to understand the limited application of air power in support of ground troops, ~~and~~ they understood it completely they would have won the European war long ago. British bombers are now making the round trip to Berlin, and returning within two or three minutes of their estimated time of arrival. No civilian airline could maintain such a schedule in peacetime. You have only to talk with ~~fighting~~ flying men - American and British - to realise that they of all the combat services ~~the~~ have the supreme belief in the future of their weapon. They will argue about the relative merits of day and night bombing, about new defensive measures, and about new types coming into operation; but they all agree that in war and probably in peace a nation's power must be measured first in terms of its air strength. Britain built her Empire and her wealth and based her security on control of the seas. And yet today ~~the~~ the ships that float on ~~it~~ the sea are almost defenceless without shore-based aircraft overhead, or at least within easy call.

At the end of four years of war, after looking at the pictures of what has been done by bombs inside Germany, and to factories and transportation systems in the occupied countries,

after talking with the men who check off the targets one by one like mathemeticians solving a fairly easy problem, one concludes that those who say bombing can't win a war, really mean that bombing hasn't yet won a war. The Germans, who ought to know what's happening, seem to think that the bomber might win this one, for they have turned over most of their aircraft production to fighters. And then the fortresses and Liberators start working on the fighter factories. It's as though an artillery officer could shell the enemy's arsenal from a distance of six or seven hundred miles. As a matter of fact, the way the planes go off these fields night and day remind one of a huge salvo from a bettery of guns, each firing a shell weighing anything from five to fifteen thousand pounds.

The Battle of Britain was dramatic and decisive; everyone knew what was happening. Now the position is reversed and the battle is equally important. I remember Mr. Churchill saying to me a couple of years ago that it was difficult for the British whale to get at the tiger, even when the whale was helped by the R.A.F. eagle. But the eagles are bigger and stronger now, and they may prove that enough of them can wound and starve the tiger to the point where he is willing to give up. Whatever happens, the last four years have demonstrated that the future of the war, and perhaps the peace, is in the air.

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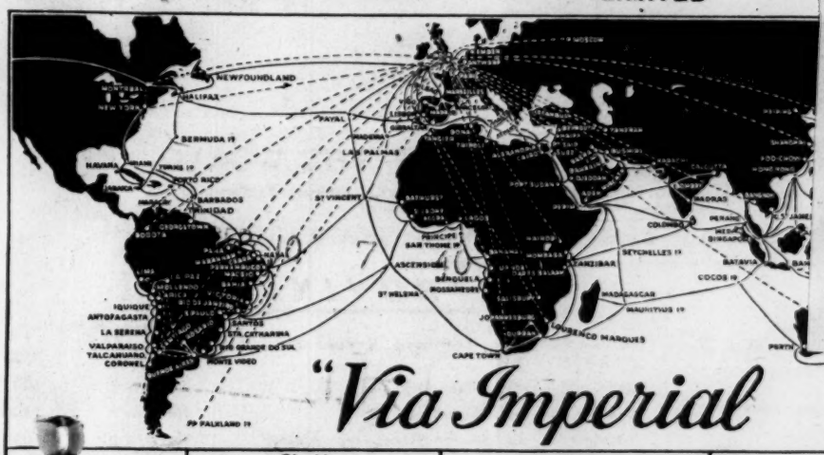

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C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 12, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.40 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

Obscure and chaotic....those are the two words being used in London to describe the situation in Italy, and they represent something of an understatement. There is a widespread feeling that the present chaos and conflict is only a foretaste of what is to come. On that gloomy day when Italy entered the war I heard an Englishman say: "Now we have all the unmentionables in one boat and know where we are". The surrender of the Badoglio government simply means that the Italian unmentionables have tried to change boats, but it looks like the Germans have taken their place. There has never been any great hatred for Italy in this country, and there is already apparent in the press and private conversation a willingness to deal gently with Italy. When the news of Badoglio's surrender was broadcast I watched several Englishmen - about twenty of them - in the same room. At the end of the announcement there was the National Anthem. At the first notes of "God Save the King" they all came to their feet, did their best to stand straight - no man looked at another - when it was all over one man remarked: "Well at least that brings us a little closer to Germany".

Here in London on the subways, the buses and in the pubs there wasn't very much open jubilation...perhaps because no one here ever considered the Italians much of a threat, and everyone had been confident that they would fold up sooner or later. On the night of the announcement, and during the following

twenty-four hours, you would have heard remarks like this: a girl saying to a soldier, "Maybe this means you won't have to go"; and the soldier replying, "Reckon there's a lot of fighting still to be done". You'd have heard a lot of speculation about whether the Italians would fight the Germans. Most people ~~seemed to~~ think they wouldn't fight anyone. A lot of people were hoping that British Prisoners of War would be sent home, and that we would soon be using the airfields in the north of Italy. But the last three days have demonstrated that Italy didn't so much capitulate to us, she just collapsed. Marshal Badoglio and his government undertook to do a lot of things which they are obviously unable, or perhaps unwilling to perform. Under the terms of the Armistice there was to be immediate cessation of all hostile activity by the Italian armed forces. That appears to have happened in Italy some days before the Armistice was announced. Italy also agreed to do her best to deny the Germans facilities that might be used against the United Nations. A careful study of all the reports from the frontier and from North Africa indicate that the Italian "best" is not very good. All allied prisoners were to be released....none sent to Germany. But most of them are in the north of Italy, and may be sent to Germany before we get there. The Italians also promised to turn over their Fleet, their aircraft and their merchant shipping, and they've started to make good on that promise. The surrender of all Italian territory - islands and mainland - is again something that can't happen

until we drive the Germans out. The same thing is true about the airfields and naval ports, which the Italians were supposed to protect with their own armed forces until the Allies got there to take over.

Badoglio's agreement to bring back to Italy all the Italian armed forces now servingin the Balkans obviously cannot be carried out. The Armistice has secured for us certain units of the Italian fleet; the destroyers may be of some use; but the best naval opinion here seems to be that the heavier ships won't be worth much.

There is very little criticism of the Armistice terms, which incidentally were the terms originally laid down by the allies. I am assured by people who know, that the Armistice terms were presented to Badoglio on a take it or leave it basis; and that he took it.

Considerable attention is being paid here to General Montgomery's warning about the Italian Armistice. Montgomery said the Italians had ceased to be a fighting factor by the end of July, when we were still engaged in Sicily. The General appears to believe that the Armistice will not greatly ease the military task confronting us in Italy. Today's Observer remarks that "a price has naturally been paid for the smooth diplomatic short-cut to what would have normally been the

result of a successful popular revolution. Not only do grave social and constitutional issues in Italy remain unsolved and left to a future already overburdened with unsolved problems; not only to a number of rather undesirable and near-Fascist personalities, like the Commander of the Italian Army in Greece, remain in positions of power where they can do harm to the Allied cause. The main loss is an imponderable one...a loss of dynamic. A successful popular revolution, especially if it ~~xxxxxxx~~ proved its power of transforming an enemy country into one of the United Nations, would have developed an incalculable capacity for spreading, and might have transferred the war to an altogether different level. This cannot probably be said of the Badoglio solution."

It ~~xxxxx~~ would be commonplace to say that the Allied handling of Italy is being watched with great care by our enemies and our friends in the Balkans. The policy in Italy was designed to prevent revolution and chaos. It is too early to say how far it has succeeded....too early to determine how far the workers, particularly the transport workers in the north, will rally to Badoglio. So far we have got certain units of the Italian fleet, and we have got a front on which to fight Germans in Italy, and we are free to move men and materials anywhere in the Mediterranean. The Germans have moved some troops from France, but we don't know how many. It is being said that Rommel and

Kesselring have 18 to 20 divisions on the Italian mainland. The Germans are doing nothing to discourage these estimates, and they may be as exaggerated as the early guesses of German strength in Sicily.

Most military commentators here foresee much heavy fighting ahead in Italy. They believe that the duration of the campaign will be determined to a considerable extent by the success of Allied air power operating against the Germans' tender lines of supply and communication in the north. The attitude of the Italian civil population will certainly affect developments. That will be particulady true of municipal and transport workers in the north. There are people here who know Italy well, and who say you can't expect those workers to risk being shot out of hand by the Germans, just because a government led by the King and Badoglio asks them to ~~take chances~~ sabotage the Germans. These people maintain that now is the time to amplify the twelfth point of the Armistice. That's the one that reads: "Other conditions of political, economic and financial nature with which Italy will be bound to comply, will be transmitted at a later date." Maybe the Italian people would be willing to take greater risks if they had more assurance that they would be free to determine their own destiny - that their future is not necessarily tied to the fortunes of Badoglio, the Duke of Addis Abbaba.

The developments in Italy, and the weary withdrawal of the Germans in Russia have naturally ~~had their effect upon British opinion~~ raised spirits in Britain. There haven't been any public demonstrations, but confidence in ~~the~~ Allied strategy has never been higher. At the same time it is necessary to report that the information reaching this country from Germany does not indicate any serious crack in civilian morale. The reports of German reaction to bombing read pretty much like the reactions of any other people. Their system of clearance and repair is rapid and efficient. The Germans do not appear to show any more anger than the British did at the bombing of their cities and homes. People do not develop a deep hatred of a cyclone or an earthquake. I have seen reports of Germans leaving their burning cities, stumbling along like cattle at the end of a hard winter. Often they complain about the loss of their homes, but there is little talk of surrender or collapse. A few British writers after reading Hitler's outpouring of hate against Badoglio and the King of Italy, have come to the conclusion that the Germans are engaging in their favorite pastime of looking for a scapegoat. Last time it was the stab in the back; this time, so the argument goes, ~~it~~ Italy is to be blamed for German defeat. But the information coming out of Germany all goes to show that they are far from having lost faith in their cause. // Still people here are talking much more about the future than they did a couple of months ago. The powerful

Trade Union Congress, representing about six million workers, refuse follow the advice of the Russian delegates and demand an immediate second front. Britain's Labour leaders are prepared to leave the matter up to the Allied High Command. They cheered the Labour Minister's announcement that the men who were first to enter the army would be the first to be demobilised.

Mr. Churchill's Harvard speech caused elderly gentlemen to write outraged letters to the papers. They were horrified at the ~~prospect~~ thought of the English language being tampered with. One correspondent reminded the Prime Minister that the limitations of Basic English would have forced him to avow Britain's determination to fight on the edges of the land, rather than on the beaches. It is indicative, I think, of the rather light-hearted mood of the nation, that Mr. Churchill's reference to Basic English promoted more discussion and controversy than his remarks about the possibility of common citizenship. The humorous magazine "Punch" notes a change in the times, when it reports that a cricket match was stopped to enable spectators to watch a German plane being brought down. This confirms the old contention that cricket fans don't take the game seriously enough. Reporting that the Balkans want peace, "Punch" remarks: "It really does seem that they're desperate enough now to try anything". But the week's best bit of unconscious humour is contained in a serious, rather splenetic article appearing in

a magazine called "World Review". The writer produces this prize passage. "Mr. Roosevelt has described himself as a quarter-back. A quarter-back is, apparently, a member of an American football team who has to do something with the ball very quickly, without working out long-term policies as to its destination. If this is the case he bears a certain resemblance to Mr. Winston Churchill".

It seems to me that most people over here who share the writer's ignorance of the duties and functions of a quarter-back, are reasonably well satisfied with the short-term strategy being pursued by the Anglo-American combination. There is tremendous interest, especially in official circles, in the great debate on foreign policy now going on at home. The meeting at Mackinack; the discussions about an American-British alliance; the speeches building up to the '44 campaign... such events are followed with as much attention as used to be given to speeches by Hitler, and meetings on the Brenner; for there is a feeling that the decisions reached after full and free debate will do much to determine the future of every country in Europe, large and small. The events of the next few weeks may alter the whole face of the war. But the outcome of the great American debate on what we are to do with our power and responsibility will, in the opinion of most Europeans that I know, be the greatest single

factor determining the face of the future.

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C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 19, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.45 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

Someone once said: "News is seldom as bad and seldom as good as it appears at first". That has certainly been true of the news from Italy. When the armistice was signed, many people thought it was all over South of the Alps. Then came the solemn news from Salerno - that caused acute anxiety, which has now been followed by a sense of relief; but with the relief goes the realisation that ~~Italy is to be~~ the conquest of Italy is to be a real campaign. The taking and holding of the Salerno bridgehead was the most difficult and delicate operation yet undertaken by Allied troops against the German Army. The Germans had anticipated the move, were in prepared positions with plenty of guns and armour, facing West looking down the throat of the Fifth Army on the beaches. Now the Fifth's advance, plus the threat of the Eighth Army has swung the German line around so that it faces South. Whether the Germans will stand in front of Naples, or xxx choose to fight a rearguard action up to Rome remains to be seen. But the Fifth Army, operating at the extreme limit of land-based air cover, has made good the first opposed landing on the Continent of Europe. That is a tribute to both training and tenacity. The Fifth, as you know, is commanded by General Mark Clark, a 46-year-old Army "brat". His record reads pretty much like that of any good West Pointer - wounded in action in France in the last war - served with the Army of Occupation at Coblenz - saw duty at

Levenworth and Snelling - went through the Infantry School at Benning, the Command and General Staff School and the War College. In June of '42 he came to England to head the ground forces in the European Theatre. Before the North African campaign he went down there in a submarine to negotiate with French officers. General Clark is a lean, lanky,deep-voiced man. Mr. Churchill refers to him in private conversation as "the American Eagle", and that's not a bad description. For many months past General Clark has been training the Fifth Army in North Africa, and he and his men have made a glorious beginning at Salerno. Every report indicates that the American, British and Canadian troops have worked and fought together just as well as they did in Tunisia.

Mr. Churchill is expected to be back in London in time for the next meeting of Parliament. He will find Number Ten Downing Street all polished and painted. And he will find a lot of questions waiting for him. Despite the success at Salerno, Members of Parliament and nearly every newspaper are asking questions. There is something approaching ananimity in the general tenor of these questions. The first, naturally enough, has to do with Italy, and what delayed the invasion. There seems to be a widespread belief that we failed to recognise an incoming tide; that the war-weariness and general uselessness of the Italians was not fully appreciated; and that the vigour and determination of the German defence was under-estimated.

There are many published reminders of the timetable of events. On July 25th Mussolini fell, and it became clear that the Italian armies in Sicily had quit. Democratic elements began to appear, and Badoglio instituted martial law. On July 29th a message from Allied headquarters, which had been approved in London and Washington, commended the House of Savoy on getting rid of Mussolini. Then came a lull of six days in our bombing offensive. When it began again there was more agitation inside Italy, on the grounds that Badoglio's government was Fascism minus Mussolini. ~~About the middle of August~~ It seems that Badoglio's Government asked for peace almost immediately after the fall of Mussolini. Something like forty days elapsed before the Armistice and our landing at Salerno. The question is being asked: "Was this delay due to Italian bargaining, or to the Allies' uncertainty about the terms they would impose? Or was the time required to plan and mount the invasion?" Whatever the reasons may have been, the Germans made good use of the time to strengthen their hold on the country.

Here are a few examples of what is being written about the Italian situation. Today's Observer: "We have been slow to see that Italy is now our potential ally. We have acted slowly, and our action has been marred by our being at cross-purposes with ourselves. The official accounts of armistice negotiations with Badoglio make painful reading." Mr. Hore-Belisha, former

Secretary of War, remarks: " It would appear that the Germans have extracted the maximum temporary advantage from their quicker reaction to new circumstances". The Sunday Times: "The Fifth Army has landed in order to capture the great port of Naples, to straddle the Italian peninsula, to forestall the Eighth Army's advance and to cut off the Germans who were opposing it. These objects are not yet attained." The weekly magazine, Tribune says: "The Germans needed two things to save their critical situation in Italy - time and a feeling of uncertainty among the Italians ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ about what the Allies wanted." And the Tribune concludes that Hitler was granted what he needed most. Today's Reynold's News has this to say: "The British and American people and their governments are determined to destroy Fascism; but their governments do not want Fascism to be followed by social revolution. They want regimes of order - the Old Order - and stability - stability for property". Reynold's conclusion is that the war has unleashed forces which cannot be chained. And it reminds Mr. Churchill that he once said, after Dunkirk: "Long live the forward march of the common people of all lands towards their just and true inheritance".

This questioning about Allied Italian policy does not reflect criticism of the conduct of military operations. It is rather a deep-seated anxiety about policy - what it is, and where it is leading. The individual can't answer the questions

but he can't help asking them.

Mr. Churchill will also be questioned about the release, or capture, of Mussolini - certainly one of the few cases in history where a rat has joined a sinking ship. When the German announcement was made, British officials tried to laugh the whole thing off, saying that Mussolini was of no importance. ~~But the whole incident~~ But the freeing of Mussolini did not amuse the British public. He may be able to reassert some measure of control, and will certainly influence a powerful minority whose lives depend upon the defence of Fascism. ~~The general feeling seems to be~~ But Italy is only one sector of the European war, even though it has overshadowed the sullen but ordered withdrawal of the Germans in Russia. It almost seems that reactionary leaders in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and perhaps even Turkey heard the guns at Bryansk. The Middle East is becoming crowded with Balkan representatives - all anxious to further their own claims. It is in that area, as well as Poland, that relations with Russia will be tested. A few weeks ago it was settled that the Three-Power conference should be held in London, but now it has been changed to Moscow. ~~and the Recently there has been some talk of a Three-Power Treaty to maintain the peace. That appears to be a simple solution until some asks "What Peace?" The Balkans for instance, say flatly~~

The word exploratory is being used in connection with the meeting, and that is not a very encouraging sign. British interest in reaching agreement with Russia is not based upon sentimental or ideological grounds; it is a matter of self-interest if not self-preservation. For Britain's position between the United States and Russia would be extremely uncomfortable. ~~Hugexsectionsxofxthexxxxx~~ The security of huge sections of the Empire will depend upon the United States; while Britain's home production will depend, as it has in the past, upon association with a strong European power. As one British politician summed it up to me the other day by saying: "This time we've got to be a good middleman".

When Mr. Churchill has informed Parliament and the country about the progress of the war, he will be expected to turn his attention to home affairs. The most pressing problem is the old one of manpower. Strikes have been increasing steadily for many months. The industrial truce seems to be wearing thin, and labour is growing tired of compulsion. The crux of the business is coal, where production is going down, strikes are going up, a winter that is forecast as unusually severe just around the corner, and the Generals in the field asking for more coal for occupied territories. The careful, cautious Economist reports: "There are coming from the coalfields the first sounds of that bitterness between men, masters and the

Government which wrecked domestic peace after the last war". Both the miners and the mines are supposed to be under government control, but there is a shortage of men, and they are often unwilling to move their homes and their families to more productive fields. But mining is only the outstanding example of the increasing irritation with government controls. During the month of July, the last month for which figures are available, industrial disputes involved about 34,000 men. The lost an average of a little less than three days work each. Since the war began about seven thousand men, twelve hundred women and sixty-eight employers have been taken to court for disobeying government orders. 672 men went to jail, 92 women were locked up, no employers were put behind bars. The fact of the matter seems to be that labour and industry have been operating in a police state, without very much use of the police. The British don't like compulsion any more than we do, but the time seems to be approaching when the compulsory powers must be used effectively and equally, or abolished altogether. Whatever happens, it's abundantly clear that the Prime Minister will have to give his attention to this matter at an early date.

Most people here were surprised to read of the famine conditions in certain parts of India. A few people , most of them in the super-tax bracket, were almost startled by a speech delivered by Lord Wavell, who is shortly going to India as new Viceroy. ~~Viceroyxx~~ Viceroys generally make rather dignified

ponderous, and in common with everyone else, sometimes rather platitudinous speeches; but Lord Wavell, who still appears somewhat uncomfortable in civilian clothes, departed from tradition in addressing the successful and somewhat satisfied men who belong to the Pilgrim Society. He said that this country should spend as freely in peace on education, health and employment, as it does on prosecuting the war. He also advocated that lawyers should be paid less and school teachers a lot more. Of course the distance between perorations in London and policies in India is rather great, but it does appear that Lord Wavell as Viceroy will be more forthright and unconventional than some of his predecessors.

BROADCAST BY MR. JAN MASARYK ON OCTOBER 3RD, 1943.

I am glad that you mentioned that remarkable word "security". From 1918 to 1938 we all talked more or less glibly about "collective security" without achieving any great results. This failure contributed maybe more than anything else to the terribleness through which so many people in Europe to-day are passing.

I know that there are people whose minds are much more scientific than mine, who still believe that a balance of power could be made into a permanent solution of our economic and political problems. I disagree wholeheartedly. It was the search for the so-called balance of power which resulted in many wars in the picturesque history of Europe. The little countries were pulled about like kittens by the conflicting interests of the great ones. Czechoslovakia was sacrificed because some bona fide, but not terribly far-seeing statesmen thought that our sacrifice would produce the necessary equilibrium on the Continent. I need not enumerate the disastrous results of this foolish policy. Both by nature and intellectually I am an optimist and I want to believe that we all have learned our lesson. If the sorely-tried martyrs of Europe are to be redeemed permanently, it of course presupposes an agreement between the Great Powers.

This means that the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia will have a joint policy, both politically and economically, naturally preserving their own economic and political structure. Speaking of a cordon sanitaire is criminal folly. If we amputate any future possibility of aggression, then and only then we shall be going places.

I agree with your remark that unless the security of us small, but very important, members of the European family is safeguarded, there will be no permanent security for the Great Powers. I am convinced that all the small nations in Europe would be ready for small or big sacrifices, even as far as their sovereignty is concerned, if they knew that this unspeakable horror would not be repeated.

I am not denying the complicity of the task facing the Big Three. Each country in Europe must be treated a little differently. We all have our strong national characteristics which we cannot give up, bad and good characteristics, and every blue-print, however elaborate and honestly planned for the future administration of Europe, will fail unless the good and useful national characteristics are respected.

Besides these individual characteristics there are a great many common characteristics in Europe. I venture to say that there are more points of contact between the

nations of Europe than there are differences, and if they are properly gauged and worked upon, permanent peace is not a Utopia.

I am fairly well acquainted with the studies, endeavours and efforts made in the United States, in Great Britain and in Russia. They all have a great deal of good in them. But it is essentially necessary for all these plans to be closely examined by the great partners who must have confidence in each other. What is equally important is to give the small and smaller nations of Europe an opportunity of voicing their opinions and even of making some definite proposals; and if these proposals are adopted, adapted and improved by the trio of giants, the people who have paid the price, a terrible price, in order to make a better world, will at last sigh a sigh of relief and gratitude, and collective and individual security will be within reach of our tired but eager hands.

The interdependence of all the countries of the world has been proved definitely and conclusively. I understand very well that there will be competition. Just like simple confession, competition is good for the soul. Each country has a contribution to make. May it please God to enable our leaders to ascertain these contributions and to consider them fairly and not at all sentimentally.

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I'll be seeing you.

Nazis - and the problems of world organisation. The idea behind these discussion groups is not to make opinion, but to make better soldiers and citizens. There is to be no political propaganda. The whole program, late though it is in getting underway, sounds like democratic discussion for a democratic army, or if you prefer - ~~bull sessions about matters of somewhat more important~~ bull sessions where the subject is somewhat more important than those that used to engage the attention of high school and college boys.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY OCTOBER 3, 1943.
18.30.40-18.42.45 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

There's a story going round over here - I've heard it four times, and seen it once in print. It is said that the story originated in France. The time is somewhere around 1950; three Frenchmen have won a lottery; the prizes are a rat, a glass of white wine, and fifteen seconds of electric power. The three men pool their winnings. They roast and eat the rat; they sip the glass of white wine; and after much debate decide to use the fifteen seconds of electric power to listen to the radio. After some slight tuning difficulty, and just before the fifteen seconds expires, they get London just in time to hear the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ two words: "Patience, patience". Maybe that story is put about by so-called second front agitators, but it does reflect a deepening cynicism, and a shortage of patience. The war has reached the point where strategy and politics can no longer be kept apart. And one has the impression over here that the average citizen is more puzzled by the politics than by the war. Italy, we are told, has now achieved the status of a co-belligerent. No one has defined that term, although one London cartoonist has attempted to do so. He portrays one Italian officer saying to another: "The Co is all right, but I don't like this belligerent business." Perhaps co-belligerency is part of the process of self-redemption of which Mr. Churchill spoke. There are many people here willing and anxious to welcome the Italian people back into the society of nations. But it's a little difficult to see how that can be done without violating solemn statements about retribution and disarmament contained in

past statements of Allied leaders. It has been fashionable to talk of a people's peace, but the Italian people aren't the only ones involved. There are the people of Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania and France. The French are not likely to forget the stab in the back. Their fleet lies scuttled at Toulon, while King Victor Emmanuel announces that the"Italian fleet again sails on the seas of the Mother country." The Greeks are not likely to be pleased ~~that~~ if the Italian fleet is still sailing the Mediterranean when the war is over. That fleet, by the way, has never surrendered. It merely went to points specified in the Armistice. It's easier to understand the strategy in Italy than it is to understand the politics. But there is a mild form of uneasiness in this country; part of it is a carry-over from the Darlan deal; part of it is the feeling that traitors don't make good allies anyway; and part of it is due to the belief that British policy is aimed at supporting dynasties, not only in Italy but in Greece, Yugoslavia and Spain. That belief is well-founded.

Just how such a policy is to be made to dovetail with the British twenty-year alliance with Russia is something of a mystery. On Wednesday of last week Mr. Eden talked about British foreign policy to a meeting of six thousand women here in London. He said Britain was a small island in contrast to the great land masses of the United States and the Soviet Union. She could not, therefore, expect to play an equal part in world

affairs except for two factors - membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and geographical position. These two things had made what Mr. Eden called "the alliance potential of Great Britain" far greater than its size or population warranted. In other words, Britain is in a strong trading position when it comes to making alliances. Her policy quite simply is to hold what she has, and to make such alliances as will prevent any other power trying to take it away. Or to put it another way: the British do not propose to suffer and sacrifice and finally achieve victory, only to find that their alliance potential and their total strength is less than it was when the war began. That will be their guiding policy in the forthcoming Three-Power Conference. There is no disposition here to rely upon gratitude or sentiment for the maintenance of British power in the post-war world. This country must make itself a useful and perhaps indispensable ally, and hopes to do it with both Russia and the United States; hopes not to be forced to choose between the two, for if that happens most people believe another war is inevitable. We are entitled to agree or disagree with the policy - it's a realistic one based upon history and self-interest; ~~but at least we ought to understand the fundamentals~~ This balancing act between two strong powers requires ability, tolerance and discretion. The British are, I think, a reasonably tolerant people. Their press and radio are generally pretty cautious in their comments about foreign countries and personalities. But that's a kind of directed discretion. ~~The word is gone out~~

Both the press and radio here are much more amenable to government suggestion and persuasion than they are at home. That's one reason you haven't heard any very full-throated public reply to the various accusations launched against Britain by certain sections of the American press and radio during the past few weeks. But I'm obliged to report that in spite of the officially encouraged reticence, a considerable amount of resentment is developing. No people likes to be told that they are plotting to oust the Commander-in-Chief of an Allied Army; or that one of their own officers who happens to have a title, a lot of money and a service record that compares pretty well with the best of them, is a playboy Admiral. Privately people will remind you that there was no public complaint here when General Eisenhower was placed in command with more experienced British officers under him. One of the troubles with an alliance is that both sides have to give up something. Maybe it would be better if the British reacted more openly and directly, but that's their business, not mine.

Some of my friends in official positions will probably reproach me tomorrow for having said this, but they won't deny that it's true. And it seems to me that a thing that's true requires saying.

And now just to prove that British publications don't always pull their punches, here's a quotation from this week's New Statesman regarding the appointment of Mr. Stettinius. It says:

"Has the influence of big business ever before been recognised with such perfect frankness?" There then follows an unflattering review of Mr. Stettinius' business career, ending with these words: "If Mr. Stettinius attends the conference with the U.S.S.R. the ~~xxxx~~ protagonists who divide this earth - big business and the armed masses - will look into each others eyes for the first time. Steel meets Stalin".

~~Mrxxxxerill Harriman's appointment as Ambassador to Moscow was pleasing to most people in Whitehall, on the grounds that he has considerable knowledge of British methods and requirements. Mrxx Harriman has seen eye to eye with Mrx Churchill on many matters, but of course the Prime Minister is the more dominant personality.~~

~~It is natural enough that attention should be focussed upon the policies of the great nations.~~

Today the big nations make the news; there is a tendency to forget the small nations of Europe, some of them models of democracy and decency. Such a nation was Czechoslovakia. I have asked an old friend of mine, Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, to share this program with me today. His is a little country, of which too many people knew nothing. But if this war and the last war have proved anything, it is that in a world where there is no security for small nations, there is no security for big nations.

C.B.S. MR. JAN MASARYK. Sunday, 3rd October, 1943. 1830 B.S.T.

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I'll be seeing you.

That was Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London.....I return you to Warren Sweeney in New York.

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THIS IS LONDON: It's always advisable to mistrust those who speak in general terms of the attitude of the British or of the Russians, or of the Americans. The individual differences in this country are probably as great as they are at home. The miners may think and believe one thing, the farmers another, and the business men something else. The only thing a reporter can do is make an honest effort to summarize the broad trend of opinion as reflected in print, Parliament and the pubs. I think if you had been in Britain during the past week you would have been struck by a curious combination of optimism and apprehension. This is the eve of winter. The dull, damp depressing days are ahead - the time when the sun goes out to sea - when the days are dismal and the nights are dark and long. It will be the fifth winter of war. The country is suffering ~~in suffering~~ from physical fatigue, from the monotonous diet, from all the minor irritations of wartime control. Clothes are wearing out. The Minister of Food says that the country is living on a miserable ration of twentyfive cents worth of meat a week, and that in twelve months' time that may have to be reduced. There are now enough ships to carry the food, but the world supply has shrunk. Still, Britain has probably suffered less than any country on the Continent of Europe. ¶ From the purely military point of view there are many reasons for optimism, and

the first of these is Russia. For weeks British military commentators have been debating about the real reason for the German withdrawal in Russia. Some said that it was ordered, controlled and according to plan. Others maintained that the German armies were being hit so hard,and in so many places, that they had no alternative but to fall back. Today, following the fall of Melitopol, there is general agreement that the German forces in the South are in as bad a military position as it is possible for them to be. One British military writer says half the German Army faces disaster, and that nothing short of a miracle can save them. Another remarks that the Germans have made a second but bigger Stalingrad mistake, and that they face disaster in the bend of the Dnieper. During the last two winters the German plan was clear. They tried to stabilise a winter front behind heavily fortified positions. They kept most of their troops in the large cities, where they had good shelter. The mild climate of the Crimea was useful for hospitals and convalescent centres. It may be that the Germans have prepared positions somewhere along the line running from Riga to Odessa. But if they have, those positions will be nowhere near so formidable as those already overrun by the Russians. There is a tendency amongst London military writers to attribute the same invincibility to the Red Armies that they once accorded the Reichswehr. There is also a failure to recognise the price that the Russians are paying.

The general opinion seems to be that in Russia anything may happen, but the result is bound to be good.

Progress for the Anglo-American armies moving up the Italian peninsula has been slow, and the feeling persists that this campaign represents only a portion of Allied Mediterranean strategy. Unless there are further and faster developments within the next few weeks, you can expect considerable criticism of Allied strategy.

No serious student of the war expects a second front in Europe this year. That has been true for some time. General Smuts, the South African Premier, has prophesied further advances in Southern and South-eastern Europe, and has promised the grand assault on the fortress of Europe for next year. That pronouncement ~~caused disappointment~~ must be considered alongside recent official statements here and at home. The Allies' superiority in material is unquestioned. Our war production is more than double that of German-controlled Europe. We control the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, have at least three times the air power of the Germans, and the German armies are retreating on every battlefield. In spite of these facts, the warning of a long war continues to be sounded. There is nothing in British home propaganda, or in official statements aimed at making people believe that a supreme effort now might win the war during the coming winter. No one doubts the damage being done by American

and British raids on Germany, but even the most ardent air enthusiast agrees that such operations represent a long-term strategy. And every report coming out of Occupied Europe indicates that each month's delay increases the danger of anarchy and chaos. That is particularly true in the Balkans, where it was expected that Allied landings would follow the capitulation of Italy. Now Greek forces of resistance, some of them embittered by our acceptance of Badoglio and his crew as co-belligerents, are fighting each other. The Greeks were the first nation in Europe to defeat an Axis power. They practically mobilised themselves and whipped the Italians in Albania. They aren't likely to forget that, whatever others may do. The British Government hopes to restore the King of Greece to his throne. Nobody knows what American policy is in regard to Greece. The same may be said about the position in Jugoslavia.

There are rumors that these things are being talked about at the meetings in Moscow. The general tone of British correspondents' despatches from the Russian capital is optimistic. But it's quite clear that they don't know any more than we do about what's being talked about or decided. That is a secret session that is really secret....at least so far.

The only military news in London today is that a giant invasion exercise, involving scores of thousands of men, began ~~at three o'clock this morning~~ at half-past three this morning.

The idea was that German paratroops had been landed, and that the Home Guard was to repel them. There were many sham battles in the streets - a lot of dummy hand grenades were thrown. It hasn't yet been announced who won. There was a time when such exercises had an air of realism and urgency about them. No one seems to be quite clear as to what practical purpose was served by today's sham battle. Certainly it could not have been calculated to impress the Russians, or for that matter the Germans.

There has been a fair amount of talk recently about a new German weapon - the Prime Minister referred to it a couple of weeks ago. But no one has been predicting the descent of parachutists upon London. They missed that chance three years ago. For the last eight nights the Germans have been sending a few bombers, sometimes as many as a couple of dozen, over London. It may be that they are merely testing out the defences; but the number of planes shot down has been very small, and the damage done even smaller. These raids appear to be the reverse of the British Mosquito raids on Berlin. If these raids are experimental, it would imply that the Germans are building up a large bomber force for renewed attacks against London. But all the evidence goes to show that that is not happening; that the Germans are concentrating on ~~fighterxproductionx thexproduction~~ the production of fighters for German defence. Most of the talk about a renewed attack on London has to do with winged bombs

or rockets. They have been tried and discussed since the beginning of flying. Some have been driven by motors, others by rockets. The control by radio of such rockets has been demonstrated, and the Germans are now using what Mr. Churchill described as a sort of rocket-assisted glider released from a considerable height, and then apparently guided towards its target by the parent aircraft. There would appear to be no technical reason why the Germans cannot lift a four or five ton winged bomb over an airfield in France, cut it loose from the plane that lifts it, and then direct it by radio to London. Such a method would probably produce as high a degree of accuracy as can be attained in night bombing; it would conserve aircraft and crews; and it would present the defence with a new set of problems. This is all speculation of course, but there does not appear to be any technical reason why it couldn't be done. But the ~~prospect~~ possibility of rocket bombs landing in London is certainly not enough to reduce the present optimism about the military outcome of the war.

I began by describing the atmosphere here in Britain as a combination of optimism and apprehension. The reasons for the military optimism are clear enough. They can be seen on any map. The uncertainty and the apprehension are less obvious, but, not less real. The Allies are entering a phase where the decisions of Generals and the decisions of ~~diplomats~~ Statesmen overlap

and intermingle. Most people, victors and vanquished alike, live largely in the past. We did it in the South after the war between the States; the French did it after the Napoleonic wars; the Germans did likewise after the last war. The present British apprehension is the result of memories - memories of unemployment, the problems of demobilisation, the misery of depressed areas from which industry had fled, the breakdown of international organisation and discipline. The problem that haunts them is how to prevent a repetition of all that. The freeing of the enslaved, the feeding of the starving, the burying of the dead - these are things that can be understood by the average person; but the real crisis of confidence comes in the consideration of post-war policy. Many sane and sober voices have predicted a great spiritual revival. It has not come. In the field of political ideology we have heard nothing that lifted men's hearts as did President Wilson's fourteen points. It has been fashionable, and I think it is true to speak of this war as a revolution. But it was and is an unplanned revolution, except insofar as our enemies had a plan. Once they are defeated the obligation of controlling and directing the revolution will belong to the victors. There won't be any spoils worth mentioning. It is the absence of a plan that is at the bottom of the apprehension in this country. The war has changed many things - social relations, financial status - some but not all of the old

class prejudices have disappeared; but if I had to choose one thing that this war has done to this country it would be this: There is a wide measure of agreement that the Government as elected by the people shall exercise increasing control over business, the use of the land, and the distribution of essential commodities. The only alternative is for business to take over the control of the Government, which is what it tried to do in Germany. I think probably the basis of this uncertainty which lies just beneath the surface of military optimism is the fear that we shall win a war and refuse to accept the consequences. ~~So far as America is concerned, if we fail to understand our responsibilities~~

Some people over here have been bewildered and hurt by the criticism coming from the states..On the eve of the three power meeting in Moscow Britain and America have engaged in finger pointing and name calling.. There have been expressions of regret on both sides of the Atlantic... Mr Churchill ~~xxxxxxx~~ talked about politicians who fight at home while the soldiers fight abroad..that was a clear reference to our political war dance at home..It has never been the Prime Ministers habit to criticise publicly the internal happenings in an allied country...but he more than any other politician in this country knows what people want to ~~xxxx~~ hear..so he ventured a mildly caustic comment concerning American affairs..In doing so he probably spoke the mind of most of his countrymen. But it is possible to overestimate the importance of the weeks name calling..In the end of the day it will probably do more good than harm.. Grievances should be aired..even when they are immaginary grievances..As a result of all this talk people over here may come to realise that no matter what we say about them we are likely to say worse things about each other..They are having it explained to them that we at home are preparing for an election...and that the British club will be used to belabour the administration..Some people ~~have~~ are coming to understand that the language of controversy at home is less restrained than it is ov over here...and thats a good thing for they will hear more of it in coming months...I have talked with many people who were vastly amused at the charge that Britain has a smooth running well co ordinated machine ..knowing exactly what it wants and determined to get it..Their record in the years between the wars certainly doesnt bear that out.. they made just about every mistake that could be made..Sucessive governments brought this country to the edge of disaster..there was timidity,indecision and probably worse..

The rows between government departments..the jealousies between the fighting services..the disagreements about domestic and foreign policy ..all the things we shout about at home are present here..the real difference id thatthey arent shouted about in such unrestrained language. The British do have a foreign policy..they have had one for a long time ..because they needed it...Often it has failed..never more glaringly than when for fifteen years this country tried to keep Russia isolated from the rest of Europe...To thoughtfull Englishman the most encouraging thing about the great debate now going on in the states is this..It means that America is deciding to have a foreign policy..no one over here pretends to know what that policy will be but all agree that it will be important,perhaps decisive,in shaping the post war world..There are those who think we are heading for economic imperialism,that American big business is gaining controll of our foreign policy and that there will be areturn to the old cut throat competition..~~Nowxthexarexzplenty~~xxof~~xxx~~ ~~peopleexhereewhoewouldntemindxthatxx~~..that we are determined to support conservative governments on the continent in order that our economic interests may be safeguarded..there are plenty of people here who wouldnt mind that..if they could share in the spoils..on the other hand there are those here and at home who condemn such a policy...The British are in a dilema in dealing with the United ~~Sxtx~~ States..Most of them dont understand how our constitution works..they fail to appreciate the complexity of our economic problems..or our pre occupation with the Pacific..But there is another problem that confronts them..and it is this...To most people here Mr Roosevelt is a symbol..his voice and his actions gave them hope in the dark days..the result is that most Englishmen from left to right,ardently desire his re election..The presidents popularity in this country is second only to that of Mr Churchill

Differences about domestic policy ~~xxxxxx~~ dont play much part when viewed from this distance...But the authorities here in London know that one of the best ways of insuring Mr Roosevlts defeat would be any open manifestation of support ..therefpre the word has gone out that American domestic affairs shall be treated with great caution and reserve...You can expect the British press and radio to lean over backward in an effort to be impartial...But as I said a moment ago I cannot share the general regret at last weeks name calling..There are certain suspicions and uncertainties between the two countries ..they will not be disipated by silence..bringing them into the open may offend a few people..it may sound ~~xxxthoughxwexhxdxxx~~ at times as though we had finished this war and were a couple of years into the next one..But one of the rarest things in History is for a victorious alliance to hang together after the peace...Maybe a thorough airing of grievances and suspicions now,when we have got to stay ~~together~~ together will produce greater stability and respect later on..The othe day a well known British politician said to me..when we get to arguing about who did what,we will always throw that year when we stoc alone into the scales...I replied,of course,but you didnt keep on fighting just because of your fondness for America or for our Senators and he said..of course not..but you must admit its a good thing for both countries that we did...Itll probably be a good thing for both countrhes if we both go on saying what we think..even when we are wrong..by so doing maybe the real motives of some of those doing the talking will be exposed...Sometime during the next few days there wil be some talking in Moscow..Most of the Problems facing the three foreign secretaries are not the kind to be settled over a glass of Vodka and a caviar sandwich..nor yet in the course of a teh days conference..It would be a mistake to expect too much of this

conference..It is an exageration to speak of these talks as the beginning of the peace conference..it is easier to make war than to make peace.. But this session will be a major test of the foreign policy of all three powers..the British interest is immediate and domestic..for if these talks should break down..if they should not be followed by a meeting of t the three heads of ~~sxxx~~ state..then the unity of this country will be strained as it has not been since the war began..relations between industry and labour would deteriorate..for many people hope of stability and security after the war would evaporate..the British have a habit of looking at foreign affaisr in terms of domeastic conditions..and the failure to reach agreement in Moscow would assume almost disastrous proportions in this country..~~thezemstienxizxkkegizzzexts:Russiaxizzstzzzg~~.. No one here dispairs of the conference but it is true to say that the optomism is decidedly cautious...During the past few days the Russian press,has published a number of officially inspiredxx articles..Some of them have said what Russia has been saying for more than two long years.. The second front is the only thing worth talking about...Well neither Mr Hull nor Mr Eden are likely to be able to change whatever plans have been made for a second front in the west..Pravda has said that the conference will not concern itself with the broader political and economic issues..and that the borders of the Soviet Union can no more be a question for discussion than can the frontiers of the United States or the status of California...Now if that is the official voice of Moscow it contradicts pretty well everything the Russians have been saying about the Medd. Comission..they dont want to restrict the scope of that ~~gxxpxx~~ body..they want it to discuss and decide every military and post war problem..The Russians have sent a vice comissar of foreign affairs and a big staff to participate in the Medd. Comission

Its difficult to see how they can have it both ways...everything about the war and the peace to be discussed in Algiers but none of the same problems to be talked about in Moscow...The Allies are reluctant to broaden the scope of the Medd. comission..and the Russians want to talk only about the war ~~when the meeting~~ during the Moscow ~~meeting~~ Conference...If that position continues the Medd.Comission and the Moscow Conference have a good chance of failing... The Russians have been talking about the danger of revolution and anarchy if the war drags on.. It is almost possible to detect warnings of chaos and upheaval coming from Both Berlin and Moscow...It is possible that the Russians may be back on their old frontiers before the Allies are ready to open a second front in the west..If that should happen the Russians would in fact ~~dominate the~~ be in a position to determine the course of the war..It is important that General DeGaulle has spoken of Russia as the strong and natural ally of France..if that is true for France it is ~~xxxxxxx~~ equally true for ~~of~~ Britain....I have the best of reasons for believing that the British would be willing to see the Baltic states go to Russia..~~they~~ the British do not share our tender feelings for Finland,they ~~cannot~~ ~~promise effective~~ cannot oppose Russian demands on Poland or Rumania... The ultimate sanction of Diplomacy is force..the Russians understand that.. In eastern Europe they have and will have the force..The real question is ~~whether the~~ whether they will determine to play a lone hand or whether they are willing to co operate with the western powers..But if the western powers want to argue about frontiers or post war economics they must be willing to make comittments..and the Russians are likely to know that Mr Hull is not under our constitution empowered to make comittments. The Moscow conference may suceed,but people here expect the bargaining to be hard...

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 7, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.45

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: This week many people will be remembering the November of 25 years ago. Once again history is hurrying. No one talks of this as a war to end wars, but there runs through the conversation of many people the hope that this one will end in a peace to end wars. The events of the past week have been dramatic and encouraging - ~~many events have been dramatic and encouraging~~ and behind the news there has been the sound of thunderous victory salvoes from the guns of Moscow. Marshal Stalin is rapidly becoming Britain's favorite military commentator. His speech last night, asserting that Germany is on the brink of disaster, probably carried more weight than would a similar statement from President Roosevelt or Mr. Churchill. Observers here see in his reference to Allied bombings, the Mediterranean campaign, his statement that the second front is not far off, additional proof that the Moscow conference achieved full agreement on military plans previously drawn up.

Events have been moving so fast that important news has almost been lost sight of. The passage of the Connelly resolution, the results of the elections at home, have created little comment. The renewal of the Anglo-American bombing offensive - the very weight and speed of the attacks - almost obscured the change of

American heavy bomber tactics. There are two principal kinds of bombing: one aimed at destroying the enemy's ability to produce materials of war; the other aimed at destroying the will of the population to continue the war. The American daylight precision bombing has been effective, but the weather over the Continent is seldom suitable, particularly in the wintertime, for high level bombing aimed at small targets. It has been freely predicted here that our daylight bombing will, when necessary, adopt tactics similar to those employed by the R.A.F. at night. In other words, our formations will go out more often; when the weather is satisfactory they will bomb as they have been doing, but when there is cloud or a haze they will bomb through it as they did in the big raid on Wilhelmshaven. This will probably involve using target indicators in the form of powerful flares either on the ground or in the sky. Whatever happens, the weight of the day and night bombing is going to increase tremendously during the coming months. Dr. Goebbels has already said that the bomber attacks are the most serious problem confronting Germany - and he ought to know.

There has been considerable political manoeuvering at both ends of Europe. Competent quarters here are convinced that Finland has taken definite and official steps to get out of the war, but no one professes to see just how that can be done in view of the number of German troops in the country, Finland's

dependence on Germany for food, and her apparent unwillingness to believe that unconditional surrender means what it says. So far as one can learn in London the Finns have not been offered any terms, but they have discovered that it's easier to enter a war than to get out of it. At the other end of Europe the Turks have been listening to certain strong suggestions agreed upon at the Moscow meeting. There are few people here who expect Turkey to enter the war immediately, even though she has been invited. That she will do so eventually is generally agreed; but not, it is believed, until Crete has been re-taken and there is an Allied landing in the Balkans. There has been talk of an agreement about the Allied use of air bases, or the possible opening of the Dardanelles to British warships and supply vessels. This would of course make possible massive support and supply for the Russians in the whole Black Sea area. But it's probable that Mr. Eden and the Turkish Foreign Minister have been talking about a timetable, agreeing upon some later and co-ordinated military action in south-east Europe.

Here in London most of the writing and talking has been about the Moscow Conference. As you know, the British reaction was enthusiastic. Second thoughts have produced a more sober and realistic appreciation of the situation. Full credit is still given to the three principal negotiators and their assistants. ~~The promise~~ It is fully recognised that the

announcement promises to reverse the policies pursued more or less ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ consistently for the last 25 years by Britain, Russia and the United States. But several days of reflection and discussion have served to remind people of the distance that separates aspirations from accomplishments. In the last 25 years the United States, France, Britain and Russia have signed something like 70 treaties; most of them came out of conferences that agreed, and they all failed to achieve their purpose - which was to prevent war. I think what has happened in these days that have elapsed since the Moscow agreement was announced is this: Those who first welcomed it as a new Magna Carta..... as the framework of a tranquil Europe and a stable world...feel that they have underestimated the demands of peace, and perhaps overestimated the measure of agreement reached. This attitude is not based upon unhealthy cynicism, nor upon disappointment at the outcome. It arises rather from a desire to be realistic about the problems that remain unsolved. The sound of present rejoicing should not obscure the footsteps of approaching questions. There are many people here, including representatives of conquered countries, who have good reason to remember that their refusal to face unpleasant facts was one of the reasons why the Nazis got off to a flying start. Here, then is a summary of second thoughts on Moscow.

It is assumed that there was agreement regarding military plans already made....Marshal Stalin's speech last night seems

to support this assumption. The conference also did four specific things. It agreed about Italy, Austria and the punishment of war criminals. It also agreed to create an Advisory Commission here in London. ~~This Advisory Commission~~ The members of this Advisory Commission will merely advise their own governments. It is to be made up of Britain, Russia and the United States, none of them countries of the European Continent proper. The French Committee in Algiers has already made it clear that France will not be bound by any decisions taken in Moscow. There are those who fear that the three big powers may attempt to impose their solution upon Europe. As Today's Observer remarks: "No European solution will be possible which goes against that power combination. But the reverse is also true. No European solution will be possible which is based merely on extraneous power, however benevolently applied. Nothing would be more disastrous than to regard Europe as a mere object of policy; than to try to order this ancient Continent of 350 million exceedingly proud, gifted and self-willed people on terms of paternal supervision from outside."

The Advisory Council on Italy will contain Frenchmen, Yugoslavs and Greeks, but the question is which Yugoslavs, which Greeks? Those who represent the governments in exile, or those who represent the forces of resistance inside their countries?

Austria is promised her independence, and that is considered a shrewd stroke of political warfare; but the experience of Austria between the wars proves that she cannot stand alone. In the years before 1933, there was in Austria an increasing movement for union with a Democratic Germany. Real independence includes the right to give it up. Is it likely that 15 or 20 years after this war any of the three major powers would be willing to use force to prevent Austria joining a Democratic Germany?

It is promised that war ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ criminals will be pursued to the uttermost ends of the earth, and sent back to the scene of their crimes, there to be tried and punished. The fact that there is no law, national or international, under which they can be tried may be only a technicality; but we shall first have to find the criminals. And will Britain, the United States and Russia be willing to use force or economic sanctions against say Switzerland or Sweden in order to extract them? It is worth remembering that in this country at least, Mussolini, who was said to be solely responsible for Italy's entry into the war, is almost a forgotten man.

There is one clause in the agreement which says that after the termination of hostilities the Allies will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states, except after joint consultation. That means that until the end of

the war occupying armies may do anything, but that after the end of the war they'll do it only after consultation; but that doesn't mean agreement.

No one can deny that some of the ommissions were disturbing. In terms of time, frontiers, occupation and resistance movements - Poland would appear to be the most urgent problem. But it was apparently not found possible to reach agreement on this subject, or to arrange for the renewal of diplomatic relations between Poland and Russia.

Nearly every organ of opinion in Britain has agreed that the establishment of the Advisory Commission on Europe is the most important result of the Conference. But that Commission, as defined, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ is considerably less powerful than a League of Nations whose decisions once reached are supposed to be binding upon governments. The three governments may accept or ignore the advice of the London Commission.

The second thoughts on Moscow, those that I have encountered in print and in private conversations, do not reflect disappointment - far from it. ~~But they do~~ The document gives us reason for hope, and our enemies cause for despaire. But these second thoughts do reflect ~~and~~ an awareness, based on experience, that an announcement of intention to agree does not mean that agreement must follow. The Moscow Conference was a brave and hopeful

beginning, but in the words of the magazine The Economist: "The work still has to be accomplished; and unless the scope of the unpublished agreements is far fuller and more detailed, and more co-ordinated than the published results give any right to hope, then it is impossible not to feel that the bulk of the work still lies ahead".

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 21, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.40 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Last week was one of the most interesting I have ever spent in Britain. There was no sensational news - nothing that could really be called unexpected; but the combination of circumstances...the timing of events....combined to produce a noticeable change in the attitude of people towards the war, and towards the peace. The mind of the country, as reflected in print, conversations and private surveys of opinion, is confused and more than a little distracted. But there are signs that it is moving in the direction of a more realistic appreciation of the war and the world. The factors producing this change merit examination. The first is Lebanon. The trouble in that small state of one million souls is serious enough in itself; but the issues raised are as wide as Africa and wider.

This is no mere juridical dispute between the Lebanese and the French, which was followed by British intervention. The Government of Lebanon declared its independence and was promptly flung into jail by the French authorities. The British support the Lebanese claim to independence, and maintain that nothing can be allowed to jeopardise tranquility in this strategically important area. The British also refer repeatedly to De Gaulle's promise of independence for Lebanon, made in June of 1941. But at the same time they refuse to recognise the Algiers Committee as a Government. On the surface it would appear that the gentlemen in Algiers can act as a Government when their actions meet with the

approval of Britain and the United States; at other times they are merely trustees.

So far as the strategic importance of Lebanon is concerned, one of the most careful and cautious military commentators in this country has been allowed to write: "The strategic importance of Lebanon is not an immediate issue, nor is it likely to become one. If Cyprus were in enemy hands, and German forces were at Aleppo, the situation would be changed." Any piece of territory may be of potential strategic importance. The Mississippi River would be of great importance if the Japanese were pouring East through the Rocky Mountains. No one can deny that the Lebanese Government acted in haste, and that the French response involved a small amount of violence and some lack of judgment. General de Gaulle appears to have accepted Mr. Churchill's principle. He declines to preside over the liquidation of the French Empire, and proposes to hold what he has.

The British press has taken its cue from the Foreign Office, and no one can deny that there has been a certain tendency to derive ironic satisfaction from the difficulties of the French. Many references have been made to General de Gaulle's political ineptitude - there has been a lot of talk about moral responsibility. The word independence has been used rather loosely. The assumption seems to have been that Irak and Egypt are in fact independent. But the Lebanon crisis cuts much deeper than mere journalistic

and diplomatic jousting between Britain and France. It involves Empires, oil, Arabs, Jews and Christians - the whole fantastic mosaic of economic and religious interests stretching for three thousand miles from Gibraltar to Aden....that's the lifeline of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Huge sections of the Moslem world lie alongside and athwart it. All the way from the markets in Algiers and Tunis to the coffee houses of Damascus there are new plans....the revival of old hopes. ~~Of the five hundred million people~~ One out of every five people in the British Commonwealth and Empire is Moslem. Britain cannot afford to be on bad terms with the Moslem world. No more, in the long run, can she afford to be on bad terms with France. And it ought to be said that so far as anyone here can discover, Britain had absolutely nothing to do with the creation of the crisis in Lebanon. The French reaction to British diplomatic intervention has been unequivocal..... the response of a defeated but proud and resurgent group of men.

But it seems to be reasonably clear that any solution of the problem of the Middle East, whether it be Lebanon or Palestine, that is the work of a single power will be nothing more than thinly disguised Imperialism. The French in Algiers are now discussing the creation of a provisional French Government in liberated France. Yesterday my colleague Winston Burdett, who knows French politics and who chooses his words carefully, said:

"This is an attempt to ensure that France will be governed by the French alone. What the French dread most in planning for the future is the spectre of Allied military intervention in their own projects for a reconstituted France." What is true of France is true of the other Occupied Countries in Europe. Occupation and misery have produced not only nationalism but a great spiritual arrogance. Nothing is less likely than that ~~Allied troops~~ those nations once they have been liberated will turn to the Allies and say: "Now please tell us what to do, and who is to govern us".

~~Already you have been told of violence~~

The Moscow Conference decided that the base of the Government in Italy should be broadened, but that hasn't happened. There has been fighting Greek against Greek, and Yugoslav against Yugoslav. Radio appeals from Cairo are unlikely to affect the depth of bitter feeling which produces violence in such devastated and impoverished countries.

The loss of the Island of Leros has given the British Government its worst press since the fall of Tobruk. No one questions the bravery of the officers and men on the island, ~~are of those~~ but there is an almost universal belief that someone made a serious mistake - a mistake which cost the British well over three thousand men, and which damaged Allied prestige particularly in Turkey. The Italian campaign is baffling to

most military commentators here. They refuse to believe that it was deliberate Allied policy to inch slowly up the narrow peninsula in a winter campaign. The Allies major land action often has trouble in making the front page of the London papers. Here again no one underestimates the difficulties of weather or terrain, but there is a widespread feeling that Allied delays and an excess of caution are responsible for the failure of the Mediterranean campaign to fulfil its earlier promise.

Last week the Government released Sir Oswald Moseley who had been in jail without trial since 1940. There has been a large and growing protest, particularly from organised labour. The Home Secretary says he will be able to give satisfactory reasons for Moseley's release when Parliament meets again. Meanwhile the criticism continues. Many people here have doubted the wisdom of keeping people in jail without trial, but they fail to see any special reason why Moseley should be released right now. He was Britain's pre-war Fascist leader, fond of organising marches by his hooligans through the East End of London, and of beating up Jews. The Home Secretary's reasons for releasing him will probably be on medical grounds. The reasons will have to be pretty convincing if he is to avoid a first-class row in Parliament. Rightly or wrongly, people in this country don't like Fascists. There are too many reminders of their handiwork about in the shape of blasted buildings.

Also last week it became reasonably clear that the Three-Power European Advisory Commission to be set up here in London - the decision to create it was hailed as one of the major achievements of the Moscow Conference - is to be nothing more than a sort of Ambassadors' Round Table. The building has been selected. But it is increasingly clear that the Commission itself will have much less powers than the old League of Nations, and that some at least of the men sitting on it are unlikely to have great influence with their own governments.

Another development of the week was the general realisation that the Beveridge Report - large sections of it at least - has gone out the window. Mr. Herbert Morrison, member of the War Cabinet, has made it quite clear that there is to be no whole hog acceptance of this scheme for social security. The Government eventually will bring forward legislation that owes much of its inspiration to the Beveridge Report.

Speakers in the House of Commons are fond of saying: "I end as I began". At the beginning of this talk I suggested to you that the combination of circumstances - the timing of events - have produced a change.in this country. The loss of Leros; the slow progress in Italy; the determined German counter-attack in Russia demonstrated that the Germans are still strong, their discipline good, their ability to take advantage of our mistakes unimpaired. That served to reduce some of the easy optimism

about an early end to the war. The crisis in Lebanon is not only a fresh reminder of the burdens of Empire. It also served to remind people that a defeated nation may refuse to accept the fact or the consequences of defeat. The realisation that the new world is not to be wished into being is more widespread than it was a week ago. There is a keener appreciation that when States agree to agree they have not in fact agreed about the sort of problems that caused this war. On the surface it might appear that the timing of the week's events was unfortunate, but my own conclusion is that it has served to introduce a larger degree of realism into the writing and talking of people in this country. It's true that the mind of the country, so far as one can judge, is confused and distracted. But that condition will have no serious effect upon the prosecution of the war. The reign of rhetoric has ended. Nothing but events will move people. There seems to be a healthier appreciation of the magnitude of the task confronting the Allies. More people seem to understand that the end of the war will merely be the beginning of the testing period; that a tidy world will not be the immediate result of victory - that the defeat of Germany may not mean the elimination of the totalitarian concept of government. Back in 1940 the issue was simple - anything for survival. The change that has occurred since then is much greater than the replacement of the road signs, and the welcome sound of church bells every Sunday morning. It is a renewal

of discussion about the fundamental problems that will not be solved by this war. It is a willingness to experiment - a recognition of the inevitability of change. This country is tired - believe me, you don't know how tired it is. The week's news has not been good, but it has stimulated a great deal of talk, thought, and it has produced amongst some people at least a more realistic appreciation of future problems. That's about all you can expect one week to do.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON, SUNDAY NOVEMBER 28, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.40 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

There are two principal subjects of conversation over here - Berlin, and Moseley. To take the most important one first - it must be remembered that most of the information about the damage done and the effect upon morale have come from Switzerland and Sweden. And news has a way of expanding in a neutral atmosphere. Britain's Bomber Command has made no specific claims, because it has not yet been possible to get adequate photographs of the damage done. There have been four great attacks in nine nights, and Bomber Command makes no secret of its determination to demolish Berlin. That the damage has already been great no one doubts. But published estimates claiming that one-third of Berlin has been laid in ruins are probably exaggerated. It has been demonstrated that bombing of large cities to be effective must be sustained. Last week the weather here was reasonably good. If it stays that way for another couple of weeks, Sir Arthur Harris, the Chief of Bomber Command will undoubtedly move steadily along on what he has called the last lap. The argument about whether bombing alone can win the war/and continues, probably will continue right up to the end. I spent last night at a British bomber station, - the young flyers, like the civilians, do no gloating. One of them remarked that the whole thing seemed rather a pity. They are technicians doing a highly skilled job. Last night nothing was flying from this Island - the boys just sat around the mess

and talked. There was a considerable discussion about the proper construction of a sonnet.....several references to a concert that's to be held at the station next week...and some talk about a bombing contest between a British and American squadron. They were really looking forward to that. On the whole there was as little tension as I have ever seen around a bomber station. There was only the impression of a relaxed but smooth-running machine that has been four years in the building. Whatever the experts may say, the people who are planning and doing the bombing believe they're going to knock Germany out of the war. Incidentally, most of the senior officers now speak of the Allied bomber offensive - a tribute to the pictures brought back by our Fortresses and Liberators.

While the ultimate effect of this bomber offensive must remain a matter of speculation, there is no doubt whatever about the public reaction to the release from jail of Sir Oswald Moseley, Britain's millionaire Fascist with the Oxford accent. Mr. Morrison and other members of the Government were surprised at the xixx cries of protest. kxx To appreciate the significance of this outburst it is necessary to understand the background.

In 1940 the Government announced that it was necessary to take over control of all persons and all property. The House of Commons agreed. One provision was that the Home Secretary

could hold without trial anyone considered to be a danger to the State. That regulation was known as 18 B. At one time about fifteen hundred people were detained. During recent months Mr. Morrison, the Home Secretary, has been gradually releasing them. By the end of September only about 350 people were still detained. These releases produced no protests. Then Sir Oswald Moseley was let out, and the storm broke. Mr. Morrison's reasons for releasing Moseley were one: that five doctors had agreed that his continued detention might seriously injure his health, and even endanger his life; and two: that he was to be kept under a kind of house arrest - his actions so carefully supervised that he could not endanger the safety of the country. There is absolutely no question but that Mr. Morrison was acting within his juridical and constitutional rights. But Moseley is a symbol of Fascism, although a discredited one. The protest was immediate and widespread; it came from no single social or economic group. It was, however, led by the Labor Unions, and most observers agree that the organisation of petitions and delegations of protest was largely the work of the Communists.

But the public reaction disclosed a depth of anti-Fascist feeling which surprised many people. In the course of the controversy, the fundamental legal issue has rather been lost sight of. There is no truth whatever in the assertion that Mr. Morrison was urged by Conservative leaders to release

Mosely, in order that the action might discredit the Home Secretary. Mr. Morrison never shirks a political fight, and he has taken full responsibility for his action, which was discussed with the War Cabinet. It is impossible to deny that the release of Moseley ~~xxxxdamagedxMrxxMaxx~~ has to some degree jeopardised Mr. Morrison's political future. Next week there will be a Debate on the whole subject in the House of Commons. It is unlikely that the matter will be put to a vote, and there appears to be no possibility of a major political crisis.

The whole affair Moseley ~~demonstratesx~~ seems to me to ~~demonstrate/several important aspectx~~ reflect demonstrate a number of important aspects of British opinion and institutions. The first is that there has been no national election in this country for nine years - the normal channels of political controversy have been closed, which makes it possible if not inevitable that a government and individual ministers should lose touch with the temper of the country. Secondly, the depth and bitterness of the anti-Fascist feeling is broader and deeper than some people had believed. ~~Thirdly,~~ That was pretty clearly indicated at the time of the deal with Darlan. This reinforces it. If anybody wanted additional proof that British opinion will stand for no compromise deal with Fascism, this is it. Thirdly, there is a considerable body of opinion, particularly in the Labor Unions, which believes that the Government's emergency

powers over persons have been more rigidly enforced than have the powers over property. And finally, the whole controversy about Moseley's release demonstrates that it is doubtful wisdom for a Democracy to keep people in jail without trial.

This regulation 18 B will probably be abolished altogether before long. The best summary of the position is to be found in this week's Economist, which says: "If ever the day comes when men unconvicted of any crime are put into or let out of jail on a mob vote, the institutions of civil liberty which are England's ~~contrib~~xx greatest contribution to mankind will be at an end."

Sometimes trying to talk about the war from England it seems to me that you'd like to see it through the eyes of someone who has just arrived. So I've asked George Moorad, the latest addition to Columbia's London staff, to share his impressions with you. He has recently arrived in this country after a year-and-a-half in Australia.

Conclusion: Many ~~Some~~ people here in London have been talking about General Patton. The press has handled the story with restraint, and the British radio hasn't touched it at all. The most frequent query by Britons to an American correspondent is

in my experience this: "Is it possible?"

There's a story in London this week, too. It is that a very eminent British critic and author has suggested a new title for Mr. Willkie's book: "One World". He suggests (perhaps unfairly) that it should be called: "Gullible's Travels".

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5th, 1943.
1830 - 1842.40 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

The night before last the R.A.F. heavy bombers hit Leipzig. The fires are still burning. It was an excellent example of deception. The leipzig raiders headed straight for Berlin on the same track that we followed the night before. When they reached the edge of the Berlin defences, the Halifaxes and Lancasters turned ninety degrees and headed for Leipzig, while the German fighter squadrons searched for them over Berlin. By the time the fighters discovered the deception and reached Leipzig the bombers had done their work and were heading home.

This whole bomber offensive - day and night - is planned like a major surgical operation, after discussion with a great many consulting physicians.

The Royal Air Force permitted me to fly to Berlin on Thursday night, not as a stunt, but in order to learn something about the manner and method of delivering these massive blows. I spent two weeks with the Squadron before flying. If you had been there, these are a few of the things you might remember. No one speaks of flying. When a mission is scheduled to go out, the boys simply say: "We're working tonight". When you go down for breakfast in the morning - coffee, toast, fried potatoes, two sausages that are two-thirds bread - a young flight engineer says: "Push me a little more of that sauce - I can still taste the sausage". You go down to

the field ... the offices are cold, damp and depressing ... the only heat comes from a little stove in the corner - one that holds about a double handful of coal. You walk with the Wing Commander through the mud, over to the Operations Room. A single code word comes through on the telephone - a little black safe is opened, the code consulted, and we have the name of the target. As the morning wears on the information begins to trickle in - the bomb load to be carried, the amount of gasoline, the weather over the target, the route to be followed going out, and coming back. All this information is put down on the big maps and charts covering the wall. The bomb trolleys, laden with incendiaries and high explosives, roll round the perimeter track to the waiting Lancasters.

Then comes the flight planning conference. The Station Commander sits in the locked Operations Room. He is connected with all the other stations in the group by a closed telephone circuit. There may be ten or fifteen different Station Commanders participating in this conference. They discuss the weather, the times of take-off, the height at which the bombing run should be made, the color of the target indicators to be dropped by the Pathfinders. It reminds you of a group of Doctors planning an operation. Finally the crews are briefed, the aircraft bombed up and tested; and the crews go out to the aircraft. If the take-off happens to be about dusk, a message may come through at the last minute postponing it till midnight. It's the waiting that is hard.

The Mess Officer of the Station stands beside his little station wagon, which contains an orange, a piece of chocolate and some chewing gum for each crew member, and a thermos of coffee. One of the Pilots says: "Look at the old rascal - he won't hand them out till the last minute, for he knows if we're scrubbed he'll never get 'em back again". If the night's work is cancelled the boys go back to the Mess; sit around and read, listen to the radio, or play cards. You hear stories of California, Texas and Georgia from boys who trained there. You hear of the Pilot who said that on the last Berlin raid the flak was so heavy he just "let down his wheels and taxied across it". You hear of a crew that thought they were ditching in the North Sea, came down, hit the water, launched their dinghy, sat there in it all night firing distress signals, and when daylight came stepped out onto dry land. They had landed in an English marsh. Everyone thought that one was very funny. A Squadron Leader comes back from the movies and reports that it was a bombing picture, adding: "Wizard types these cinema blokes. They destroyed half of Germany with one old Hampden bomber".

A lot of things in the R.A.F. are "wizard", and everything seems to be "a type". One morning we stood watching a formation of Fortresses heading out over the North Sea. A Flight Lieutenant remarked: "Wizard formation those American types fly, isn't it?" A Fortress landed on the field a few days ago, and the Wing Commander got the "American types" to come up to the briefing room

and talk about the tactics of day bombing and fighting. Everyone agreed it was wizard ... "Bang on" in fact, which seems to be just a little better than wizard.

You would have been impressed by the care with which every detail of a night raid is worked out. The atmosphere is rather casual, but altogether businesslike. The Station Commander would drive you around the bomb dump - acres of high explosives and incendiaries of all types; and he would remark; almost with the air of a proud storekeeper: "Yes, we do have a rather nice stock, haven't we?" But it is the timing that would impress you. These flights to Berlin and back are conducted on a timetable never equalled by a civil airline in peace. Thursday night on the way to Berlin, while we were still over the North Sea, the navigator was worried because we were almost two minutes late. It seemed to me unimportant. But as we approached the target the reason for this careful timing became clear. The whole plan is to saturate the air over the target - throw in the maximum number of planes in the shortest possible time. As we got into the area of searchlights, ack-ack and fighters, it wasn't difficult to understand the importance of timing. We were in the last wave, and if the defences had been able to concentrate on us we would have had slight chance of making it. As it was, there were just too many planes in the sky ... most of us were bound to get through. I remembered the young bomber pilot who said to me - "there are no

atheists up there". He was right.

Looking back on the experience I am impressed with another thing, and that was that going in over Berlin the whole thing looked very much as we had been told it would. The dummy fires on the ground; our colored target indicators, were exactly where they had been plotted on the big map in the briefing room. By the time we were over the target a few hundred planes had been there before us, and the fires were well underway. But looking back on it I am astonished at the speed with which the splotches of white incendiaries turned to red, and then how the dark red fires merged until the whole area seemed to be a solid red glow. I am also astonished that there weren't collisions over the target, for the air seemed to be full of aircraft. The same thing was true when we returned to base. The whole thing showed the result of careful planning, much experience and adequate equipment.

The number of men needed on the ground; the huge quantities of gasoline, bombs, spare parts; the special devices for lighting airfields; the whole elaborate system that lies behind the aircraft in the air, ought to be studied by those who are writing stories to the effect that if only the Russians would give us bases, the British and American planes could then shuttle-bomb Germany. A modern bomber base with facilities for take-off, maintenance, supply and repair is not something that can be lashed together in a few weeks or months.

Another thing ought to be said about this whole bombing campaign. The German defences are stretched and strained, but they are by no means broken. Bombing has two primary objectives; to destroy the enemy's ability to make war, and to destroy his will to continue the war. No one can doubt that progress has been made in both directions; but the price paid for continuing success is likely to be high. So far as the night bombing is concerned, the men who are doing it seem to consider it merely as a job of work to be done. When you come back from one of these night raids there is a longing to get your feet on the ground, even though it's mud. When the crews walk in to the Interrogation Room, their eyes instinctively lift to the big blackboard which lists the aircraft of the Squadron, the time they took off, the time they were supposed to be over the target, and the time of their return. Thursday night, the place for the time of return behind the call letter of two aircraft was blank. No one mentioned it; nothing was said; they had just gone out to do a night's work and failed to return. The only query that passed between members of different crews was simply: "Did you have a good trip?" As I watched the different crews sitting on wooden benches like schoolboys, answering the questions of the Intelligence Officer, I was amazed that they had not changed. They looked very much as they before take-off. We had been to Berlin and back before midnight. Great destruction had been done; it was what the R.A.F. calls "a good prang". But the boys themselves, except for a certain stiffness when they moved, and except for the grey

pallor of fatigue on their faces, hadn't changed. There was no boasting; no smiles of self-satisfaction; they just sat there drinking tea and answering questions - tired young men who had been working that night. As we went into breakfast, about three in the morning - there was a real egg - I asked one pilot what he was going to do after the war. He said: "I don't know. You see I'm getting on in years and it makes a difference. For the time being the only thing that's reasonably certain is that if you work two nights in succession you get the third night off. At least, that's generally the way it is". At about the time we were finishing breakfast, the ground crews at an American station not far away were filling the bomb-racks of Fortresses and Liberators. I don't recall hearing any heated discussions at either British or American bomber bases about who was first to break the news of the Cairo Conference. These American and British boys are destroying by day and by night huge areas of Europe. The old men who are planning the world after the war will make a mistake if they fail to remember the young pilot who said he was getting on in years. He must have been all of 26 or 27. And those who expect to rebuild on the pattern of the old world will have to reckon with those youngsters - the old men between 20 and 28 who are destroying it.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY DECEMBER 12, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.40

EDWARD R. MURROW

The second world war - the second war against Germany, has now lasted one day longer than the first. It would probably be a waste of time to try to compare the two wars. The best broad, general comparison that I have heard came from a man who said that the last war was a kind of shaking war; it shook the whole social, economic and political fabric of Europe. This one is the breaking war.

The problems of inter-Allied coordination are much greater, due to the distance separating the big Allies. Mr. Churchill has been out of this country about five months during the past year. When he returns from the Middle East some newspaper is likely to headline its story: "Prime Minister Visits England". The fact of the matter is that it required as long in this war for the three principal Allies to come together, as it required to beat the Germans in the last war. The beginnings of both wars were similar. German ambition, appetite and aggression - Allied unpreparedness. The basis of British strategy has been sea communications, and today, due largely to the out put of American shipyards, the total tonnage available to the Allies is increasing rather than decreasing. That state of affairs was not achieved in 1918. There is little doubt that the victory over the U-Boats, achieved largely through air power, is the most significant development of 1943. The year has been one of preparation...the

massing of men and materials where they can best be used. Without forgetting the fighting in North Africa and in Italy, or the great destruction wrought in Hamburg and Berlin, we must admit that the year has been primarily one of preparation. Anglo-American Armies are fighting a terrible, tortuous, slow campaign, which did not go according to plan, up the leg of Italy. But on their right and left there are larger forces, more equipment, in place and ready to be used.

The size of the forces in this Island is of course a secret, but the signs of preparation are everywhere, and Americans are now flying from more than a hundred airfields. Shipping transport, landing craft, training and weather are the limiting factors. Those who predict an early invasion from British bases should remember that there is a twenty-foot rise of tide along most of Europe's Atlantic coast, and that it has been more years than any man can remember since there have been four consecutive days of good winter weather in the English channel.

In 1918 the Allies were driving the Germans out of France; the morale of the German home front had cracked, and there was trouble in the Army and the Navy. Today reports from Russia and Italy certainly do not indicate that the German fighting morale is broken - quite the contrary. ~~The official reports~~ The sum total of reports on German morale - reports coming from Switzerland and Sweden, as well as from inside the country - that

there is depression and gloom, particularly in the bombed areas and in the places that have received evacuees, but there is no opposition likely to threaten the authority of the Nazi regime. In 1918, Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria broke and the nerve of the German leaders broke with them. This year Fascist Italy surrendered, or tried to, but the result was not the same. There is today no Allied soldier fighting within three hundred miles of the pre-war German frontiers. The war in the Spring looks like being of a scale and diversity never before seen in this world.

~~The~~ the last war the ~~Royal Houses~~ Dynasties of Russia, Turkey, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire disappeared. It seems possible at least that the Royal Houses of Yugoslavia and Greece may never assume power again. The Allied decision to support Tito and Mihailovitch is a military decision, and postpones solution of the delicate problems that must be solved if Yugoslavia is not to become another Spain. There is a greater reluctance to state war aims this time. In January of 1917 Mr. Lloyd George sent his Government's war aims to President Wilson; and in January of 1918 President Wilson stated his fourteen points. The first approach to the subject of war aims in this war was the Atlantic Charter; after that came Unconditional Surrender at Casablanca; while the Moscow Conference agreed on the Liberation of Austria; War Criminals; and an International Organisation. In the last

war nothing was said about war criminals until after the Armistice, and then nothing much was done about them. An indication of the public attitude toward war criminals, at least in this country, may be found in the present public apathy as to the whereabouts and fate of Mussolini.

Most people recognise that the major decisions taken at Quebec, Cairo and Teheran were of a military character, and will only be slowly revealed. But the world knows even less about the political decisions reached. That may be wise - it may be inevitable. In any event, it is the decision of the statesmen involved. They are individuals with their own backgrounds, their own personal likes, dislikes and prejudices. After the Casablanca meeting Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill went to Marrakesh. While there, looking back upon the speed and secrecy with which the negotiations had been conducted, they both agreed that it was the best manner of handling these international conferences. After the last war there were plenty of secret negotiations, plenty of efforts to apply censorship. There is nothing in the record of this war so far that should cause any reasonable man to expect any open covenants openly arrived at. It is today physically possible for correspondents to go to Yugoslavia, but Allied authorities in the Middle East prevent it. The official explanation seems to be that politics and military security are indivisible. Of course it is possible that people who deliver news regard their commodity too highly. Shoemakers are inclined to ~~think~~ regard leather as the most

vital product. I have known Brewers who held an equally high opinion of beer. Information is vital for a free people, but it is possible for those who disseminate it to exaggerate the importance of mechanical details. The muddle over the release of news from Cairo and Teheran was a case in point. I happen to have been spending that time with American and British boys who are fighting this war in the air over Germany, and I can assure you that they weren't the least bit interested.

Another difference between the two wars is that more reporters have been killed in this one; but in this war, like all others, the experiences of a reporter have meaning only insofar as they permit people at home to achieve a little better understanding of what the real fighting men are going through.

One thing seems to have emerged from these series of Conferences that were not reported, and that is that the basis of the post-war world is to be power. The years before the war proved that policy without power led to futile frustration. But power, however great, is no substitute for policy. The problems of Europe have never been solved by power. If that had been possible the Germans would have done it. A Belgian Quisling named Raymond de Becker has written: "With the help of all Europe Germany could have won; but for that she would have needed a great European policy; she has not applied this policy. European unity is in the making, but against Germany".

Conferences are a part of war and of peace. There is a dismal record of "complete agreement" conferences stretching between the two wars. The fact of the Teheran Conference is in itself important. The results, the agreements, the policy cannot yet be assessed. The careful and powerful magazine, The Economist, has this to say of the Teheran declaration: "They made no declaration about Germany; they mentioned no principle for the negotiation of fronteir differences; they hinted at no plans for the economic integration of Europe. They made no statement on regional groupings, or on any other cooperative framework for individual sovereignty. Without policies on these points it is difficult to see how Europe's future can be decided on any but false and dangerous principles of power".

So far as Britain is concerned, the problems at the end of this war are being confronted in a more realistic fashion than they were at the end of the last war. There is no lack of warnings about the country's loss of economic power, the needs for continued control over industry and imports, the falling birthrate, the great strength that will lie with the United States and Russia. Near the end of the last war there was talk about homes for heroes. This time it's just homes, and food and work. Lord Woolton, the new Minister of Reconstruction has not been promising the people any easy post-war passage. But his appointment is a reflection on the Government's determination ~~to start~~ that reconstruction begins at home. Lord Woolton achieved a remarkable success as

Minister of Food. His was a job surrounded by political dynamite, for anyone who mismanaged the food of this country, or was seriously accused of discrimination or favoritism would have had a great storm beating about his head. Lord Woolton's appointment is proof that the Government means business about food, work and homes, if for no other reason than that in any national election his honesty and prestige as the man who saw that everyone had bread before anyone had cake, would be sufficient to swing a great many votes. It has already been suggested to him that he should go slow in matters pertaining to the control of industry, land and houses. And he has replied to the spokesmen of big business: "The public reaction to my appointment indicates that they want a Minister of Reconstruction; I did not seek the job; but I am the Minister of Reconstruction and propose to bear in mind the public's expectations."

After the last war this country moved to the left politically, and there are signs, particularly in local elections that the process will be repeated after the end of this war. No one can be sure about the political complexion of Britain today, but the number of Independent candidates who poll a sizeable vote against the men who are officially endorsed by all parties in the Government is ample proof that people are willing and ready for a change. The Prime Minister's popularity is undiminished, and even his enemies admit that he is likely to win the first post-war election. But the Conservatives in this country have been known to sponsor

Liberal legislation, and Lord Woolton's appointment means that they are committed to a reconstruction program which may tread heavily upon the toes of what the Marxists call, without ever defining it, vested interest.

As one's mind wanders over the incidents and issues of this war and of the last war, one thing stands out; those who expect Europe after this war to be as it was after the last war are making quite as great a mistake as those who expected this war to follow the pattern of the last war.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY DECEMBER 19, 1943.
18.30.45-18.42.40 EDWARD R. MURROW

Something very like a great sigh of nationwide relief has followed the news that Mr. Churchill is winning his second battle with pneumonia. Even his enemies have been worried. The Prime Minister is still seriously ill. He is not expected back in this country for many weeks. But today it appears that the crisis has passed. Mr. Churchill's illness will in no way delay the mixx carrying out of military decisions reached at Cairo and Teheran. No one expects him to be a good patient. During his last illness a friend of mine went to see him; the Prime Minister, still not out of danger, was propped up in bed dealing with State papers. As my friend entered the room Mr. Churchill thrust the papers aside and said: "This is a most dramatic, interesting and exciting business. Just contemplate for a moment this great battle that is going on inside my body....these hosts of germs fighting one another, attacking and counter-attacking". And Mr. Churchill added: "They have given me M and B, but even without it I should have triumphed and won the victory".

Mr. Churchill is a man who enjoys conflict, even when his own body is the battleground. If his condition continues to improve many people in this country, and perhaps elsewhere, will have an added reason for rejoicing at Christmastime. The other day one of the ablest statesmen in Europe said to me: "Mr. Churchill's death would prolong the war at least six months". His reason for saying so was that the Prime Minister is willing, and indeed

anxious to take decisions. They are not always right, but in war speed of decision is as important as speed of manoeuver on the battlefield. As a matter of fact, there is an increasing willingness here to question the decisions that led to the present Italian campaign. There is also much public prediction Rome is to be the final objective in the Italian fighting. There is no doubt whatever that the Italian campaign has not gone according to plan. The other day in the House of Commons, Mr. Eden, who has a certain fondness for well-worn words, told the critics that they should not try to judge the play before it is done - that they must wait for the last act to see what the earlier ones were leading up to. He had many complaints against the weather; said that where there were no mountains the swollen rivers took over; that when the campaign started to go according to the Commander's wishes there was another deluge and steadily worsening weather conditions. Such conditions always occur at this time of year in that part of the Mediterranean. Hannibal was an able and daring Commander, and his armies were certainly not mechanised. But even he had to go into winter quarters when campaigning in Central Italy. In the words of the Sunday Times military commentator: "It is difficult to think that a theatre so unpropitious to winter campaigning was ~~idxxxxly~~ ideally chosen as the main theatre for the winter effort of the British and American armies. It exacts a most gruelling ordeal from us without attaining an at all equivalent deployment of strength by the German armies."

It becomes increasingly clear that Italy is not to be one of the major battle areas in the promised offensive from East, West and South. The result is that questions about the soundness of the strategy which committed us to this campaign are increasing. ~~MxxxEdmnkxx~~ Mr. Eden's attempt to blame the weather convinced few people. There is always this kind of weather at this time of year. But his appeal to suspend judgment until the final plans are unfolded carried considerable weight here. But probably the most important thing that Mr. Eden said about campaigns and conferences,was when remarked that before Cairo and Teheran he was not sure that there were the foundations on which the United States, Russia and Britain could work. Now he is sure. That is a fact of tremendous importance, even though the foundations may be incomplete, and the general architecture of the building undecided. Conferences ought to be judged not by what the participants say they have agreed to do, but by what in fact happens after the Conference is over. The preliminary results of Teheran are certainly promising. The crisis in Bulgaria must be considered a reflection of the agreement at Teheran. The equivocal promise of King George of Greece not to attempt to return to his own country until his people have had a chance to express their views, is another. And the increased Allied recognition of Tito's forces in Yugoslavia is a third. Yet another indication of agreed policy is the signing of the treaty between Russia and Czechoslovakia. Something which the British had opposed for many months. This treaty is along the general

lines of the treaty between Britain and Russia, but in some ways it is more important. It is concrete evidence of the increase of Russian power on the Continent, and of Russia's intention to participate in the management of Europe. The Czechoslovak government has in effect recognised Russia as the strongest Continental European power, and that must have its effect upon smaller states. Czechoslovakia will be the main industrial power in what is called the middle zone, and she will presumably find an outlet for her goods in the Soviet Union. It means, too, that if Czechoslovakia should ever be forced to choose between Russia and a block of Western democracies, then the choice is already made. No one can predict the future of Czechoslovakia or any other European country, but this treat with Russia is a pretty stout guarantee that Czechoslovakia will not undergo another Munich.

As a matter of fact, all the talk about a block of Western European powers, which was touched off by General Smuts' speech, doesn't seem to be making much headway in Britain. Private conversations with British statesmen reveal no desire on the part of this country to set up, maintain and support a block of small states in Western Europe - a sort of confederation to oppose Russia. The feeling seems to be widespread that such a manoeuver might leave Germany with the balance of power ten years from now, and that so far as British policy on the Continent is concerned there must be agreement with Russia or there will be conflict. No British Government that appeared to be following a policy that lead to conflict would last for 24 hours. If I am

right, this change in British policy regarding Greece, Yugoslavia and the Czech-Russian pact amounts almost to a somersault. Of course reverse somersaults are possible, but it does appear that as of now the British are impressed with the new forces that have been created by occupation and terrorism, and that they have realised that there can be no going back to the old order on the Continent. That doesn not mean that the Continent is going Communist. I have spent a great deal of time ~~xxxx~~ over the last four years talking with people from the Occupied Countries. The first thing they want is to have their lands freed from all foreigners....Allied occupation forces as well as Germans. And most of them go on to say that when the war is over they do not propose to make the touchstone of democracy uncontrolled private enterprise. Dutch, Czechs, Norwegians, Frenchmen will tell you that political democracy in their countries will exercise a greater control over banks, transportation, heavy industry, and all of the public utilities, and the land. That may not happen, but it is what many of them are aiming for.

This happens to be the Hundredth Anniversary of a book - A Christmas Carol, written by an Englishman named Dickens. It's a good book. I often wonder what Bob Cratchet would think of this world - both the horrors and the hopes are so much greater than they were in his time. But Dickens is worth reading if only to realise what life was like when there were fewer bureaucrats, no social services and practically no state control.

Mr. Dickens had no love for Boards, Committees or Bureaucrats. He lashed out against them with powerful and persuasive language, but he also did more than anyone of his day to portray the savage social and economic injustices of a hundred years ago. His was a great battle against evil things, but if he could view the world today he might find that most of the justice, the equality and the hope that exists come from those very Committees, Bureaucrats and Governments that he riddled with his invective.

Earlier today, thinking of Dickens, I thought to do this broadcast about Britain's fifth wartime Christmas; but it won't amount to much. There is practically nothing to buy in the stores; most people aren't even bothering about Christmas cards;. There is none of the complacency of that first wartime Christmas; not very much of the good-fellowship, the importance of just being alive, the intoxication of long nights of bombing, when humble people did deeds of valour for which there were no words. This may be the last Christmas of war in Europe. There will be many prayers that it may be so. There will be parties for American kids in uniform, who will continue their fine generous habit of sharing their candy and their packages from home with British orphans, who don't seem so very much younger. There will be Christmas carols sung by homesick American boys in the blacked-out corridors of cold railway coaches, while they travel across England. I heard them doing it just the other night. Everything that America is or has been, or has ever done will be in this Island this Christmas. A lot of the boys don't like this country - I don't

blame them. It isn't exactly California, or Texas, or Florida. Nor will it be like the humblest and bleakest home in Montana or Maine. I suppose there'll be some Yuletide battles between our boys and some of the other troops in this Island, but the chances are they'll end up better friends than when the fisticuffs began. The other night I was on the train beside an English sailor; he was going home for the first time in five years, and he had obviously been in an argument. He confessed that he and his mates had had an altercation with some Yanks, that it had all been good fun, no clubs or bottles, and there was nothing like a bit of a go to warm the blood. A couple of years ago he had been in San Diego, where it seemed there had also been a bit of a go, but he thought America was a fine place, and he wanted to go there after the war.

I don't know anyone who would ~~presumex~~ have the courage to try to give you a composite Christmas message from the Americans who are serving in this theatre. A reporter is something of a parasite anyway; he spends a few hours, or days, or weeks in some danger, and then goes back where there are sheets and tablecloths and bathtubs and all the rest. But during the last couple of weeks I have asked a fair number of American boys what they'd like to say if they could talk to people at home. Most of them have replied that well, they didn't know, but probably they wouldn't say any more than just: "Don't worry". They aren't a very vocal crowd. You watch a lot of them go up to get their

decorations - the real ones, the ones you get only for something that is far beyond the call of duty. They are bashful and awkward; sometimes they even forget to salute the General. They're almost like High School kids getting their diploma. ~~And so far as I can tell, the message they would send you would I think if I were not an American, had never seen the country~~

Most of them will be about as lonesome as High School kids away from home at Christmastime, but most of them would probably say...its Ok dont worry about us...~~and that from combat troops on the ground and in the air, when in the next hundred days may be in~~ A civilian ~~army~~

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 2, 1944.
18.30.45-18.42.30 EDWARD R. MURROW

Last year ended as it began, with great and perhaps decisive Russian victories. Today there is no disposition to look back. This, we are told on all sides, is to be the year. The assault Commanders have been appointed; the decisions as to time, place and scale of attack have been made; the determination is inflexible; very little can be changed. The planning, the weapons and the men are to be put to the test. There will be much blood and glory; and there will be scenes to make men's souls whimper. No public prodding, no politicians exhortations can alter the decision to hurl Allied armies on to the Continent of Europe. Unless Germany is defeated by this time next year the prospects will be barren, and every estimate of the course and consequences of this war will have to be revised.

The tension is increasing, but the time for action is not yet. The temptation to speculate is great, but to do so regarding military affairs is both futile and dangerous. I anticipate a tightening of military censorship, both here and at home. All speculation as to time, place and weight of attack may be forbidden. I hope that that is so. As one who has fought with most of the censors in Europe, I dislike all forms of censorship. There seems to be an unavoidable tendency for military censorship to expand to cover political affairs. That happened in North Africa. If it should occur again the censorship

will be defeated as it has been before. But it would be an arrogant, ignorant and inexperienced correspondent who would attempt to evade the normal restrictions imposed by the demands of military security. Already the enemy has been told much about timing and percentages of British and American troops to be employed. But that information has not come from correspondents who, having seen something of war, are inclined to think of white wooden crosses and casualty clearing stations, as well as headlines and news beats. So if in these coming months the military censorship increases, there should be no cause for alarm, despair or impatience. The operations to be conducted from this Island must be mounted almost within sight of the enemy; his aerial reconnaissance is good, and both precautions and prayers will be necessary to achieve anything remotely resembling surprise. Contrary to the general opinion, amphibious operations are highly inflexible; every detail of timing, tides, weather, the exact order in which supplies and equipment come off the barges, must be planned in the greatest detail, timed with a stopwatch - and the plans once made cannot easily be changed.

On the basis of past experience the planning for peace, if it is to be successful, requires as much attention to timing and clear definition of objectives. It is possible, and indeed probable that before the end of this year the Allies will be faced with the frightening problems...the terrible responsibility.

The Continent of Europe, when the formal killing stops, will be no place for casual contemplation and leisurely decisions. The vacuum created by the collapse of the political and economic machinery of a whole continent will be filled by something. New doctrines, new isms, new hatreds will arise. There are times in all great battles when opportunity is absolute and unlikely to return; the same is true of peace. I know of no responsible statesman - American, British or Allied - who believes that the planning for peace is adequate or is being pursued with anything like the required sense of urgency. No one can be sure just what we will find when the walls of the European prison are battered down. But there is a certain amount of travel between Britain and most of the Occupied countries, and information from such sources together with what is available in the official records, does not ~~xxxxxx~~ reflect fundamental agreement regarding policies or principles. The Teheran Conference agreed about military matters. Perhaps no one should have expected them to do more. There was much good will between the three Statesmen, but the basic problems that have disturbed the peace of Europe for a hundred years were not the subject of any agreement. That may come later. But any effort to assess where we stand at the beginning of this fateful year is meaningless unless it includes the admission that that basic agreement is lacking. The last war ended in November of 1918, and by February of 1919 the German Government was already bargaining with the victorious powers.

Within a year elections in Germany, France and Britain had established the pattern of the future, and it could not be altered.

But to return to more recent events: you will remember that the Moscow meeting between Mr. Hull, Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov decided to set up a European Advisory Commission here in London. In this country at least that decision was hailed as the major achievement of the Conference. It consists of our Ambassador Winant, Britain's Sir William Strang from the Foreign Office and Mr. Gussev, Russia's Ambassador in London. There has been one meeting...nothing of importance was discussed...Mr. Gussev's influence with the Kremlin is unknown, but he does not have the authority to issue a visa for travel to the Soviet Union without referring the application to Moscow first. Sir William Strang's advice to the Prime Minister will have behind it the weight of an able Civil Servant experienced in foreign affairs,but nothing more.

~~Meanwhile the Russian armies~~ In the world between the wars there were many Advisory Commissions. Their advice was usually refused or forgotten. Meanwhile the Russian armies are within thirty miles of the old Polish frontier. There are no official relations between Poland and Russia; no assurance has been received that the Poles in the Eastern Provinces will be spared a repetition of what happened to them in 1939 and 40.

But on the other hand the Polish Government has refused to tell its underground fighters to assist the advancing Red Armies. It is clear that something more than advice is needed.

Mr. Eden and Mr. Hull advised the warring factions in Greece to stop fighting, but it is obvious that men who are hungry and harassed by the Germans fight each other with a greater purpose than to secure the good will and the encouragement of the United States or Great Britain.

No reasonable person expects an Allied blueprint for post-war Europe. No one advocates that energies that should be directed towards beating the Germans be diverted to postwar planning, but at the same time it is impossible not to report that this year opened with confusion and discontent wherever men talk seriously of the problems of peace.

I have listened recently to some discussions about the control of German radio after the war. These discussions were on what the British call a rather high level. It was agreed that after the war the German broadcasting system should be controlled by the Allies. But the purpose for which it should be controlled....the use to which this powerful instrument should be put...was and is by no means clear. And control without purpose must lead to disaster or dictatorship.

~~xThexproblemsxthatxwillxconfrontxBritainxxafterxGermanyxsxx defeatx~~

So far as Britain is concerned, her planning for the future must be conditioned by the physical and emotional strain that will be placed upon this Island during the great attack....by the uncertainties involved in the outcome of our Presidential election... and by the realisation that she will be in an uneasy position between the world's two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The plans for continuing the war against Japan are already made, and no one who has talked with the leaders of the British Government can doubt their sincerity when they voice the determination to proceed with all speed to transfer Britain's strength to the Pacific. However, there will inevitably be a great let-down here when Germany is defeated; that has been the main war. Historically, continental powers have represented the major threat. And the accumulated fatigue of five years of war may only become apparent when the lights are turned on again. Men who have spent five years in the North Atlantic or in Africa cannot be expected to be enthusiastic about an immediate transfer to the Pacific.

The determination to continue the war against Japan is here, and there is no doubt that it will be done; but we may as well be prepared for a certain reduction in enthusiasm, and a natural desire to recapture at least a few of the amenities of peacetime living.

One thing that's happened as a result of this war, and the criticism of the British Empire, is that people in this country

who never knew very much about the Dominions and even less about the Colonies, are becoming interested in their overseas possessions and obligations. In fact, they're getting a little touchy - more than a little touchy - about criticisms of the British Empire; and they're more and more inclined to point out that Britain isn't the only country that has an Empire. It may be that out of this war there will come an increased British nationalism - the same sort of thing that seems to be happening in many countries on the Continent.

There is no disposition here to think that the war is just about over, or that it can be won at small cost, or that mistakes cannot still be made. If the problems and prospects of peace press rather heavily upon people who live and work here it may be because the chaos, confusion and consequences will be at their very door. ~~xxxxmatterxxofxfactxxthexxxxxxmanyxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Wars are fought not to create a new heaven and a new earth, but to defeat the enemy and to survive. But there are many signs that this conflict has created a community of suffering on the Continent which may greatly influence ~~the~~ future history. There was an effort to support and sustain the forces of reaction in North Africa, and it failed. There was an effort to support the same forces in Yugoslavia, and that failed. The Kings of Greece and Italy cannot be considered good insurance risks. The Belgian Government in exile has agreed to resign as soon as its Parliament can be reconvened. The Dutch Government has reached the same

decision. The other day a friend of mine, a distinguished Professor from the Continent said: "It's a strange thing - of all my former students, the ones who are doing the best work in the underground...the ones who are writing the best articles in the clandestine newspapers - they aren't the men who were my most brilliant students. It seems that something beside intellect has come to the fore. The leadership is resting with those who know the people." Most of the exiles, even the government officials in London know that they have lost touch - that they have not shared the dangers and hardships of their fellow-countrymen at home. They know from information coming out of their homelands that there is to be no going back to the old system; that the old order is dead - that their people having suffered are in a mood to demand that in future they shall decide principles and policies. The control of heavy industry, of credit, of transportation, of all the commanding heights of economics seem likely to come under the control of the people who have suffered. If that happens in France, and Holland and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and some of the other occupied countries, it will be an event of the greatest importance, for it will mean that this is a people's war whether we like it or not.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 9, 1944.
18.30.45-18.42.30 B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: It's just about a year since Von Paulus surrendered the beaten and broken remnants of his army outside Stalingrad. In the weeks of stifling tension that preceded that decision the high tide of German military strength was reached. Today, a year later, disaster continues to march with the German armies. Another ~~chapter~~ epoch in the thousand years of conflict between Teuton and Slav is ending. The German armies rode and marched nearly a thousand miles; they planted a Swastika in the Caucausas. But their plans and dreams of new maps; their faith that the Slavs were beaten down never to rise again - all that was ended in the fighting along the Volga a year ago. Today you can find in London serious, sober and experienced observers willing to predict that within ten weeks no German soldiers will stand on Russian soil. The loss of Kirovograd unhinged the whole German defensive system in the South, and the consequences of that will flow far beyond the field of battle. The Germans are clearly under no illusions. They speak of this, not as a Russian winter offensive but as the offensive....the decisive round that will decide the fate of the whole European war.

The Russian armies are developing two main thrusts - one westward from the Kiev bulge into Poland, and the other southward from the Dnieper bend, in an effort to trap the Germans holding out there. There is a common theory that the Germans may attempt

to hold a line running roughly from Riga to Odessa, but even that may be impossible. The experience in France and in Tunisia seems to show that modern armies are such complex, carefully balanced machines that they are likely to collapse even when the position on the map appears far from hopeless. There is more confidence in Moscow and in London than there has been at any time since the war began.

The war against the U-Boats is going so well that they are not seriously interfering with the accumulation of supplies in this Island; and the Allied bombing offensive is increasing by day and by night. Something like eight thousand missions have been flown in the last seven days. Time after time light and medium bombers work on those military installations across the Channel, and return without loss, often without even seeing a German fighter. The Germans haven't run out of aircraft; they are clearly hoarding their fighters for the big test, using them only against the Allied heavy bombers. The total strength of the Luftwaffe today is greater than it was a year ago, and their fighters are still flown with great skill and determination. This whole air war has changed enormously during the last six months. Not only has the number of aircraft increased - they're hitting the target more often. The variety of aircraft used is giving more flexibility to the whole bombing campaign. The detailed flight planning of a big night raid comes more and more to resemble a great ground battle, with the Mosquitos playing

the part of cavalry. In the old days, when a lot of aircraft simply took off, flew bang at the target, dropped their bombs and came home again, have gone. The fake raids, the deceptions have repeatedly fooled the German defences. It is possible to make a feint at Berlin and then go on and bomb any one of a dozen major targets. Sometimes the big Lancasters are almost up to the outskirts of Berlin, the pathfinders are putting down flares and target indicators in the centre of the town - and then the main force cuts north or south to bomb places like Stettin or Leipzig. Most people here have come to take the air war and the inevitable losses rather for granted...to think of aircraft rather than individuals. But occasionally somebody writes something that says what a whole lot of people feel. Harold Balfour seems to have done that with a few sentences appearing in today's London Times. "Tonight I heard the sound of Bombers outward bound. I rest in peace while they sweep bravely on their way; and as I lay I knew that I could give no due except to pray with love, 'God guard those gallant few above.'"

I happened to see those lines shortly after hearing that Group Captain Jock Abercrombie, who permitted me to fly to Berlin and back with him about a month ago, is missing from the last raid. He was the fellow who thought all these airfields were waste of farming land.

But last week whenever people talked about flying they finally got round to jet propulsion. You probably know a lot more

about the principles ~~of~~ and possibilities of jet propulsion than I do. But I can tell you that no one here expects Group Captain Whittle's aircraft to be in operation in the immediate future. The announcement of this new plane, already christened "The Squirt", was rather surprising. The principle, of course, isn't new, but the fact that experiments have been going on has been a closely guarded secret for the past three years. It is the practise of all nations at war to disclose new weapons only after they are in use, and after it is reasonable to assume that the enemy has captured one intact and familiarised himself with the details. The popular assumption - and it's no more than an assumption - is that some of the stuff the Germans are planning to throw at England from across the Channel will be jet-propelled, and it was deemed a good idea to get in first with the announcement that we had one too. But entirely aside from the military uses to which this "squirt" may be put, the announcement did something to a lot of people in this country. The British, particularly those who work with their hands, are pretty proud people...proud not only of their country but of the things they produce. For several months now they have been listening to General Smuts and Mr. Eden and a considerable number of others, telling them that when the war is over Britain will be weaker and poorer than she was. The fact that Group Captain Whittle, an unknown, hard-working, dogged Englishman perfected this thing; that all he's been willing to say about it is that his colleagues

deserve a lot of credit, and that he thinks there is a considerable future for jet propulsion - this has reminded Englishmen that they can still produce new weapons; that some of them at least are doing significant work on the frontiers of science, and that maybe the eight-gun Spitfires and Hurricanes weren't just happy accidents. Wherever you go with this Allied Army, the American engineers, their equipment and the way they handle it, their drive and ingenuity, their appetite for hard work, their refusal to admit that a thing cannot be done - all of those qualities arouse the admiration and applause of the British. I have heard it expressed about things as varied as building airfields and slinging telephone lines. The fact that one of their boys produced this new aircraft has sort of bolstered the British ego, which was probably pretty healthy all along.

There is no end to the controversy about the effectiveness, or rather the decisiveness of the bombing of Germany, but as the Russians move into Poland there are those who hope that before too long shuttle-bombing may become possible. That's probably somewhere in the future, just as any lasting political settlement between Poland and Russia must be. ~~Early in the week the Polish Government here in London produced a rather moderate statement~~ The matters that divide Poland and Russia go back far beyond 1939. The whole history of relations between the two countries is a combination of antagonism and suspicion. For a century-and-a-

half any Pole who conspired against Russia was assured of a patriot's place in his nation's history. A hopeful beginning was made after the Russian revolution, but in 1920 Pilsudski had dreams of a new map, and relations between the two countries have been bad ever since. For the Poles 1939 was the fourth partition of their country. No Polish Government in London or in Warsaw can relinquish the Eastern provinces at Russia's dictation and continue to govern. All Poles from Right to Left will tell you that. There is of course the possibility of compensating Poland by giving her new territory in the West. This matter was discussed in a general way at Teheran, and I have the best of reasons for believing that a vague sort of agreement was reached, but nothing was decided as to exact territory or time of transfer. There are strong reasons against making such announcement now. Nothing is more likely to make a German from Silesia or East Prussia fight to the bitter end than to tell him that if he loses, he and his section of the country will be turned over to the Poles.

So far there is no evidence that military operations are being impeded by the absence of a Russian-Polish agreement. The political crisis seems to be a continuing one, although when you talk with Poles and Russians in London you get the idea that there is a considerable amount of tolerance and desire for understanding on both sides. The fundamental problem, not only for Poland but for many other nations in Europe, can be put very

simply. This week's socialist left-wing magazine, Tribune, generally rather sympathetic to the Russian point of view, states the problem very bluntly. It says: "If war is accepted as the supreme test of the stability of a social system, then the Soviet Union has passed the test. That question settled, another arises in its place, and it would be humbug to assume that it doesn't exist. The question is: what policy does the Soviet Union intend to follow when it comes to occupy countries outside its own frontiers?" It is easy to state the problem, but no one can provide the answer. That will be revealed only after the occupation occurs. But it still remains the single most important question of policy. If Russia attempts to control the populations of the small nations by coercion...tries to mould them as she has her own people, then no sane person can predict anything for Europe except chaos and another war. In Government circles here and, I might add, amongst those who were at Teheran, there is a general belief that Russian policy outside the Baltic states and the Eastern provinces of Poland will be to permit a full measure of autonomy, strength and indepence. If that is true it is the most hopeful sign on the horizon. If it is possible to avoid economic and ideological conflict between Russia and her Western allies in the no-man's-land of Europe, there will be a chance then for Europe to recover, and for the small nations to ~~xxxxx~~ live on some basis other than force. [redacted]

~~[illegible] Continental [illegible] of [illegible]~~

They have been promised the opportunity to choose their own governments; and at least two of the governments in exile - the Belgians and the Dutch - have agreed to resign once order has been established in their country. There was in England this week an example of the resilience and toughness of Democratic procedure. There was a bye-election in the Skipton division - that's in Yorkshire, a combination of agricultural and industrial voters. Over 70 percent of the electorate voted. The Conservative candidate, supported by Mr. Churchill and the leaders of the other two main Parties, was defeated. A young Lieutenant representing the pseudo-Socialist Commonwealth Party won. He claimed that Parliament was out of touch with the people; that it was dallying with post-war legislation; and that there were still too many people in high places who had refused to heed Mr. Churchill's warnings of impending disaster. The political moral is clear: Commonwealth as such is no great force, but people are willing to vote for young men who are nct tied to any of the Party machines in London, and who ~~will promise to make legislation out of the~~ undertake to translate promises of post-war equality into legislation.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JANUARY 16, 1944.
18.30.45-18.42.30 B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: Someone once said before this war began that America was a great nation of which the British knew nothing. At the time that wasn't much of an exaggeration, but things are changing. The British people are hearing and reading much more about America than ever before. It is now possible to read the prognostications of American columnists in the English Sunday papers. There is a small flood of books and pamphlets trying to explain what America is, and why. The reasons for this interest in American affairs go far deeper than the curiosity aroused by the presence of American troops in this Island. Before the war our Government occupied the role of an observer of European affairs and problems. Britain's continental policy could not be keyed to an American policy because we didn't have one. But today the interest in American affairs is second only to the interest in foreign battle fronts. That is why it is possible to report this week an almost unanimous British press reaction to two bits of American news. The President's message to Congress is generally hailed as an example of realistic leadership and political courage. That may be for no better reason than that ~~xxxxxx~~ his proposals roughly parallel the action taken in this country after Dunkirk. The knowledge of American domestic affairs, even amongst those who write London's editorials, is not very profound. Still the fact that the President took what appear to be considerable political risks

has served to increase his prestige in this country. Two comments mmxkx occur immediately to one who has had the opportunity to see both the British and the American war effort. The first is that if it's a good idea now to control wages, profits and prices, and to introduce a system of national service - then it must have been a better idea two years ago. And the second comment is that the official spokesmen on both sides of the Atlantic tell us that the most terrible trying days of the war are ahead, and if that is so - and few can doubt it - then the political risks in the President's proposals may not be very great. The appeal for universal service, for equal sacrifice, for toil and sweat and sharing is one that has been made in the darkest days by every nation at war. And so far as one can judge it has always been effective.

In assessing British reaction to President Roosevelt's pronouncements, and to his political prospects, it is necessary to remember that to people in this country he is a symbol and a voice, just as Mr. Churchill is to most people in America. Neither side of the Atlantic knows much about the domestic problems of the other side. But in spite of the natural, and indeed inevitable admiration for Mr. Roosevelt in this country, the British Government and most of the press and all of the radio will lean over backward in an effort to avoid any appearance of meddling in American domestic politics. That isn't the

result of any excess of virtue, it's merely the realisation that any attempt in that direction would be bound to backfire.

Another item of American news has created a small amount of comment this week - the refusal of the A.F. of L. to participate in the ~~Trade Union~~ World Trade Union Conference next June. That decision has provoked certain expressions of regret. The Conference is to be only exploratory; there is no idea of introducing a controlling body for the International Labour Union. The left wing New Statesman remarks: "If the Labour organisations of the United Nations cannot meet even to discuss their common problems, there is little hope that agreement can be reached between their governments in the post-war world.

I have the impression that this army of ours in Britain is becoming more interested in what's going to happen after the war. That impression is the result of a lot of time spent talking with Sergeants and Corporals. They see the soldiers of a dozen different nations...they begin to wonder about what's going to happen to those countries.....the Army's scheme of weekly discussion groups is beginning to show results. The other night at a Red Cross Club I heard a Sergeant firing questions at a British Cabinet Minister and two Members of Parliament, and they were very good questions too. Most of the enlisted men seem to feel that their news from home, given them through the Stars and Stripes and their own small radio network, is fair and impartial. Most of them say they want to vote, but

they aren't excited about it, and I suspect would vote pretty much as they would if they were at home. The thoughtful ones are appalled at the waste involved in army life. One Corporal said to me the other night - a fellow who had had some experience with British civilian rations, and with K. P. - he said: "Man, what we could save if only we had some can openers. This opening cans of apple butter and fruit with a meat cleaver is just plain wasteful". To anyone who is worried about the future of America I would suggest a lot of conversation with American soldiers abroad, particularly those who have seen action. Our troops are much better paid, better fed and better equipped than the British, but they have one thing in common, that is concern about jobs when the war is over.

The British Government has issued its answer to the soldier's question: "Will I get my job back when I am demobilised?" It is called "The Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill". It is a very complex piece of legislation based upon one major premise which is that the Government conscripted them and is going to do what it can to see that they get their old jobs back. This roughly is the way it works. A man or woman, when demobilised, writes to his or her former employer saying when he's ready to go back to work. The employer is obligated to reinstate the soldier at the first opportunity (if any) at which it is reasonable and practicable for him to do so. [redacted]

The soldier is to go back to his old job, with the same pay and conditions that he would have had if he hadn't joined the forces. And the employer must keep him for at least 26 weeks, or for so much of that period as is reasonable and practicable. If two men apply for a job, and only one can be taken on, then the man with the longest pre-war service with the company would get the job. In some cases a company may be required to fire a man in order to ~~xxxxxxx~~ reinstate an old hand who had been with the company a long time before the war began. Special reinstatement committees consisting of an employer's representative, a neutral Chairman and someone representing the men who want their jobs back will settle disputes. These committees will be appointed by the Minister of Labour. Any employer who fails to reinstate a man may be fined 200 dollars, and may be required to pay the applicant his wages during the period of the dispute.

As you will see, the whole thing is very complicated and depends very largely upon the meaning of "reasonable and practicable". A lot of men and women in this country have been drafted, not into the armed services but into war industries. The Bill does not guarantee that they shall get their old job back. Some businesses have disappeared altogether. Many of the men in the services will have no desire to return to their old job. For example, we had an office boy here in London; almost five years ago he came in and announced that he thought

he could cope with the situation, and ~~wantxaffxtaxjainxmy~~ went off to the war. Since then he has been a despatch rider with the Eighth Army. When he ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ returns he will be entitled to have his old job back again, but he'll probably want to look around for something more rewarding than the post of office boy.

The task of reinstating these men and women will be complex and intricate, but the intention of the legislation is quite clear. The Government which conscripted these men and women proposes to do what it can to see that after the war they are not crowded out of the labour market by those who ~~didxnotxdox anyxformxofxnationalxservicex~~ were not called upon to do any form of compulsory national service. This government scheme is only a bill - a proposal - it will be hotly debated in the House of Commons, but the essential principles will certainly become law. The Reinstatement in Civil Employment Bill is another indication of the partnership between government and business - the compromise between Capitalism and Socialism - that is being developed by Britain's post-war planners.

Of course all British plans depend upon the kind of Europe she is going to have as a neighbour. Last week both Russia and Poland made encouraging moves toward the settlement of the dispute which has endangered, and still endangers European security. The Polish Government issued a temperate

and reasonable reply to the Russian declaration. The British Foreign Office passed the reply on to the Russians. The general impression created by the British Press is that the next move is up to Moscow. That is not exactly the case. Here is a typical example of the inspired treatment of this issue,appearing in yesterday's Daily Telegraph. "The British Government will be fully prepared to play its part and give its services in bringing together the two governments." That is not at all what the Poles asked for. They said they were prepared to discuss all problems "with the participation of the British and American Governments". That means that the Poles want Anglo-American participation in the decisions - they aren't just asking for a post office through which their letters can be transmitted to Moscow. The Poles want to be quite sure that if they make striking territorial concessions to the Russians they will not be later subjected to further demands, and particularly that they will be free from Russian interference in Poland's internal affairs. The Russian offer contained a thinly-veiled threat to impose a puppet government on Poland, and they appeared to insist that the negotiations be conducted strictly between Poland and Russia. Historically,weak nations have had reason to fear strong ones, and strong nations have frequently dodged their responsibilities. If Poland should be given East Prussia and certain other German territory as the result of an agreement with Russia, Poland would be dependent

upon Russian strength to hold the Germans down. For the past 150 years the relations between Russia and Prussia have largely determined the pattern of ~~international~~ Continental politics. There exists today a real opportunity to settle the questions dividing Poland and Russia. The Allied nations will inevitably share the consequences of what is done. They have an opportunity - Britain and America - to share in the making of the decisions. The Poles here in London are determined that their Allies shall share ~~in the~~ responsibility for the decisions reached. If the Anglo-American share in solving the differences between Russia and Poland is to be confined to giving their services in bringing together the two nations, then we have returned to power politics and spheres of influence; and the Atlantic Charter and Teheran are mere noises offstage before the next war begins.

~~This is no argument of Russian and Polish statesmanship~~

This is no argument between Poland and Russia. It is an issue that goes back to the beginning of this war and beyond. There need be no argument between Russia and her Western Allies about Poland, if the Western Allies are prepared to assume the responsibility that their power places upon them.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

Munnow

Sunday Jan. 30 - 6.30 B.S.T.

1.

Eleven years ago today Hitler became Chancellor of Germany....As mens lives are measured that isnt a very long time..It doesnt seem like eleven years since Curtius ,onetime German foreign minister was telling me..pay no attention to this buffon..he is unimportant..Eleven years since German studnts from Koenigsberg to Munich were telling me..This means that we have regained our honour..there will be stability in middle Europe..There will be more equality in Germany..they saw the end of unemployment and the end of humiliation...Again there was someone to give orders..the docile hard working core of Europe was again united with hope and hate...And within a year I watched young men place their hands on the map showing the flat rich land of Poland,and herd them say..excellent tank country that..in the same tone of voice that you would use to describe a good trout stream.. Eleven years isnt very long in which to achieve the destruction of a Na tion,the brutalisation of a continent..agony and suffering beyond the power of words to describe..Millions dead,cities laid waste..a continent become an intellectual desert...The great attack against decency and dignity that so nearly suceeded..There is no time and probably no need to recall the record..The twelfth year is opening..It may be the final chapter...The plans call for the military defet of Germany this year..But it requires courage to look at the future..Today Hitler made his usual speech..maintained again that Britain started the war..that Germanys defeat will mean the triumph of Communism..It was the old story.. But the speech should be placed alongside his Order to the German troops in Italy..The two together explain the strategy..To the Germans fighting in Italy he said..You must fiercely contest every yard of ground because sucess would have important political repercussions...You will notice that

Hitler puts the emphasis on the political results..His hope is that if the price of advance is high enough the allies may weary of the task..that the grand alliance may fall to quarelling..and that above everything else that the german reserves may be sufficient to beat back the allied invasion from the west...The Germans today are sustained by the unity of desperation. ..the fear of terrible retribution if they lose...The hope of doing a deal not dead..meanwhile the german armies and air forces are fighting with undiminished ferocity..there has been some deterioration in the morale of U boat crews..they no longer press home their attacks with the old reckless ness..but there is no reliable evidence that the german armies or the german home front is in danger of cracking..Those who predicted that Berlin would c ollapse under sustained bombing were wrong...Every report reflects a sullen bovine determination..Germany is living dangerously in Russia and in Italy..hoping for the political repercussions..that would permit her to escape final defeat....In less than ten years Germany under National Socialism came terribly near to complete victory in Europe..For many decades men have talked of the need for unity in Europe..some kind of United States of Europe..The Germans achieved the unity..by force..if they had had a policy based upon anything but force,exploitation and degradation..they might by now have united the continent..might have created an economic, political and military unit of great strength and promise..The Germans by force secured controll of the continent of Europe..some day,perhaps by the end of this year the allies will do the same thing...and will be called upon to solve the problems that the Germans couldnt solve..The fashion here is to speak not of invasion of the continent but of its liberation..But that does not necessarily mean the re establishment of the old order..Indeed

most of the exiled governments in London..and most of the information coming out of the continent..seems to indicate that there is little desire to return to the old order...The Germans smashed that...The problem that confronts the allies ..that is the major problem outside the field of military strategy..can be simply stated..It is to devise a technique of liberation..The first efforts in this direction can hardly be called encouraging..In North Africa two of our principal collaborators will shortly be placed on trial by their fellow countrymen..In Italy allied support continues to be given to the King and Badolio...The young men from the north who,believing what they hear on the radio about allied principles,risk their necks to reach the south,find that they arent wanted...People retunning from Italy report that there is bitterness and disillusionment amongst the people who were warmest in their welcome for the allied forces...The opening stages of the liberation of Poland have done much to demonstrate that there will be many problems after the fighting ends... It would be unwise to conclude that the final pattern for liberation has been set..One important test of allied policy will be the distribution of food and relief...Last week the House of Commons voted three hundred and twenty million dollars as Britains contribution to UNRA..No one questioned the amount..when it was stated that rationing might have to be continued in order that food could be sent to the continent..no one complained..the real questione were those of policy.. Members wante assurances that food wouldnt be used as a form of political blackmail..they wanted to know how the men who distribute it will be selected..In other words they wanted to be sure that United Nations relief wouldnt be used as a political weapon..and there

was also a demand that Britain and American business shouldnt try to establish themselves thru relief and that russia shouldnt use relief taxxxx as a foundation for political propaganda...My colleague George Moorad cables from Cairo that the Wxx New York reports of a huge oil deal in Saudi Arabia have creasted something of a sensation in the middle east.(.He says that opinion out there runs something like this.(If the Petroleum reserve (orporation teamed with private oil companies is planning to tap the fabulous resources of Saudi Arabia with a network of pipelines leading into a giant american refinery at Alexandria..then good old generous lend lease uncle sam has sudently revealed himself as a tough Yankee trader.).Such axxxx action would mean that America has jumped into the worlds most complicated political hotbed and emerged with a first rate diplomatic and economic victory..But Moorad adds that no one in Cairo is willing to talk about this story..and he adds that one man who ought ot know said that there was nothing in this story that wasnt true a year ago..Traditionall the Middle (st is Britains sphere of influense...but any American plan to develop the oil resources would require hard and fast agreements with the Egyptian government and with king Ibn Saud..Officials in London wont talk about this matter but on the face of it there seems little likelyhood that a xxxxx deal of the nature described has been made...British and American policy in regard to Spain Argentina Bolivia seems to be a joint xxxxxxxx affair..and most people here would be surprised if any plan to develop the resources of the middle east wasnt a joint undertaking...The British enjoy something of a reputation for looking ahead....they are said to calculate their moves well in advance and to always be guided by self

interest...The record of their policy for the past twenty years doesnt seem to bear that out..Their mistakes and misjudgements ahve been many and varied..but the last week produced ~~omx~~ many signs of long range planning.. The real basis of the talk was the Empire and Commonwealth..a truly strange thing about the British empire is that it was ever created and the second strange thing is that it holds together..it covers a quarter of the earth and contains a quarter of the earths population..it is in every continent and somewhere touches every sea....But the British arent an empire minded people..or at least they havent been..before the war the house of commons devoted only one day a year to the discussion of colonial affairs..... Knowledge of the dominions is very limited..I have known many australians ~~xxx~~ Canadians and New Zealanders who have come to this country to fight and they have been surprised and a little hurt that the people of this country knew so so little about their homelands..The British took their Empire the way they took their weather..it was just there and presumably it always would be... When Britain was in trouble the Dominions always rallied round..During normal times the Dominions didnt bother much about national defense..that was provided by the royal navy..But this war..and especially Britains view of the world after the war altered all that..It is now clear that a navy is not enough..And as British statesman view the future..they see a powerfull Russia..a more powerfull america ..and an uncertain Continent of Europe.. This Island in terms of land space,manpower,productive capacity cannot meet the future on an equal footing with the other two great powers..Thats why we have heard during the past week voices from Canada,australia ~~xxxx~~ New zealand and London..talking about the future of the British commonwealth.

Sometime during the next few months there will be a conference of Dominions Prime Ministers here in London..there will be talk of many things..of new currency agreements..of a greater paerticipation by the donimions in the con controll of foreign policy..The dominions are free and independent nations.. But two at least of them ahve been seriously threatened in this war..and Britain could not render decisive aid..that had to come from the United States...The problem for the Commonwealth now is how greater Unity can be achieved..how a common policy can be devised in order that the British Commonwealth with its strategic bases ..its great alliance potential..can deal on a basis of equality with the two great post war powers..It is as difficult a problem in political architecture as can well be imagined... Whatever the solution..and no one here expects anything immediate or sensational..this discussion has served and will continue to serve as a constant reminder of the problems of Empire..~~Thatzxmaxexzmorexintrestzxzxzx~~ There is I think more interest in The British Empire in this country today than at any time during the last twenty years..~~xBritixhxindifferencezx~~ The British publics indifference to problems of Empire was demonstrated ~~xixthexx~~ when t heir far eastern empire was lost in a hundred days..True they were angry about Singapore because they knew someone had made a mess of the plans. but they were much angrier about the german battleships running thru the channel..they didnt realise the strategic and economic loss suffered in the far east..as the time approaches when British boys will have to fight to ~~regainx~~ reconquer those territories people begin to ask questions as to what is going to be done with them..That is a long range political fact of the greatest importance..for it means that as a result of this new interest public opinion will finally be brought to bear on the conduct of colonial

affairs...All this talk about the c loser co ordination of the British Commonwealth is essentially talk about the post war world..~~Thez~~~~Unitx~~zxzx Relations with the dominions..so far as the war is concerned are allright but its the period after the end of the war that concerns those who are making the plans for a greater sharing of responsibilty and authority between this Island and the Dominions overseas...

Marrow - 6:30.- Feb. 13th, 1944

That ancient but able London Editor Mr J.L. Garvin has written an admirable summary of the last week..He says.."A considerable part of the British people have been lured into a mental attitude which is like sitting with your head in the rainbow and your feet in the bog..Uncomfortal common sense tells them that they are neither happy in their feet nor clear in their heads "..This curious state of affairs..head in the raibow and feet in the mud..has been brought about by the conviction that victory in Europe this year is absolute..not conditional..There is in this country a cobmination of fatigue and optomism..or at least there was..Events in the Anzio bridgehead have served to remind people that the landing on the continent is not going to be easy or cheap..Mr Churchills assurance that the Battle for Rome will be won..that Generals Wilson and Alexander are confident of the outcome..has done much to reasure opinion but it has not banished xxx uneasiness..There is developing a feeling that the liberation of the continent may be more difficult.. more costly than many had believed...The Chair borne commentators in London are inclined to hold their fire about the conduct of operations in the bridgehead..most of them call for more speed and audacity..many believe that we were so surprised at the fact that we surprised the Germans we failed to seize the opportunity..But the fact is that no one can xxxxxxx asses the tactics or the generalship of the Anzio landing till the whole pattern of this and related operations emerges..The Germans have brought troops down from the North of Italy,and they have brought them from France and the Balkans..they have demonstrated again as they did in Sicily that there are methods of fighting offensively and defensivly without benefit of much air cover..and that long range

strategic bombing,even against supply lines as tender as those stretched the length of Italy,cannot prevent the enemy moving both troops and supplies and in considerable quantities...Thats something that must be remembered in calculating the problems of the second front in the west.. Our air offensive from this island has been demonstrating its power .. the heavy bombers have flown thirteen missions in the last sixteen days.. ..on some days as many as two thousand sorties have been flown..and with very little loss..It is clear that the Germans are refusing combat... except when the big bombers go for targets deep inside germany..they are hoarding their defensive strength for the day..Risking them only when our bombs are aimed st the productive heart of Germany...American marauders have flown mission after mission against those military installations in Northern France,many times without seeing an enemy fighter,hundreds of allied fighters have swept the coasts of France and Belgium..and most of the time the Germans have refused combat...Their fighter strength is believed to be as great as it was a year ago..they have been making small use of the Luftwaffe on the eastern front..so the conclusion is that Germany is holding as much fighter strength as she can for the big test.. Enemy bomber strength in the west is still considerable..and that too is being hoarded..The recent raids on London and the south of England may have been carried out for propaganda purposes..ceratinly the Germans have exagerated both numbers and damage as they have never done before..but it is also possible that they are training pilots and crews for work against ports and other points of concentration...The shipping and the stores required for the invasion of the continent will be enormous..and such movements are difficult if not impossible to conceal from enemy reconnaisance...

When the Germans do send a few planes over these nights,the sky above London is one great reippling roaring carpet of sound..and then early in the morning you may hear the American heavies mumbling their way out to coast..But for people here the air war has become a steady unsensational pounding..that is for those on the ground...xxxx xxx Last week the Bishop of Chicester stood up in the house of xxxxxxx Lords and objected to what he called blind bombing of the enemy..Dr Lang formerly Archbishop of Canterbury associated hiself with the protest..Neither churchman got much satisfaction from the governmet..merely a promise that the bombing would increase...The House of Commons wanted to know something about the powers of Lord Woolton,the minister of Reconstruction..it seems hes to be a co ordinator without much power over the various government departments.. There was much talk of politics..The government nearly lost the by election at Brighton,normally one of the safest conservative seats in England..and now two more independent candidates have appeared to contest the next two by elections...Mr Churchill wrote another letter appealing for unity behind the coalition government...The general coal position didnt improve any... in fact it may have grown a little worse..There was more talk about houses after the war..it was decided that Christmas bonuses would not be subject to income tax..Two foreign office advisors were appointed to the censorship department and ixxrequirexxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx not many people believe they are there to censor material on the grounds of military security...Looks more like a move to prevent people knowing whats being decided in the economic and political field..There was some talk about fuller recognition for the French National Comittee in Algiers,most people think that will have to come eventually anyway...The President of the

Board of Trade refused to controll the shape or size of womens hats... admitted the job would be too much for him..so women can still chooses their own hats..and men can have cuffs on their trousers again..The so called utility suits are to be used to clothe people on the continent..and British tailors say that will ruin the market for British made clothes... Those suits wont be a very good advertisement for any tailor..British foreign correspondents in Stockholm and in Turkey had a busy week..Its clear that Finland has had enough...The Finnish radio said..we want peace but as we have not yet received an answer to our question what this peace would be like ,we have followed our wait and see programme..Radio and newspapers in the Finnish capitol make it clear that Mr Cordell Hulls advice reached receptive ears..thexsammzmrgamsxzx at the same time Moscow reinforced it with bombs and with threats..Its clear that if the Finns want peace..and like everyone else they do..they will have to go to Moscow for ~~thmzkxmazxsmdx~~ them..There is a note in the Helsinki press and radio that reflects a hope that American intervation may ease Russias terms..but there is no echo of this from Moscow...This weeks British Magazine Punch remarks that a leading politician of one small country states that in the event of peace his country will remain neutral..Punch is a magazine devoted to British humour...It would appear that Turkey has decided to stay neutral...the Ankara talks with the British delegation are deadlocked...and Von Papen the German ambassador has given a huge party to celebrate the event..One thing is clear,Turkey for the time being is not to play the role for which she was cast at Teheran..Ankara seems to have adopted the motto that used to adorn Steve Earlys desk in the White House..It read as I recall it ..we aint mad with nobody..One British

Correspondent in Ankara reports that the Turks say..Britian is our ally but Germany is our friend..Most reports agree that Turkey wanted more arms and supplies and didnt get them..that the turks,many of them,are convinced of an early german collapse in the South West Europe and want to increase their strength against the outbreak of peace...On the other hand Turkey may not have received the assurances she wanted from Russia but if she cant get those assurances now she will be even less likely to receive them after the war has been won..On balance it would seem that the break down of the talks in Ankara reflect allied strength rather than weakness.. Finlans adopts a wait and see attitude about how to get out of the war and Turkey takes a similiar line about getting into it..XXXXPerhaps this brief summary of the week will show why Mr Garvin concluded that many people here have achieved a mental attitude which id like sitting with your head in the rainbow and your feet in the mud..neither happy in feet nor clear in head.. Many of the matters engaging attention have been on the edge of Europe and indeed on the edge of the war..The arguments about preserving monasteries and ruins in Italy would probably seem rather academic to the men who are being shelled from those positions..There has been much correspondence on this subject in London Newspapers..it is probably a waste of paper..No allied commander has aquired a reputation for the wanton destruction of historic monuments.. though some have been and more probably will be destroyed..Such decisions cannot be taken by anyone except the commanders in the field...

The bitter fighting at Anzio has removed the rainbow that has blurred the vision of some people..The armchair critics are calling for more daring..for more flexible plans..greater daring..the taking of bigger

risks...Maybe they know what they are talking about...maybe they dont... The kix military historians will be arguing about it for a long time even when all the orders and battle plans are available for study..But Salerno and Anzio prove one thing..one thing beyond the courage and toughness of the troops that fought the actions..and that thing is that the Germans are determined to defend the coasts of Europe with all the cunning and tenacity of which they are capable..It has been demonstrated that air cover cannot be complete and continous..that the weather may sometimes defeat us..that long range strategic bombing cannot immobilise an enemy working with the kind of communications he will have in western Europe... There are entirely reliable reports,that in Holland ,Denmark Belgium and France large coastal areas have been evacuated,thatorders have been given that everything should be burnt in case of a German withdrawal..and in some cases demolition squads have been ordered to blow up all buildings that might be used as shelter for troops...The German strategic reserves.. the mobile forces held ready to be moved to any threatened point are numerous,well equipped and well trained..many of them are battle wise veterans...The Germans may buy time with space in Russia..they may sacrafice ten divisions,as they seem to be doing in the south,to accomplish it..But the signs are that they mean to fight in the west..Both militarily and morally we can learn from the experience at Salerno and Anzio..There will xcome a time when the Germans must decide whether to use their major strength in the east or the west..Having given up hope of defeating the Russians in the field..what remains to them as a method of escaping destruction..Surely their one hope must be to throw back the allied invasion from the west while holding the Russians out of Germany proper..

If that could be done,our friends on the continent would lose heart..the Russians certainly would not be encouraged..the Germans might hope for a compromise peace..Hitler has said that Britain has lost her place on the Continent..that there can be only one victor..Russia or Germany..This might mean that he has decided to hold off the invasion from the west at all costs..even at the cost of Russian occupation of part of Germany...For Politically and militarily the Germans have only one chance of aveiding complete and utter defeat....and that is to smash the invasion from the west...If that is true,then we must expect to meet within a matter of days or weeks of our landing on the continent the full weight of an unprecedented counter attack..supported by whats left of the Luftwaffe. ..the whole thing driven by the german realisation that this is their only chance to avoid retribution for their crimes..I am aware that there is a school of thought that maintains that Germany will crack under the increasing weight of allied bombing..That might happen..if it did it would be the first time such a thing has happened..There is no evidence whatever that German morale in Italy..or in the Divisions encircled in Russia..has broken..They are fighting with the determination of troops that are well lead and well trained...I believe that all the signs point to a German decision to win or lose this war in the west..Their defences do not depend upon concrete and barbed wire on the beaches..a landing can be made anywhere..at a price..It is the decision as to where the major force shall be employed that counts..and it seems reasonable to suppose that the Germans will strip their eastern front to get men and machines for the west..for in that way..and in that way only can they see a chance of avoiding defeat..If that be true then Anzio and Salerno have been merely advance warning of what is to come...

S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

Edward R. Murrow

(February 20 - July 23, 1944)

C.B.S. EDWARD MURROW SUNDAY, 20th February, 1944.
1830 - 1845 B.S.T.

The events of the last few months have revealed one fundamental aspect of Allied policy. A careful study of all the conferences ... all the negotiations and all of the censorship regulations, brings one to the conclusion that political decisions are being postponed. That would seem to be the lesson of Moscow and Teheran, of Italy and Finland and Poland. When it is necessary to make a political decision, the decision is quite naturally dictated by military considerations and is often designed to be only a stop gap. It is asserted both here and in Washington that ~~the recognition of Badoglio~~ there is nothing final about the recognition of Bagdolio's government. The terms that the Russians will eventually lay down for the Finns will be dictated primarily by military considerations. The problem is not how to get Finland out of the war ... it is how to get Finland into the war and on our side. It is similar to the problem we faced when negotiating the Italian surrender. The present exchange of correspondence between Mr. Churchill and M. Stalin is an effort to postpone political decision ... likewise the deliberations of the European Advisory Committee here in London are concerned mainly with surrender terms ... in other words, the three countries are attempting to agree about the conditions under which a German surrender will be accepted ... that is primarily a military problem. The Advisory Committee is not dealing with frontiers or with economic agreements or with political

alliances. This postponing of political decisions, except in so far as they are forced by the conditions of battle, may or may not be wise but it is happening... You can argue that decisions taken piecemeal may prejudice or condition future political agreement ... but on the other hand, who is to say how far the governments in exile represent the temper and opinion of their countries ... who can be sure of the political complexion and the foreign policy of the United States a year from now ... and indeed who can be confident that the present British government can speak with authority about post war political agreements. It almost seems that delay is inevitable if the decisions are to reflect the will of the people. The political position in Britain is obscure - probably unpredictable - but nevertheless I should like to talk about it for a few minutes. It is in one way a satisfying subject because if my analysis ... which is based on ten years of pretty close study .... should be wrong, no one, not even the most experienced politician in this country can prove that it is wrong. You will remember that when Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister, he formed a coalition government and a party truce was declared. It was agreed that when a seat in the House of Commons became vacant, it would be filled by a man of the same party ... in that way the relative strength of the parties in the House would remain unchanged. For about a year and a half this system worked very well. But during the last few months, more and more independent candidates have been contesting by-elections ... and in some cases winning them ... that

happened a few weeks ago in the Skipton division, and last week it happened again in West Derbyshire ... The Government candidate was a young officer, Lord Hartington ... The Prime Minister, as leader of the Tory party, supported him. Leaders of the other two parties also asked the electorate to vote for Lord Hartington. The truce was observed so far as the party leaders were concerned ... ~~xxxxx independentxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Alderman White, the son of a shoemaker, was the independent candidate. Now West Derbyshire is traditionally a safe Tory constituency. Lord Hartington, an army officer, is a Tory ... he was backed by all three parties and he was soundly beaten ... the voting was heavy ... and the campaign, judged by English standards, was pretty acrimonious. It was alleged that His Lordship didn't know how to milk a cow, although nobody seemed quite clear as to why his failure to master this art ~~xxxxx~~ should disqualify him as a member of the House of Commons. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx

doesn't seem to diminish the independents' enthusiasm for the Prime Minister ... It is indeed a curious state of affairs, when all of the parties combined cannot elect their candidate. ~~Ikxixxxy~~ ~~xpinimxthatxitxisxmorexthanxcurious~~ Many people here think it's more than curious ... they believe it's encouraging. It is certainly a demonstration of tough minded independence on the part of the voters. It's always necessary to keep in mind the conditions under which these elections are held ... people have been stumbling about in the dark for four and a half years ... the individual's freedom of choice has been gradually restricted ... he can't travel, unless he's willing to put up with a great deal of discomfort ... he spends a lot of time standing in line to buy things and then must take whatever the store-keeper or the butcher hands him ... the voter can't spend his money on clothes ... often he can't even spend it on drink ... the government tells him how many eggs he may have in a given month xxxx - if he's lucky ... how much money he can spend to repair his house ... the list of restrictions is almost endless ... but the citizen can express his independence and perhaps even his irritation during a by-election ... that's his chance to say to the government ... we don't like the man you want us to elect and we're going to say so. There is another element, and that is the belief that candidates are often selected by party headquarters here in London, without much prior consultation with the local political leaders. Then, too, the independent candidates generally promise to do great things about post war planning, while the Government

men must restrict themselves to such plans and policies as the government has announced. There's another consideration ... though probably a minor one ... In this country a Member of Parliament need not reside in his constituency ... a man may live in London and represent voters in the north of England or in Cornwall ... it's as though ~~the~~ a resident of New York could be elected to the Senate for the State of Washington. The recent by-elections here indicate something of a preference for local men, since they know the special problems - particularly the post war problems - that will confront the towns and villages in their constituency. ~~There appears to be a general trend towards the left, but it is not very pronounced~~ A great deal of the argument in these local elections has to do with post war affairs. One gets the impression that the support for Mr. Churchill as a war leader is as great as it ever was, but that the qualifications of the Prime Minister and of his party to deal with post war problems is seriously questioned. Mr. Churchill has been very cautious about ~~promising~~ making promises for the future. That was one source of his strength during the days when the future appeared very dark ... for then he refused to promise an easy passage, and if, as has been predicted, he asks for a vote of confidence in the House of Commons, to offset the government's defeat in West Derbyshire, he will certainly get it, probably unanimously. Britain has lived dangerously for almost four years ... the government has made unprecedented ~~demands~~ demands on industry and individuals... there is more equality in this country today than

ever before ... and there is probably more willingness to experiment. ~~Manymnewandunexpectedthingshavehappenedtothiscountry thatpeople~~ But the independence of the ~~individual~~ individual ... his determination to vote as he pleases, ~~not~~ no matter what the party chiefs in London may say, is still here. There hasn't been a general election in this country since 1935 ... that means that there are people 30 years old who have never voted. There have been great movements of population. The coalition government, watched by the House of Commons, has been ~~ruling~~ governing very largely by executive decree. Such a condition lasting over four years, coupled with accumulated fatigue, might have produced political apathy and indifference, but it hasn't. Hitler once boasted that the strength of National Socialism was that it would force those who feared it to imitate it. That hasn't happened here. ~~Thenext testofpolitical strength~~ The solution of political problems in Britain has been postponed, as have most of the international problems and probably for the same reason ... it is impossible to secure a full expression of opinion upon which policy can be based. ~~Nextbeforeshireandotherbyelectionsmayhavegiventhesecretary ofstatefor~~ ~~Thereshouldbeabyelectionsthatcanbeconsidered~~ I have no interest in British politics except to try to understand them, but this island is terribly close to Europe, where I saw democracy die or commit suicide ... and the real importance of recent political events in this country is nothing more than a reaffirmation of belief in political democracy

A striking demonstration that the right to oppose the government may be exercised without ~~damaging~~ weakening the will to win the war. Somehow that seems important.

JANET MURROW -C.B.S. 27,February,1944.

REVIEWED AND PASSED
U. S. ARMY
27 FEB 1944
PRESS CENSOR
C.S.A.

If any of you have sons or brothers or husbands who've been hospitalized in this island,you may be sure they're being well taken care of. Many of the finest doctors,surgeons,and nurses have left the United States for foreign service. I'd like to tell you how they've established themselves here..So far I've met units from Brooklyn, Pittsburgh and New York City. Their new quarters may be a very military Nissen hut encampment,and old British hospital,or a modern brick building with central heating. Most of their equipment is American;but sometimes they've improvised by combining American and British. Furniture,work benches and tables they've often made from scrap materials. An X-ray man admitted that he'd tried to model the lay-out of his department after the one he'd had at home - "So I wouldn't get too homesick",he added. The medical and surgical units over here say that they're more comfortable than they'd expected to be. They have roofs over their heads,floors under foot,and coal fires to keep them warm. The most popular man in a Nissen hut encampment is the one who understands coal fires. "Oh,dear," said one nurse,"Joe's our man on fires to-day. We have seven stoves,in our hut and he just gets one lighted as another goes out. He'll be stoking fires all day.at this rate".

But they're getting used to the cold. They even enjoy complaining about it. They all admit England must be beautiful in the Spring. But they'd rather talk about home. You enter the ward of almost any General Hospital and you'll find 30 to 40 beds. Unless the patients are sleeping all heads turn toward the door. Any new person interests them. The only question that's needed to start a long conversation is "Where do you come from in the States". They pull our letters from their mothers or sisters - or pictures of their wives and children which they want to share with you.

REVIEWED AND PASSED

They talk about their last furlough at home and about ~~the trip across~~ the trip across the ocean and how they met with their accidents. You meet a member of the air force who lost his hands from frost-bite. He has the courage of great men. An architect before the war he cheerfully tells the doctors that if they can only fix it so he can hook a pencil on something he'll be all right. The doctors point out that with the exception of the airforce men most of the cases in the General Hospital to date are very much like those you'd find in a civilian hospital at home. Perhaps one boy drove his jeep into the back of a truck;or another has 'flu';or a third was knocked down by a bicycle in the black-out. "And is my face red," the boy will add.

The boy with the Czech accent comes from South Bend, His greatest worry is that his broken ankle will keep him from joining in wih the invasion of the continent. The negro boy in the corner is asleep after an operation,but I admire the smiling picture of his girl attached to the head of his bed. All America is represented in these wards. And it looked good to me.

But I want to tell you about another service for your men over here. That's the Air Evacuation of patients which has been organized by a section of the 9th Air Force. I've just been on a trip with them and watched flight surgeons,nurses,and technicians at work. Since Air Evacuation was first started in the Pacific in 1942 and continued in the Mediterranean area - 150,000 wounded and sick have been carried safely to the rear. And now in the European Theater the Air Evacuation Squadrons are training to do the biggest job yet done in this war. The priciple is ti that the transport planes which carry supplies to the combat zone shall return with the severely wounded. The planes are fitted to carry 18

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E.T.O. U.S.A.

litter patients. The specialized medical personnel of a squadron is made up of 6 flight surgeons,25 nurses,and 25 men technicians. A few of the nurses used to be airlines hostesses at home but most of them are new at flying. All of them have had some training in the United States and they wish that they were working under combat conditions right now.

But at the moment they are perfecting their team work by flying sick men from remote hospitals to the General Hospitals. One day this week we started off for a bleak airport somewhere in Britain. We came down,taxed into position,and at a given signal the Red Cross ambulances approached the plane to which their patients had been assigned. Everything has been planned with the greatest precision. It takes just 20 minutes to load the plane. It doesn't matter how many planes are to be loaded - it still takes twenty minutes to do the job. Each patient has his medical history pinned to his coat. Clutched in his hands are small personal belongings - pictures,writing pads. The litters locked in place,we take off. Some of the boys are nervous. They've never flown before. The flight nurses and the technician walk up and down the plane reassuring,chatting,and covering patients with blankets. The plane is fitted with everything to make it a flying hospital ward - but on these practice trips blood plasma and drugs are not needed. We fly very low and in formation. It's a bit rough and some people - including me - are sick. We are all administered to with promptness and efficiency. At last we reach the airdrome near the General Hospital. One hour after the wheels touch down the patients are in bed, medical histories checked,and temperatures taken.

Our Army is known to be the best equipped,the best fed army in the world. From what I've seen of the preparations for the care of the wounded it's medical service is second to none.

 Munroe Feb 27th

Mr Churchill is a journalist and historian as well as being Prime Minister.. His speeches represent the only absolute statements of British policy..Last week he made his first major speech in five months..It was what journalists call a sitmationer..He surveyed the war situation...His lead was a strong warning against optomism..the enemy is still strong.xpxexsmsx posesses great skill in the handling of troops and in rapid movement from place to place... The fighting quality of the troops is high..There was no assurance that the European war would end this year...Then the Historian spoke,recounting the record of the Royal Navy,which accounted for more than half the submarines sunk during the last year..Merchant seamen lost amounted to about one fifth of the number engaged..The Prime Minister went thru the rscord of the RAF ..almost fifty thousand men killed or missing..ten thousand aircraft lost since the war began..When the invasion comes American and British troops will land in roughly equal numbers..It was clear that Mr Churchill had been irritated by statements that Britain wasnt pulling her weight..was leaving the fighting and the dying to others...So he tried to put the record straight There was a promise of tremendous air onslaughts to come and a warning that german retaliation might assume a more serious character..And them Mr Churchill began to speak as Prime Minister..he was talking of British policy ..and what he said was cautious and important...The time for decisions is a pproaching and the Prime Minister wants to postpone the decisions..This is no time for idealogical preferences for one side or the other he said.. British support must be given to whoever fights the common enemy..In Italy it goes to the King and Badolio,because they are the legitimate govt.. and he wasnt sure that any other government could command the obedience of the Italian armed forces...

Maybe it would be possible to form a broader based government once Rome is taken,but that couldnt be said with certainty..so thax British policy in Italy is continued support for the King and Badolio...The position in Jugoslavia is this..Marshall Titos forces are holding down almost as many German divisions as we are in Italy..therefore British support goes to Tito ..the Jugoslav government in Cairo is thrown overboard..but King Peter is still acceptable..said Mr Churchill..we cannot dissacoite ourselves in any way from him...So the policy in Jugoslavia is based on military considerations and high regard for monarchy...In dealing with Poland the Prime Minister again urged that political and territorial problems should be left till after the war..but he agreed that the Russian demands about her western frontier were just..He had agreed with Marshall Stalin that Poland should obtain compensation at the expense of Germany,both in the North and West..Mx There was no question of the Atlantic Charter applying to Germany..and it would appear from Mr churchills speech that there is no question of it applying to Poland either..Near the end Mr Churchill reverted to the role of reporter and warned that a lot of rough things would be said about Britain during our presidential election he suggested that Britons be not too much concerned about such xxxx such statements...Mr Churchill was steering a middle course... desiring to postpone territorial and idealogical issues till the war is won.. But about Poland ..or rather the eastern provinces of Poland he was very clear..He supports Russias claims..In doing so he follows the dictates of British policy and geography..this island must if it is to live,be in close association with a strong power on the continent of Europe..when this wa war is over Russia will be that strong power...and as the debate following the speech demonstrated..America will be the other strong power..As Mr Hore

Belisha remarked..when this is over no one expects America to pick up her marbles and go home..So Mr Churchill warned against over optomism,reviewed British achievments and sacrafice,agreed that Russias demands against Poland should be met..and for the rest advocated delay in dealing with all political and territorial questions..with policy to be determined solely by military considerations... Some of his critics call it a policy of expediency,even a denial of past pledges..But Mr Churchill believes it to be the best means of winning the war in the shortest time..and there is another aspect of long range British policy..for a long time they have held the balance of power on the continent...using their strength and influence to prevent domination by one power...their policy has been vague..hard to pin down..always flexible...they have tried to preserve their freedom of maneuvre..Now many believe that they must attempt a similiar role in the world wide balance of power..thats why Mr Eden speaks of Britains alliance potential...No one can predict the political complexion of Europe or of the world after this war...But Britain proposes to come out of it with the fewest possible comittments,territorail and political..for by so doing she will be able to adjust her policy to events..will have the maximum room to maneuvre in a contracting world..That I think is the true significance of Mr Churchills speech..to warn that the war will be hard..to remind allies of Britains effort and sacrafice and to make political and territorial comittments only when they are forced by military events or are likely to advance the prospects of victory...It is courage in the present and caution about the future. and there are no signs that any large number of people disagree with Mr Churchills leadership...

But more interesting than British policy is the vast number of American troops in this island..the men who will eventually influence American policy...~~They are changing~~..Today they are training,they are tougher than than they were before the North African expedition..They are thinking more.. The weekly discussion groups are having an effect..I have had some experience with them..These men arent interested in slogans or opinions..they want facts..when they ask questions about Poland and Russia they want history... not opinion or propaganda... This army isnt a university..no army is..but for one hour a week our troops are talking about issues and ideas..and so far as I can tell no one is trying to sell them anything..~~they are making~~ During the last week ~~I have been driven~~ a boy just out of highschool drove me,with skill and speed,thru a winter night,over twisting English roads,while we talked about ~~what~~ politics and peace...I watched the crews of forty eight Marauders file into the mess hall,heard an old regular army c olonel say, these are the best boys I have ever seen, I flew with them to bomb an airfield in Belgium twenty miles from Germany,watched them work, heard them interrogated when they came back..~~There is no room for error~~ ~~and they are guessing~~ these boys are trained in precision..when the bombs are wide they say so...when the crew chief says the ship will fly he bets the ~~life~~ lives of the crew on his skill and judgement..These young men will come home more mature and a little remote...Some of them will fall ill or be wounded..you ought to know what provision has been made for them... Janet Murrow has spent the last couple of weeks looking into that....

Mar. 5th

LEAD with air warfare news

E.R.M.

The vague sense of uneasiness,the strain of waiting,the feeling of frustration are still here..that is because the average land bound witness cannot fully appreciate what is happening in the sky..Today the allied air forces based in this island enjoy predominance in the air over the continent..and they are fighting to establish the absolute supremacy which is the prelude to invasion...The winning of this victory is a matter of statistics and of men..our full air strength has not yet been deployed..the striking power is increasing daily...and the spirit of the Americans flying from here is higher than it has ever been..From the beginning they were confident,sometimes too confident,but today are battle wise and they are winning..Losses are going down and the depth of pemetration is incraesing.. To praise these men is almost ins olent..They go out to meet death and eternity as casually as they roll dice for a glass of beer..the fighter pilots come back so cold and numb that ground crews have to lift them from the cockpit..thwir faces are sunburned at twenty five thousand feet while their feet freeze..bombers holed by flack comeback with a two hundred mile an hour wind wistling thru them and the temperature sixty below..and in some of the hospitals you will find boys with hands and feet gone..The winning of this preliminary battle is being paid for with the lives of boys many of them old men who are only a few months out of school..their conduct,their courage and good humour are not matters to be found in the communiques..They are engaged in beating down the Luftwaffe and in blasting german factories..their skill is increasing and with it their confidence... The whole pattern of air war is changing..we used to speak of the bombers moon..and now the night bombers stay at home when the moon is bright..day losses used to be greater than night losess but on many recent operations

the figures have been reversed..In the old days of the raids on London a two thousand pound bomb was a big one..and now one RAF squadron is working with twelve thousand pound bombs..A year ago the day bombers had to wait for clear weather but now they are bombing thru ten tenths cloud..and the night bombers thanks to new technical devices are hitting the target more often than they did...But it is well to recognise the limits of air power and particularly the limits in terms of time..given sufficient time and enough b bombers,Germany can be made a desert but its a big place,factories are dispe dispersed and the german repair service is excellent..During the battle of Britain the German ~~fighter~~ bombers beat back the British fighter dromes smashed many a hangar and headquarters building..just as our Marauders are now doing in Northern France..but if the Germans had attempted a landing the they still would have had to face the fixed coast defences and the mobile reserves..such as they were...The German defences in depth are far more formidable than anything Britain had..and their reserves of men and armour are great...The air war is going well but its effect will be delayed and will only become aparent later on..The Germans have demonstrated their ability..in Sicily and in Italy,to fight with little air cover..remember that we have been battling them in the rubble of Casino for more than a moth..Perhaps thats why the past week has found several British spokesman warning of the continued strength of German resistance..Sir James Grigg the war minister used such phrases as utmost resolution..consumate skill.. and most formidable and efficient fighting animal,to describe the German soldier..Other spokesmen talked of the German staffs ability to move troops and eqipment with greta speed even when they lacked command of the air.. The British are stubborn in defeat and cautious at the prospect of

victory..There are those who see in these warnings a reluctance to cross the channel,a desire to postpone the so called second front..but the more realistic interpretation is simply that Britains leaders have learned from Anzio and desire to damp down any belief that the coming operation will be easy or cheap..or that mastery of the air will mean a walk thru on land...

The German bombing of London has been carried out by a mixed force of bombers and fighter bombers,which would seem to prove their shortage of bombers in the west..They have never had more than a hundred planes over London in a single night but we have been warned that they are capable of mounting a much bigger attack..There is no denying that these raids have been unpleasant..all raids are..But the return of night bombers to London has demonstrated that the civil defence organisation is still on its toes.. the fire fighting and the rescue work seems to me to have improved since the old days..The effect on the civil population has been just about what you would expect..there is none of the exhiliration of the blitz days.. When you are cold and tired,particularly tired,bombing is harder to take.. London reaction has reflected fatigue..and theres another ~~aspectx~~ thing about these raids..in the old days there was plenty of gunfire but you could generally hear the bombs coming down..now the barrage is so heavy that you cant hear the planes ~~xxxhxxbombsxtillxthexxarexzx~~ and the whistle of the bombx is lost in that raving roaring noise in the sky..sometimes it sounds like hundreds of wild horses galloping over a ~~w~~ wooden bridge..But if the people of London are tired,the Berliners must be more so..During that black winter of forty forty one some Londoners used to say..how do you think Americans would stand up to bombing...Well we havent had any nights like those,but the Americans here seem to react pretty much as the British do..

They are a little more curious..more inclined to stand in doorways and watch the fireworks ...sometimes ~~they~~ the curious are nicked by falling glass or a small chunk of shell fragment..but our casualties have been light..and those of you who have friends and relations over here should know that their danger is less than that borne by the civilians of London for months on end..XX The talk in Government and business circles is more of the future than of the air raids..During the past three days the Finnish peace barometer has fallen a little..Everyone seems to agree that the Russian terms are reasonable and that the Finns are stalling hoping for better terms or for some kind of guarantee from Britain and America..So far as the British Govt. is concerned that is a vain hope..It would be something new for this country to guarantee an enemy state against an ally..Britain has agreed to the terms set forth by Russia and if those terms are rejected few would be surprised to to see the Russians produce stiffer terms and proceed to enforce them by military action..If that should happen I dont think Britain would try to do anything about it..It does not appear that anyone here takes seriously the suggestion that Finland should be occupied by American troops...XXXXX There is no doubt that Bulgaria is looking for a way out..but not very desperately..The Bulgars seem to have an idea that they should be allowed to retain some of the territory taken from their neighbours..This is not the first Bulgarian peace feeler..nor is it likely to be the last..So far as one can tell the Germans appear unworried about these paace moves at both ends of of Europe...They have done nothing to cushion the shock of such developments for their own people..It may be that one of the most important events of the war occured suddenly last tuesday night..For several days cold winds and sub zero temperatures had promised a prolonged Russian winter..the whole front

was firm and frozen..but Tuesday night the mild weather came..the land was thawing and transport was again confined to the roads..The Russian winter may not have ended but its future is ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~zxz uncertain..The Germans face a dangerous salient in Eastern Poland..but they still hold Vitebsk and their Baltic front is not seriously threatened..and they still hold the Crimea..Viewed against the background of the fading Russian winter the German position in Russia does not appear as desperate as it might have done had the winter lasted another two or three weeks...If the German plan is to fight this war in the west the mud and slush of the Russian front may give them time to ~~xxxxxxx~~x move a few divisions from the east to strengthen their pool of strategic reserves in the west...But the military plans for victory have been made..and while weather on the Russian front and weather in the channel may necessitate changes..the plans have been made and the men have been chosen...But victory will create the conditions in which freedom and ~~xxx~~ peace may flourish..it will not guarantee that such things will come to pass. Sometime before long Mr Stetinius will be coming to London to talk about the future..he'll probably be coming over in about three weeks..and there will be no shortage of subjects for discussion...A lot of things were briefly mentioned at the conference of the big three at Teheran but the details were left till later..Mr Stetinius will have no definite agenda..the talks will range over many things and continents..He will be dealing with very experienced negotiators..One of the problems between nations is the simple one of procedure..For ~~example~~zx example there was talk at Teheran about the ~~disposxxxx~~ disposition of the Italian fleet and substantial agreement was reached...But Mr Roosevelts announcement about the Italian fleet was made without prior warning to the British..the result is that no London paper comments on it

t oday..although there are stories that the Badolio government may resign in protest..a prospect which seems to fill no one with dismay..XXX It is a safe bet that our acting Secretary of State will do much talking about oil a and air..The announcement of our proposed oil pipeline from Saudi Arabia was another surprise to the British..and their reaction to it is in many ways instructive..In kc business and financial circles there is the natural fear of American competition..the instinct of expansion in a young and powerfull nation...I dont know whether we have contributed too much or too little of our oil resources to the common pool..but presumably it was a matter of geography and tankers and anyway who can weigh oil against blood.. But here in Britain the announcement of the pipeline has produced mixed reactions..as I have said it came as a surprise..and surprise is seldom the best method of conducting relations between allies..The first reaction was that this was an example of a combination of Government and private enterprise in search of economic expansion..the fact that Britain proposes to do the same thing was pretty well lost sight of..Then there were second thoughts...The Medd.and Suez represent the lifeline of the British Empire... In this war that lifeline was cut..there was a time when a highly placed American official advised the British to clear out of the Medd.all together. So now certain British politicians say ..what could be better than that the United States should have a stake in the middle east..That will mean that they with us must be concerned about what happens on both sides of the Medd.. They reason that American will be comitted in the Medd.and in the Middle east just as Britain is...And then there are a few who say..who knows what our future relations with Russia may be..some day there may be a conflict ov over the oil of the middle east and perhaps over our whole position at the

bottom end of the Medd...and these people argue..It is in our interest that America too should have interests in that part of the world..The British are old hands at watching economic interests pull political responsibility behind them..that is largely the history of their empire..And so the s tory of British reaction to Americas interest in Middle east oil is very mixed... The same might be said of air bases..whether they be on the west coast of af: Africa or in Australia..air bases like oil wells cannot be divorced from th hinterland..they do not exist in a vacuum..and the price of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ profit whether national or corporate..is spelled out in terms of the ~~willing~~ willingness of the nation to defend with force the interests it has established in far corners of the world...This whole problem of American or British interestes and responsibilties in the middle east or in Europe or anywhere else can be reduced to very s imple terms...Have we the power ~~xxxx~~ and the determination to carry out the comittments we make...In c onnection with oil from the Middle east are we prepared to face the political and ~~xxx~~ military problems that will flow with the stream of oil...Right now we are standing out of the dispute between Poland and Russia about post war frontiers..and not only because this is election year..but because we know that American opinion is unlikely to sanction the use of force to oppose Russias demands in that area...The Poles understand that...The problem that will confront Mr Stetinius..and it will confront the British with whom he talks no less..is to devise a plan for the future w hich will command the allegiance,not only of the present governments in Britain and America ,but of future governments which may resemble those of Mr Coolidge and Mr Baldwin Unless that can be done,the men who live thru these next few months,the men in the air and on the ground,the men who risk their lives with a grin

w ill have questions to ask...And they will be hard to answer..Thexzhaxexzxz
bnughtzwithxtheirxzxzx

This is Edward R Murrow in London..Now back to Warren Sweeny in NY..

1. Munrow. March. 26 —

Tonight at nine O clock..a liittle more than two hours from now..this nation will sit again at the feet of its Prime Minister..Mr Churchill,the man who mobilised the English language and made it fight..in the days when weapons were scarece and many men had lost their faith,will be talking for something like half an hour..For four years he has dominated the political and military life of this country..He has been called an erratic genius/ a c urious combination of ~~afx xxxxx~~ scholar and eighteenth century cavalry officer..there is about him something of the old English pirates and s omet ing of the indestructible juvenile who refuses to grow up..His rhetoric sustained this nation in the dark days because he dug deep into Briatins history and bid the people to be worthy of that history..Mr Churchill has made many speeches but the one he is making tonight will in some ways confront him with new problems...Without in any way revealing what he will say,and its easy enough to avoid doing that ,because I dont know what hes going to say.it might be usefull to examine the background against which this speech will be heard..The climate of opinion here is not what it was when he used to sit in that big cabinet room at Downing Street and hurl defiance at the foe..In those days he was saying what people in thi this island wanted to hear,they were without allies and rather proud of the fact,they were determined and very steady and Mr Churchill was informing them and the world that they were worthy sucessors of the men who built the empire and whose law and literature had spread round the world..Four years ago it was a simple matter of hanging on,and looking to the west ..the choice was simple..high courage,determination and hope..or the end

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of Britain...

The qualities called for were simple and understandable..the fate of the nation was in the hands of the people..if they faltered or flinched all was lost..The Prime Ministers words were words of battle and no one who was here could doubt that they were effective...But today the situation is not the same..There is a growing awareness of the price and the problems of victory..The era of oratory has ended..When decisive action was not possible words served as a substitute..but one has the impression over here that people are word weary and refuse to accept words as a substitute for policy or action..That is perhaps the reason why Mr Cordell Hulls seventeen points and Mr Roosevelts statement about war criminals made no visible impression upon people in this country..Four years of war seem to produce a considerable skepticism about words followed by no action.. What then are the problems confronting Mr Churchill in this speech tonite? In the first place people have come to look to him for information about the way the war is going and it is not easy to give such information in the hearing of the enemy..There is widespread concern about the campaign in Italy..a feeling that we underestimated the sppeed with which the Germans would react and that a costly and prolonged campaign will not yield anything like the results hoped for...Most people will be willing to wait for the military events to unfold but they will require assurance that the unity heralded at Moscow and Teheran has in fact been established..The evidence seems to suggest that it has not,and people are worried..There is a noticeable impatience about the British governments plane for ~~reconstruction~~ reconstruction...Many months ago Lord Woolto the Minister of food who enjoys the confidence of the country because he fed it well and fairly

was appointed Minister of Reconstruction..this week there was a lively debate in the House of Lords in the course of which it became clear that plans for housing and the use of the land arent very far advanced.Lord Woolten sounded unhappy and very vague..and at the end of the debate the Government called on Lord Beaverbrook,who doesnt believe in planning,to defend its policy..The last time Mr Churchill spoke to the nation he said the policy was food ,work and homes for all..tonight when he speaks people ll mant to know whats being done about those three things..This concern with post war problems is widespread and the critics of the government are of the opinion that Mr Churchill isnt seriously interested in post war planning,xadzwonxz hasnt the time to devote to it if he was,and refuses to delegate authority to anyone else..There doesnt appear to be any great optomism about the possibility that the Germans will crack up over night but there is a fear that the peace when it comes may catch this country as unprepared as the war did..Many people will be expecting the Prime Minister to give them some information about British foreign policy,and whether it is co ordinated with that of Russia and the United States,and here again th there are many who maintain that it isnt..For example it is widely believed here that xxxxxxxxxxxxxx president Roosevelt has decided that there is to be no recognition of the French national Comittee..and that during the invasion General Eisenhower shall be empowered to deal with whatever Frenchmen or French parties he may choose..If that is true it doent fit in with the British conception of the way things should be done and France is Britains closest neighbour..It is true that Mr Hull stated we would have nothing to do with the Vichy Regime except for the purpose of

destroying it..But as todays Observer remarks..when General Eisenhower dealt with Darlan did he deal with the Vichy Regime or not..it is astonishing that one of the major issues of Allied policy should have to be left to the decision of the military commander...The fact of the matter is that no one has produced an alternative to General Degaulle and the National comittee..and the feeling is widespread that ~~khexfaikux~~ delay in clarifying allied policy towards France,or of leaving it up to the military commanders,increases the dangerx of civil war and also makes more certain a great wave of Anti British and ant American sentiment in France after the war has been won..This doubt about the wisdom of leaving such decision to the allied commander reflects do criticism of General Eisenhower..the feeling would be the same if such authority should be given to a British General..The British are fond of recalling Clemanceaus phrase,that war is too serious a business to be left to the Generals alone.. So it is against this background of confidence in the military planning and uneasiness about Britains place in the post war world that the Prime ministers speech will be heard...There is as you know a certain sense of frustration in this country..the air war has ~~reachedxproportionzthatxzx~~ outstripped mens experience and immaginations..It has become a weight dropping contest and the damage done is not apparent to the average citizen..the heroism of the boys who fly is almost taken for granted..The small German efforts against London have produced resentment and some nervousness mainly I think because they seem anti climactic..there is none of the high drama of the old days.. To this reporter Britain is like a man who has run a long and tiring race, he feels that the end is near,and is sure that the final sprint is still

but he cant start sprinting till someone gives the signal..for he cant be sure just how far he is from the finishing line..Mr Churchill has often stressed the uncertainties of war and has generally refused to prophesy.. but if he chooses he can tonight start this country into the final terrible sprint..Men who have returned from Russia during the past week tell me that the Russians are filled with a sense of Urgency,almost desperation,to be found in no other country..~~xxxxxx~~ although something of the same thing may be happening in Germany ..Hitlers faithfull are falling back to the Carpathians and the Pruth..the move into Hungary was to meet a threat not to to eliminate one..But there have been no indications that the Germans have been moving reserves to the Russian front..they could spare divisions from Italy and from their great mobile reserve in the west but they havent sent them..The Germans are now engaged in ~~the~~ their greatest and perhaps their last gamble..It is true that their sattelites are finding that the way of the transgressor is hard but their fate is linked with that of Germany ~~xxxx~~ The Hungarians,the Roumanians would like peace and would like to keep some of their spoils but no one has suggested a way for them to do it..The Roumanians fought well in Russia and they may fight well again when defendi defending their own land..The great German gamble is based on time and movement..their war plants have been severely damaged..they probably have five million homeless in Germany..but the fighting quality of their troops is still high and their equipment is still excellent..But they do not have the power to fight great battles in the east and in the west at the same time..Their only hope must be to place their strongest possible force against the invasion from the west..to have it in position at exactly the

right time..Should it arrive too early their plans are revealed and the other fronts weakened at too early a date..If it arrives too late the result is disaster for the German military machine..They have demonstrated their ability to move troops and eqipment at great speed,even when they have very little air protection..They cannot stand the strain of prolonged and costly battles in Western Europe..Not having the force to hold all thxxxx threatened points they must hope to conventrate overwhelming force at one point...They may be gambling that the Red armies will fight less well when they have cleared Russian soil..and no one can be sure about that..But it is ceratin that the Carpathians xxxxx provide many potential Cassinos..and the long Russian supply lines will weaken their hitting power just as the long German lines to the Caucausus weakxxxxxthexzx slowed down xx the rate of their progress..Most of the information reaching London,and there is quite a bit of it,indicates that the Germans have decided to try to get their maximum force to the west,at the place and in time to fight the great battle for Europe..If thatxz they should suceed in throwing us back while at the same time holding the Russians out of the vital heart of Europe,then all estimates of the time and course of the war in Europe would have to be revised..If this is xzxxxxxz an accurate statement of German intention it means that invasion from the west will be the largets and most difficult operation in the history of warfare..and that the price of sucess may be higher than most have believed...And so Mr Churchill faces the task,not only of inspiring this country for the terrible task ahead, but ~~of assuring it that relations today between the powers that will be victorious~~

He will also be expected to remove doubts that have arisen... to give some assurance that the principles and the promises of the grand alliance are now and will continue to be the basis of policy and action.. Thats something to try to do in a forty minute broadcast.. Mr Churchill is the only man in this Government who could attempt it or who would be listened to..for he completely overshadows his colleagues..in the cabinet..you can listen to him at four o clock this afternoon,NY time..He'll be talking then..air raid or no air raid..for one thing the British broadcasters have learned is how to stay on the air during raids...

This is Edward R Murrow in London...Now back to Warren Sweeny in NY

MUNROW - April 2nd

Milita rily last week belonged to the Russians..It seems possible that the next few days w ill see the encirclement and destruction of the German sixth and eigth armies in the Southern Ukraine..The Russians are closing in so swiftly on Odessa that front line dispatches cannot keep up with their advance..The Red armies have outrun their rail and road supplies in an effort to effect the greatest encirclement in this war... The main German base at Lwow still represents a threat..and the Russians must soon decide whether to press forward into Rumania or to allow ~~themxel~~ themselves a breather..time for mopping up and for their supplies to catch up..It may be that the presence of German armies able to strike straight into Zhukovs northern flank will impose caution upon the advancing Russian armies..But ~~already~~already the Germans have suffered a defeat of great magnitutude..compared to this August eigth nineteen eighteen was only a reverse and yet that was enough to break forever the confidence of the then German High Command..There can be no doubt that the Germans have been pulling out of the southern front and it is equally clear that they have been caught before their withdrawal was fully organised. XXX And so last week the military news came from Russia and the political news came from Britain..The so called political crisis here came as a surprise,even to those who engineered it.. but the thing has been brewing for some time..Certain British correspondents in America say that the facts have not been adequately reported..Here is what happened.. On Tues day Mr Butler President of the Board of Education was piloting his new Education bill thru the House of Commons..Without discussing the details of the bill it is safe to say that most people considered it to be ~~x~~ pretty good ~~kikk~~x a long step in the direction of educational progress..A conservative member of Parliament moved an amendment..and

the amendment was that men ans women teachers should receive the same pay..equal pay for equal work..It was argued that doctors who examined school childrens bodies received the same pay whether they were men or women doctors..why shouldnt those who examined their minds be treated in the same fashion..The amendment was the reflection of an attitude thats been growing in this country for a long time..a feeling that women should secure economic equality out of this war just as they secured political equality during the last war..Mr Butler refused to accept the amendment, mainly on the grounds that the principle of equal pay for women should not be tacked onto an education bill,that it raised questions that went far beyond the provisions of this bill..and that it would establish a principle which would mean that women in all government services should receive ~~the same pay~~ equal pay for equal work..Mr Butler beseeched the supporters of the amendment to withdraw it..They refused..A vote was taken..and the Government was defeated..by one vote..There were no cheers. Those who had defeated the Coalition government for the first time in four years looked at one another as if to say..What have we done..In this country there can only be a political crisis when there is a group of men ready and willing to take over the conduct of affairs from the govt. of the day..There was no such group..There was no real desire to throw Mr Churchill and his government out of office..but there was a majority of one that wanted equal pay for teachers..Mr Churchill and his cabinet could have accepted the amendment..but after the defeat the Prime minister chose to crack the whip..to make the ~~matter~~ education bill the subject of a vote of confidence..In other words he said to the house of Commons.. including several younger members of his own party who had voted against the government...

"Either you accept this bill as written or you turn my government out of office"..The result was never in doubt..Many members changed their votes but not their minds..And the Government got its vote of confidence ..425 to 23..The whole basis of the debate had been changed..the question was not..do you believe in equal pay for women teachers..but do you believ that this government should continue to run the war..and to that there could be but one answer even though it ~~xxxxx~~ meant that many members had to vote against their conscience..It has been said that the Prime Ministers action was petty and petulant..that he has developed a kind of Cromwellian complex and is unduly sensitive to criticism..and on this occasion used a sledge hammer to destroy a fly..There may be some small measure of truth in those statements but one must dig deeper in order to understand what happened last week..This is a coalition Government ~~xxxxx~~ composed of all parties..they coalesced on the x matter of defending the realm..The House of Commons passed defense legislation at a dizzy speed. But last week they were discussing post war legislation and Mr Churchill as the leader of a do or die coalition,is different from Mr Churchill the leader of the conservative party.~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~..He has spent most of his life in the House of Commons and there is no greater believer in democratic procedure..but he is a political strategist too..and last week he~~xxxxxxxx~~ deliberately chose to make a major political issue out of a relatively small domestic matter..He refused to have the authority of his government challenged by compartments..so he said to the house all or nothing.. A considerable section of the house resented the tactics but their vote said plainly..we are still with you..and we dont want to change the govt.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ It looks as though the Prime Minister had been

wating to welcome the opportunity of demonstrating his continued controll of this Government..A couple of weeks ago some seventy Members of Parlt. wanted a debate about British policy and the Atlantic Charter..and Mr Churchill said..allright..if you want to make it a vote of confidence you can have the debate ..otherwise not...Then his speech a week ago tonight was not too well received..not so much because of what he said as what he didnt say..The broadcast ranged pretty well all over the world but it said nothing about Europe and the general impression seems to be that it was lacking in lift..It was only when dealing with his critics that the Prime Ministers voice took on that cutting edge formerly reserved for Mussolini. But there is probably a deeper reason for his grasping this opportunity to demonstrate his continuing controll of British affairs..It is widely believed that his ideas of Grand Strategy did not prevail at Teheran ...Then w hen Mr Churchill returned from his convalescence at Marakesch a numberxo of local elections demonstrated the political impatience of the country... Mr Churchill and Mr Eden laboured long and earnestly with the Poles and ent proposals to Moscow..and the result was that both the Poles and the Russians showed a marked lack of appreciation for the British effort .. Then the Prime Ministers critics began to belabour him with the charge that he was indifferent to the problems of the post war world..it became clear that there was no agreed anglo american policy regarding France. It was said that he was too much under the domination of Washington.... There was disappointment about the planning and execution of the Italian campaign...Before long there will be important discussins here in London between Mr Stetinius and his colleagues and the British officials..In view of these developments Mr Churchill may have thought it wise to demonstrate

to Washington and to Moscow and to this country,just who is running this show in Britain...and that he did..There is no doubt that he is displeased by this guurilla warfare in the House of Commons..He is an old man..four years older than when he made those flaming speeches at the time of Dunkirk..He has suffered serious illness..and like the rest of Europe he is tired..but above everything else he is a man of war..the defeat of the enemy is the ma jor objective..The Prime Minister will speak of Homes nd work and rehabilitation when his political advisors tell him it is wise to do so..but the microphone..a very reveling instrument ..shows that his heart is not there..Winston Churchill,probably better than any man in this Island knows the price that must be paid for victory..The ghosts of the men who died at Gillipoli are never far from him..He knows as well as most men the pos ition that Britain will occupy when this war is over..a victorious but weakened power between two emerging states ~~Brix~~ the United States and Russia..~~Hexiszmazzafxthexfewx~~..And so he chose this opportunity to demonstrate that the nation is united behind him in the conduct of this war..and none can doubt that that is true..And so the only conclusin that can be drawn from the so called political crisis here last week is this... So fa r as the conduct of the war is concerned it makes no difference..there is neither a figure or a philosophy to challenge the Prime Minister...His leadership was never in question..that is his war leadership..But the events of the week have demonstrated that a coalition government..where there is no opposition..will work reasonably well in wartime but it will not work when it comes to the consideration of post awr problems domestic or international..There was a time when Mr Churchill could silence Parliament with a frown..they were dust under

the wheels of his chariot..that is still true so far as the war is c oncerned but it is not true where the decisins impinge upon purely domestic post war matters...And there the w hole thing must be left for the time being..The Prime Minister may have made a tactical error in demanding a vote of confidence on a domestic matter..but the fact remains that he got it..that by so doing he chastised the young Conservativ element in his own party and demonstrated that his government still speaks for this country..It is possible that there may be some changes in the British cabinet before long..Today it seems likely that Mr Eden will leave the foreign Office to devote all his time to leading the House of Commons..Mr Eden is the heir apparent in the Tory party..the house is bec oming more res tive..Foreign policy here as at home is largely made by the head of state..The man who directs Britains foreign policy during the coming months will be in a very exposed position..his reputation can be lost overnight..I do not believe that there are serious differences of opinion between Mr Churchill and Mr Eden but the events of the last week demonstrate the need for strong leadership in the House..and in this country a Prime Minister or one who aspires to become Prime Minister must have what is called the House of Commons manner..Mr Eden has the reputation of being a first class negotiator..he has more experience than any other man in this country in the field of Foreign affairs..but if he is to be the next Prime Minister he must spend his time in the House of Commons rather than at the international conference table..Members of the present British govt. are inclined to say that our elections at home are a nuisance and that they introduce an element of uncertainty but in this country politics are present,though less obvious...

Meanwhile the problems of peace are closing in..the French in Algiers have produced a plan for the civil administration of Liberated French territory..it doesnt fit with our plan..The Germans have flooded certain parts of Holland..it will take years to bring that part of th country back to production..and the Dutch Government have said that in view of this fac fact they reserve their right to ask for compendation in terms of German territory..Thats something new

...The feeling in London today is that there is a good chance that something definite will come out of the Finnish Russian negotiatians during the coming week..There is more optomism about getting Finland out of the war than at any time since the war began.....

This is Edward R. Murrow in London..Now back to Warren Sweeny in NY...

Murrow to CBS.. April Nine...

Its a quiet Easter over here..no excursions to the seaside..no trips to the country by car..most people seem to be working in their garden allotments..Early this morning thousands of American soldiers gathered in Hyde Park for the sunrise service..At many airfields bomber crews went to early service and then went out to fight and die in the sky over Germany..Easter and Christmas seem to be the two times when Americans abroad think most of home..Those are two fixed dates on the calendar and the talk generally turns to whether well be home by this time next year.. This isnt a gay easter in Britain..you dont see many new hats and practically no new clothes..there is none of the high drama of Easter in forty and forty one..this is the waiting easter..a week end where many arent working but most are wondering and waiting and many are praying..some perhaps for the first time...The tension is growing in this crowdwd island..the supplies and the men keep pouring in..the fighting chiefs sit in constant conference..The big plans have been made and the details are being filled in..speculation about the future is discouraged. ~~andzthisxsmuntxyxinx~~..This is just about the most solemn Easter this country has ever experienced..Wandering about looking into faces of the healthy well trained ground troops.,observing the confident carriage of the airborne men,studying the ~~xxxx~~ old eyes of the boys who fly..you get the impression that they all know the seriousness of the hour..you even get that feeling talking with the headquarters officers..But the mental attitude of fighting men doesnt make news.~~xHxxxxxxxthexxxxxzxftanzrefhxxt thxzxttitudexofzxzxhxhxzpxxplexxx~~ Their exploits will make news and plenty of it later on...Today there seems to be a reasonable hope that

Britains labour troubles,in the mines and in the shipyards,will soon be solved ..These disputes should not be exagerated..War time labour troubles ahve been barely a quarter as bad as in the last war..The strikes have been outlaw strikes..Some of them have been the work of special agitators but the idea that thousands of miners,most of them with sons or relatives serving overseas, have been the victims of revolutionaryx agitators just doesnt make sense... Most of the stoppages have been caused by minor troubles..but the real cause is decades old..the mining industry in this country has a long and bitter record of dispute between management and workers...After the last war many miners were thrown on the economic scrap heap..and they werent rescued till this war came along..Now they hear much talk about post war planning but their old suspicion and their memories remain..Many of them feel that if they dont win their concessions now,when mining is a vital industry,they wont have much chance of progress when the war is over..The Trades Union congress has described the strikes as a national disaster..and the cabinet has been d[illegible]ting strong measures against strike leaders..It seems that the presure of events will cause the situation to improve but it wont remove the grievences.. and strikes are caused by grievences ..not by agitators..There is no doubt that impatience with wartime regulations,fatigue,and to a certain extent distrust of politicians post war promises ,have all played a part in the present labour troubles..Basicly the situation is a challenge to labours leaders..the loyalty and the xxx sense of responsibility of the miners and the men in the shipyards will probably overcome the present trouble..but most people think the troubles will recurr unless political action is taken to eliminate long standing grievences..Rates of pay,the cost of household coal

working conditions..these are only part of the picture..At bottom there is aprehension about the future and a ~~xxxxxx~~ suspicion that when the war is over the old ways and the old problems will return..This fear of going back to old methods and old policies is basic to much of the concern about the post war world.. Thats why Mr Wilkies defeat in the Wisconsin primaries was a big story over here..Now let it be said that few people in this country know anything about our politics...and the British press is on the whole leaning over backward i an effort to avoid taking sides..but Mr Wilkie had been presented to them as a liberal Republican determined that America should play her full part in the post war world..About Mr Dewey they know less..perhaps if they knew him better they would like him more..I dont know about that..There was a time when Mr Wilkie wasnt very popular in this country..The only point Im trying to make is this..Many Britons remember our withdrawal after the last war..just as the miners remember what happened in the coal fields.. They are afraid that we may return to our old ways..and many of them fear that the news from wisconsin points in that direction....Interest in American politics is increasing in Britain because people know that the outcome will affect them.. and a fear may be no less real because it is immagined..and it ~~xxx~~ has nothing to do with personalities..It is merely the fear of a return to the old system. This concern about going back also plays its part in British attitude towards France..or rather about our policy regarding France....~~xxx~~Our refusal to recognise the French National Comm.has been widely criticised in this country. The Presidents plan..or at least what is believed to be his plan..under which General Eisenhower will be empowered to deal with anyone he chooses in the liberated regions has been belaboured by many an editorial writer..But if the

British have a better policy they have been reluctant to share it with anyone..Thats one of the things Mr Stetinius is expected to talk about... The Manchester Guardian one of the most respected newspapers in this country has this to say about France..It becomes more and more diffieultto understand why the allies hesitate to give to the French Comm. the place given to the exile Governments in the combined arrangements for the liberation of Europe..It has just been announced that a chekoslovak mission will soon leave London for Russia to complete plans for civil administration in liberate ,that Chekoslovak military units will enter chekoslovakia with the Red Armies and that their first duty will be to set up a temporary civil Administration. ..The American apologists for the refusal to put the French Comm. in a similiar position say that they fear that the French Comm. may become so powerfull as to prevent French opinion from asserting itself in the creation of the new France and that it may pursue a vindictive justice in its treatment of thepartisans of Vichy...On this ground it is argued that the American Commander in Chief must be free to choose the best men to speak and act for France..What would be said in the United Sates if Soviet Russia held similiar language and claimed the right to choose the Cheks best suited to act and speak for liberated Chekoslovakia..What sinister designs would be imputed to the Russians...And the Manchester Guardian goes on to claim that the French Comm has a better right than any Government in London to speak for the nation it represents..because it is more closely in touch with opinion inside France..The Guardian is known for its carefull choice of words..but it concludes that the French are now being offered an insult which is open and aparent to the whole world...The Russians have told the Rumanians that they do not propose to carry revolution on their bayonets as they march into

the country..Stalin in his last order of the day said that the Red armies had reached the State borders with Chekoslovakia..by which he meant the Province of Ruthenia..the territory Hitler gave to Hungary when he occupied Chekoslovaki ..It is being said in London today that when the Russians cross the Curzon line Stalin will issue another order of the day promising the integrity ~~afx~~ and independence of a reconstituted Poland..Some day we shall be entering France.. and so far our intentions are obscure...And here again the basis of concern is that the allies will try to re establish the old order..that we will try to go back...as we did in North Africa and in Italy...This is no academic argument..~~Ixxisx~~ Conclusions about future policy can only be based upon what we have done in the past..and so far we have decided to deal with the established forces of reaction...There is prejudice ~~ixx~~ against General Degaulle in high places..the judgement about his character and his ambitions ma may be correct..but if we chose not to recognise the French National Comm. then some workable alternative must be found..and so far no one has proposed one..There seems to be,in certain quarters a belief that a nation ,loses its pride,its nationalism and its historical sense,just because it has been defeated..Every bit of evidence coming out of France refutes that view... It is widely believed here that our mission now in London,headed by Mr. Stetinius,will discuss~~m~~ allied relations with the French National Comm... Mr Stetinius has described ~~kixx~~ the purpose of his visit as " not to conclude agreements but rather to discuss in an exploratory manner,a wide range of subjects..In other words our foreign policy is being made in the White House just as British policy is being made at Number ten Downing St. But it is only necessary to spend a little time with the French and with the Dutch and Norwegians and the Checks..to realise that no two man or two nation

concept of the future will prevail...Proud nations,even though they be small, that have had to take orders from the Germans for four or five years,will not willingly and unquestioningly take orders from Anglo America,even though we are their liberators...We may think them lacking in gratitude,or in realism, but we should not be surprised if they ask for a ~~voice~~ voice in the planning of their own future....The reconstruction of Europe will be a job ~~for~~ not for architects with blueprints but for statesmen..We ha ve here in London an European Advisory Comission..made up of the United States,Russia and Great Britain..one a non European Power..the other two on the edge of Europe...It is time,in the view of many Europeans,that those who must live in the ~~house~~ house,should have some say in the planning of it.. Historically,with few exceptions,victory has bred arrogance in the victors.. ..a desire to make things over ..and in their own immage...We shall not be able to tell the enslaved people anything about suffering or sacrafice or bravery..and unless every sign is false we shall never convince them that they should go back to the old ways and the old leaders,the old priviledges and the old inequalities..Revolutions do not leave things unchanged..As a woman wrote from occupied Europe the other day..~~you~~ after victory you must be very patient with us..for we shall be very impatient...

Murrow to CBS... April Sixteen.....

London is again becoming the cross roads of the world ..returning to the position she held in forty and forty one..when journalists and statesmen came here to discover whether the island would hold...Toda y they are c oming in even greater numbers..to watch the great air armadas go out ..to wait for D day..and to shape the c ornerstones of peace ...Untill the day of the assault arrives the allies are using two principle weapons..bombing and blockade...The bombing has certainly reduced germanys ability to make war..but there is as yet no concrete evidence that it has reduced her will to wage war..There are important holes in the blockade...Our flyers destroy Germanys ball bearing plants, and at great cost in men and machines..but ball bearings continue to arrive from Sweden, Chrome and Wolfram come from Turkey and from Spain and Portugal..The a llies are preparing to crack down on the neutrals..The suspension of shipments wont be immediately felt by the German war machine..it will be like the destruction of fighter factories.. they can call on their reserves..the results will show up later..Its the same principle that applies when a water reservoir is damaged..the water still flows from the faucet,but only for a short time..This neutral trouble has been occupying much of the time of Mr Stetinius and his colleagues..other conversations have been wandering over the whole post war world but no definite decisions have been taken...Sonn the empire Prime ministers will be meeting in London... they will be faced with the problem of maintaining the Unity and strength and the bargaining power of the British Commonwealth of nations...Mr Curtain ,the Prime Minister of Australia..wants some over all Imperial authority..a kind of permanent empire authority..General Smuts South Africas leader wants a series of

regional groups..and seems primarily interested in strengthening Britains position on the continent of Europe...Canada faces a real dilema,her economy is closely interlocked with that of the United States and she appears to favour neither the Australian nor the South African scheme.. Statesmen in London are fond of speaking of Britain as a bridge between Russia and the United States..and their real concern is that the bridge shall not become a football...Also in London there is taking place a meeting of Allied ministers of Education..they are planning a permanent international organisation..and its first duty will be to aid the educational reconstruction of the occupied countries..Last week the Congressman Fullbright of Arkansaw,John Studebaker Comissioner of Education and Archibald Macleish ,Librarian of Congress are our delegates.. The Russians are sitting in on the meetings but are saying nothing...Last week the conference on Civil aviation ended..it wasnt a sensational sucess but did secure sufficient agreemnet to permit the calling of an international conference...Before long there will be talks about oil in Washington...General Eisenhower has asked General Degaulle to come up here from Algiers to talk about the civil administration of liberated France...Mr Cordell Hulls speech eased but did not eliminate fears about allied handling of the French political situation..All of these meetings and plans are developing against the background of the great Russian victories in the South..No serious observer believes that Britain and America will have much to do with the terms or conditions for Roumania or Hungary..We may be informed but the decisions will be made in Moscow...The complete unity announced at Moscow and Teheran has not materialised and there are many expressions

of disappointment here..but it does seem that real though unsensational progress is being made..the problems of the future are being taken one at a time,aviation,oil,education, relief,zones of occupation..It is and must be a slow process,but tired peole are impatient..Its a case of fixing the foundations before erecting the walls and roof while people are anxious to see what the finished structure will look like.. During all this planning for battle and for the peace the British people are ~~konskanatly~~zx being reminded that the defeat of Germany wont end the war..that the Japanese will still have to be dealt with..The position in South East Asia is obscure..The fighting on the Indian border is reported but it seems far away..The so called military experts here in London dont agree about whats happening or why its happening..I am not familiar with that part of the world but have found an officer who is.. He is Air Chief Marshall Sir Phillip Joubert..He was chief of RAF coastal command when they began beating the U boats back from Britains coastal waters..His present position is

~~Taixxiazkdnarzx~~ That was Air Chief Marshall Sir Phillip Joubert who has just returned from the Burma front..

This is Edward R Murrow in London...Now back to Warren Sweeny in NY.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY APRIL 16, 1944.
19.30 D.B.S.T.

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL,
SIR PHILIP JOUBERT.

I've just come back from South East Asia on Admiral Mountbatten's business, and my friend Edward Murrow has given me this opportunity to tell you something about the jungle and mountain war in Burma.

I had been in Burma before the war and had flown over it several times, so it is not strange to me. But to those who have never been there it must be a land of mysteries, where nothing happens according to plan and where the ordinary rules of modern war are being upset every day. And then few people know how big a country it is. If you want to send stores by water from the Bay of Bengal to Stillwell's forces on the Northern front it is a journey of 1000 miles up one of the big rivers of the East, the Bramahputra. And if you tried to walk from the Ledo to Arakan along the boundary between Japanese occupied territory and our own, you would have a journey of well over 1000 miles across some of the roughest country in the world. The Russian front is not many miles longer.

In the Burma jungle there are, beside the ordinary wild beasts, really vicious mosquitoes and every other kind of stinging and biting insect. The trees are so thick that in their shade it is almost cold, while in the clearings it is scorchingly hot and damp. It is in Burma and Assam that there is the heaviest rainfall in the world. At Cherrapunji 40 feet - feet not inches - of rain fall during the five months of the monsoon season. Talking of

mosquitoes, in Bangkok, which is not so far from Burma, I have slept inside a wire cage which had a door fitted with a Yale lock. I was told that the local mosquitoes would pick any ordinary lock! So you can see that campaigning in such a country is no common job of work. Our forces are fighting in the three areas, North, West and South-West, which are vital to us to hold as bases for attack. In between these three areas are hundreds of miles of jungle through which determined troops can force a way, well hidden by the trees from ground and air reconnaissance. Provided they are prepared to travel light (no heavy tanks or guns can go with them) and starve if necessary there is nothing to stop them. We tried this game last year when Wingate's first columns got into central Burma. General Tanabashi did it to us in Arakan during the same campaign. He tried it again this year and took a heavy knock. Last month we flew and marched a strong force to cut the enemy lines of communication, and three weeks ago the Japanese attacked our communications in the West. So today we have the slightly ridiculous but very awkward situation of each side being across the other's communications.

But here all resemblance ends. Our raiding force is operating in aid of Stillwell's drive from the North - there is no comparable Japanese attack on our positions. Our columns are being supplied by air - the Japanese are not. We have complete air superiority - the Japanese Air Force has been driven out of the sky. So, on

balance the position is much more favourable to us than to the Japanese. In our strong positions which the enemy must capture before he can achieve success we are breaking up successive enemy attacks. Our patrolling columns are beating up hostile forces wherever they find them. The total of Japanese casualties is mounting steadily and in much greater numbers than our own. There is nothing more expensive than an infantry attack unsupported by tanks and heavy guns, when it is launched against an enemy who possesses both. And when the Japanese invader is driven back to his old lines he may well find a vigorous and well-armed force hammering at his back door.

We have always been prepared for this situation. When in the autumn of last year Admiral Mountbatten and his Deputy Supreme Commander - General Stillwell - concerted their plans for this winter's campaign, it was fully appreciated that the Japanese would try to upset us by these encircling tactics. So we developed our counter-measures. Orders were given that vital positions would not be given up merely because the enemy got behind us. A large force of transport aircraft was prepared and the technique of maintaining our land forces by air was studied and practised. The first time we put the scheme into practice - in Arakan in February - it was a complete success. Now it is being carried out on a very much larger scale, and so far has been equally successful.

We have had to give up Tiddim which was an isolated position very hard to defend against a powerful attack, but our main position holds. The Japanese will shortly be faced with the need to take a most difficult decision - that of withdrawal in the face of a powerful and vigorous enemy with the monsoon turning the jungle paths which they must use into rushing torrents. Those Japanese which are not shot may well be drowned or starved to death.

By their action in Arakan, in Central Burma, and at Imphal the British/Indian forces have contained and inflicted very heavy casualties on three-quarters of the Japanese forces in Burma. Thus they have greatly facilitated General Stillwell's advance, which has proceeded very much according to plan - in fact, a good piece of Allied co-operation.

E.R.M. Sunday April 23, 1944

There is no secret about ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the present phase of the war in the air. The whole complicated and efficient railway system supporting the German defences in the West is being battered day and night. It is unlikely that a single main line is functioning today. Our experience here and in Italy has shown that railroads can be quickly repaired by both sides, and the Germans will always be able to move reinforcements by road. The bombing of freight yards in France and Belgium inevitably means the killing of a certain number of civilian allies. It is one of the minor tragedies of modern war that poor people who contributed little to the making of the war but much to the fighting of it, live beside the railroad tracks. Every possible precaution has been taken to avoid the killing of civilians in occupied countries. They have been warned by radio to leave the obvious target areas, and on some of the night raids R.A.F. pilots have ~~gonedown~~ gone down to 200 feet in order to mark the targets accurately. Still the loss of life must have been considerable, and the residue of bitterness will be one of the many things left when the bombing is over.

The peace negotiations between Russia and Finland have broken down, and so far there has been no reply to the Russian offer to Rumania. The Russian terms have been seen by British and American officials in London, and are considered to be reasonable. As a matter of fact, the whereabouts of the Rumanian

Government is something of a mystery, although it is known that the Russian terms have reached them. Unless a reply is received soon it is expected that a public ultimatum may be addressed to Rumania. The Rumanians appear to be having the same difficulty as the Finns in getting out of the war. There are too many Germans too near to them.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY APRIL 23, 1944.
19.30.30 - 19.42. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: Britain is now passing through the ordeal of suspense. The tension is reflected in every conversation and in a general increase of irritability and impatience. At a time such as this when confidence is high, but when it is impossible to speak of the plans and preparations upon which that confidence rests, it is natural that men's minds should leap forward over the next terrible months to contemplate the future. That's what has been happening in the House of Commons. The debate lasted for two days. The subject was the unity of the British Empire, or more precisely the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations - Britain and the Dominions. It was in some ways the most important debate since the one that ended with Mr. Neville Chamberlain's resignation. For as a result of this session it is possible to predict with some certainty the policy to be pursued by this country. We saw Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell, a Left-Wing Socialist and a persistent critic of the Government, defending the British Commonwealth against all comers including American critics. And he was loudly applauded from all sides of the House. Speaking of agreements between Britain and other countries Mr. Shinwell observed: "I do not object to agreements if they prove beneficial; that is the point". The basis of international relations has been and will probably continue to be power and the willingness to use it. The British Commonwealth, or at least the House of Commons, sees the development

of two great world powers - the United States and Russia. And this whole debate was really about how Britain and the Dominions can pool their strength...their defensive strength and their economic strength.

About 25 years ago G.K. Chesterton said: "The English no longer care to be told of an Empire on which the sun never sets. Tell them the sun is setting and they will fight though the battle go against them to the going down of the sun - if they do not stay it like Joshua". For almost five years the setting of the sun has been stayed, but there are not lacking prophets who say that the dusk of Empire is approaching; that Britain and her Dominions will emerge from this war weakened, impoverished and disunited. So this debate was really a survey of family relationships, finances and prospects. At times the debate was charged with emotion, and there was more well-mannered flag-waving than is customary in Parliamentary debates. Within a few days the Prime Ministers of all the Dominions will be meeting here in London, and the two-day discussion served to create the climate in which the meetings will be held. These visiting Prime Ministers represent the only nations outside Britain which went to war voluntarily without being attacked. Some of them sent their men fourteen thousand miles to reach the battlefield; and it must be remembered that each Dominion entering this war did so voluntarily without compulsion from London. As Sir Edward Grigg remarked in the course of the debate: "The British

Commonwealth is a combination of sentiment, ideals and interest.

The first thing that emerged from the debate was that every Party, from Right to Left, endorses Mr. Churchill's statement that he is not going to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. The second thing was complete unity about the continuation of Empire preference. Empire preference simply means that in matters of trade the British Dominions receive from Britain preferential treatment. One speaker summed it up by saying: "Does anybody really think that after this war we will be able to say to the ordinary New Zealander, a fellow growing sheep or anything else: "We do not owe you any more consideration than we owe the Argentine". And then he went on to ask: "Was there an Argentine division at Cassino?.....Was there an Argentine division in North Africa?" There isn't much doubt that New Zealand lamb, Australian wool, Canadian wheat will continue to receive preferential treatment. Nor is there much doubt that the British Commonwealth will if it can deal with the rest of the world as a single economic unit.

The thing that makes ~~these decisions important~~ this development important is not that it resulted in any formal legal action, for that did not happen. Its importance lies rather in the fact that all Parties and all sections of the Press support it. It is in a minor way a repetition of what happened after Dunkirk. This Island was threatened and the Coalition was formed to

protect it. Now there is a feeling that the Empire - its power, its bargaining position is threatened, and again we see in the House of Commons a striking demonstration of unity. There is another aspect of Britain's relations with the Dominions, and it received considerable attention during the debate. If it is impossible for the British Commonwealth to solve its problems of economy, defence and political relationship, remembering that they are bound together by sentiment, history and language.....then what prospect is there for any larger grouping of nations in the post-war world?

Almost every speaker maintained that Empire unity should not be considered as a threat to either the United States or Russia; but it was clear beyond all doubt that the House of Commons - all of it - is strongly in favour of tying these different geographical units more closely together, in order that their total strength may more nearly balance that of the United States or Russia. Whether that can be done; whether the Dominions will agree to it, I do not know. But the fact that such is the purpose of the British Government is absolutely certain. There has developed during the war a great deal of functional unity between Britain and the Dominions. Joint Boards of Supply, Raw Materials, Production, Transportation and that sort of thing. The hope was frequently expressed that these joint efforts will be continued in peacetime. There are plans for more frequent

meetings between Dominions Prime Ministers. Mr. Churchill himself in concluding the debate suggested that the Committee of Imperial Defence might extend into the sphere of maritime, economic and financial affairs. He also raised other questions but did not attempt to answer them. He said: "Should we draw closer to Europe, and aim at creating a living union an entity in Europe? Or again should be concentrate on our own Imperial and Commonwealth organisation? Or upon our fraternal association with the United States, and put our trust in the English Channel, in air power and in sea power?" Other speakers maintained that Britain, being a European power, must make commitments on the Continent, must hope that the Dominions would share those commitments; but they must be made anyway unless this country was to run the risk of being Pearl Harbored in a single night. It was clear that to most Members of the House of Commons the major political problem was how to devise a European policy which would win the support of the Dominions, and if possible of the United States.

This two-day debate demonstrated a new kind of Imperialism, perhaps it should be called a defensive Imperialism, but anyway it is the belief that the British Empire has a choice of action - that it need not be forced to follow unquestioningly either the United States or Russia. There was an undertone, though well-modulated, of irritation with foreign criticism; and the debate

was convincing proof that Mr. Churchill knew the mind of Parliament and of the country when he said: "We hold what we have". The holding of it will present unprecedented problems in political and economic architecture, but the attempt is going to be made, ~~and the first step~~ and it is to be based upon a modification of the old formula. It is the formula that unites the members of a great Labor Union - self-interest, sentiment (the sense of all being in the same boat) and ideals, the knowledge that if they work together as a team their collective strength will benefit them all.

THIS IS LONDON: Again today the American Air Force has put more than a thousand bombers and fighters over airfields and military installations in France. Early yesterday morning there was another clash of light naval forces in the Channel. One German destroyer was beached in flames; the Canadian destroyer Atabascan was sunk.

Reports from the Italian and Russian fronts indicate no change.

Today ~~the~~ a new American broadcasting service to Europe began operating from London. Members of the underground movement were urged not to show their hand until the proper time - until they had received specific orders from General Eisenhower in the West, or from General Maitland-Wilson in the South.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MAY 7, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42.15 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

In peacetime the British talked about the weather. After this war began they talked about the war, but mostly in terms of the last war. About four years ago, when the Germans scythed their way through the Low Countries, people began talking about bombing; that went on for some time. Then they talked about food, and shortages of all kinds. Now the main subject of xxxxxx conversation is Invasion. There are really only three important things about this forthcoming operation - the time, the place and the scale of attack. Those are the three things that cannot be talked about. It's true, of course, that there's a lot of speculation and a noticeable increase in tension; but if you were over here I think you'd be impressed with the matter-of-fact business-as-usual - that is wartime business-as-usual atmosphere that exists. For instance, last week the House of Commons spent a lot of time talking about water. Most of the Americans over here are convinced that plenty of water comes down from the skies, but the fact of the matter is that about 30 percent of the rural homes in England do not have running water. The House of Commons thought something ought to be done about it. The Minister of Health, replying for the Government, was just warming up to his peroration when he made some mention of St. Francis of Assissi; and honourable and gallant Member interjected: "But he didn't wash". And that brought the house down.

Then, too, Londoners got their first view of the post-war pre-fabricated house. Outside it's an undistinguished building, but inside there is a complete kithen, gas stove, refrigerator and sink; plenty of built-in cupboards. It contains many modern amenities not found in pre-war houses.

The Dominions Prime Ministers have continued their talks about the kind of Empire structure they want to erect after the war. No definite decisions have been reached, but the word from those who know is that everything is going well.

Of course, ~~behind~~ all of these civilian matters are moving forward simply because there is nothing else to be done. The plans for the invasion are fixed. No one is engaging in any prodding, for they seem to realise it would do no good. Already this has been the best publicised military move in history. Today there is considerable speculation about the response the Germans will make to an Allied landing on the Continent. They have demonstrated time and again that it is not their habit to sit and wait for the attack. It is reported unofficially that General Studdent has at least one division of his parachutists on the Cherbourg peninsula, and the London papers carry much talk about the possibility of airborne wrecking squads being put down near Britain's ports and transportation centres. All of this talk is of course pure speculation. One thing is certain and that is that during the past week the weight of the

Allied air attack has switched from airfields and factories. The concentration is now against the transportation system and the ammunition dumps. Most of the big railway yards to a depth of a hundred miles in Belgium and France have been hit. That doesn't mean that no trains can run, but it does mean an added strain upon the whole German transport system. It would be a mistake to expect that air power can paralyse German transport in the West. Damage to railways can be quickly repaired, as the Germans have demonstrated in Italy. Almost the same thing is true with advance airfields. During the Battle of Britain the Germans hammered away day after day at about a dozen fields in south-east England. They destroyed hangars and administration buildings, and pock-marked the fields. But the R.A.F. still sent its fighter squadrons onto those fields at dawn; they flew from them all day, and then went back to bases further inland for repair and maintenance. The Germans appear to be doing something of the same thing with their night fighter squadrons, for the R.A.F. has had some heavy fighting over France in the course of shallow penetrations on moonlit nights.

The Luftwaffe has been making a few light and tentative night attacks on ports along the English coast. They have not used anything like their full strength, which may mean that in their judgment the concentration of shipping is not yet sufficient to warrant the use of their full bombing strength against the ports.

Meanwhile the Anglo-American photographic reconnaissance units are carrying out the greatest scouting job in history. They get very little praise or recognition, but a good picture may in the end be worth more than a good concentration of bombs. It has been reported this week that more than half-a-million pictures of the invasion coast have been taken. It's mostly done from unarmed planes. They may be flying six miles a minute, seven miles above the ground; or they may be down at a few hundred feet. The low-level stuff they just call"dicing" The rest of the phrase, which they never use, is "with death". The pictures they bring back not only give information about enemy movement and about targets that can usefully be bombed. Later on those pictures will give our ground commanders the exact location of enemy positions, guns and ammunition dumps.

One aspect of the present air war isn't giving anyone here any pleasure. The fact is that many of the targets that must be bombed before D Day are located in Occupied territory. The London press during the past week has talked a great deal about precision bombing at night. Accuracy cannot be guaranteed by night or by day. And it is an unpleasant fact that this preliminary bombing must cause great damage and loss of life in Occupied territory. It is equally true that most of the fighting and the destruction must occur in the same territory. Those are geographical facts, but I know from personal experience and from

listening to the briefing of many crews, that British and American flyers are risking their lives - and willingly - in order to get the target squarely in the bombsight, and thereby reduce the chances of destroying civilian lives and property.

The major diplomatic development of the week was undoubtedly the agreement with Spain. It appears to have left a mixed taste in the mouths of people here. As you know, the German agents are supposed to leave Tangiers and Spanish Morocco. The Italian merchantmen which took refuge in Spanish ports are to be released. The Spaniards claim that all of their volunteers have been withdrawn from the Russian front. Finally, the export of Wolfram to Germany is to be drastically reduced. The major question was Wolfram. The American Government sought a complete embargo, and the British were willing to compromise. Our State Department finally accepted the British proposals, but said that it had done so in response to the urgent request of Britain. There are those here who feel that this was a somewhat discourteous attitude towards an Ally, once the Anglo-American policy had been agreed upon. And there are others who profess an increased regard for the State Department because it wanted to maintain a tougher attitude towards Franco. Everyone seems to agree that the present formula makes it possible for Franco to get his oil, but impossible for us to control effectively the amountof Wolfram sent to Germany. Those who approved of Sir Samuel Hoare's policies in the past think he has done a fine job in negotiating the agreement. Those

who disapproved his earlier policies now disapprove more than ever. But the majority opinion, if one is to judge by the published comment, believes that the State Department having accepted the British compromise should not have passed the buck, at least not so openly, to its Ally.

THIS IS LONDON: Today American heavy bombers have reached out to strike at Berlin and at Bucharest. Something like 750 Fortresses and Liberators went to Berlin and Western Germany. The size of the force sent against Bucharest is not known, but it is stated that in addition to bombing the Rumanian capital the remaining railway line between Belgrade and Sofia was also bombed. Details of losses and of enemy planes shot down have not yet been released.

Our Marauders and Allied light bombers have been working on military installations in Northern France during the day.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MAY 7, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42.15 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

For many weeks now you've been hearing the report: "No change in the Anzio beach-head". The military commentators have been discussing the whole Anzio operation as though it were an academic exercise. ~~Mmmxxpmmplmx~~ Some people have almost forgotten that there's a war going on there day and night, and that the German guns can still throw shells into any part of the territory held by the Anglo-American forces. A few nights ago Wynford Vaughan Thomas of the British Broadcasting Corporation took a set of recording gear up to a front line observation post. The Germans were not many yards away; at certain times he could hear their wiring parties working in the dark, and could even hear the sound of German voices. A few nights ago, just before dawn he lifted his recording microphone out of the dugout, and this is what he heard - with the sound of German mortar bombs coming over, of our guns replying, and of machine-gun fire in the distance. Any of you who have ever been under fire will have no difficulty in recognising the sounds. (25 seconds of gunfire)..... Vaughan Thomas reports that during a lull in the firing he heard an unusual sound.....that of a nightingale's song mixed with the night music of the Anzio guns. (25 seconds of nightingale's song)..... That was the nightingale between the lines in the Anzio beach-head. It was recorded the other night by Wynford Vaughan Thomas of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The last time we broadcast the nightingale's song from here he was singing

in a Surrey wood, and high above him you could hear the sound of British bombers outward bound for Germany. I suppose this one was an Italian nightingale, but that isn't important. Neither birds nor broadcasters amount to much in wartime - I just thought you might like to listen for half a minute to the noises that fill the night in the Anzio beach-head.

THIS IS LONDON: The Allied offensive in Italy is moving forward slowly in the face of bitter and determined resistance. The Eighth Army's bridgehead across the Rapido River has been slightly enlarged. It is clear from reports ~~that~~ from both the Eighth and Fifth Army fronts that the German resistance is stubborn and that the fighting is increasing in bitterness.

Today's reports from Russia tell only of Soviet action at both ends of the front.

The air offensive from Britain has been stalled by bad weather, but the barometer is going up.

Photographs of yesterday's American daylight raid show that the bombs were truly placed on railway yards at Osnabruck and on the nearby steel mills. The final report says 65 German fighters shot down for our loss of twelve bombers and ten fighters.

~~Today's communique from Admiral Mountbatten's headquarters~~

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MAY 14, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

This is the fourth anniversary of the creation of Britain's Home Guard. Four years ago these civilian volunteers had no uniforms, few rifles, not even enough shotguns to go around. Today they have received a message of congratulation from the King; and parades of well-uniformed, well-equipped Home Guard units are being held all over the country. They are still hoping that they may have a chance to deal with German parachutists. During these last four years the civilian population of Britain has learned a great deal about modern war. Most of them no longer believe in easy successes, and they read communiques with a critical eye. That's why there is no premature rejoicing about the initial successes of the new offensive in Southern Italy. The outer defences of the Gustav Line have been driven in, but the Allied armies have not yet ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ achieved anything that could be called a break-through. So far as we know the Germans have not put in their expected counter-attack. It is emphasized here that this is the hardest battle of the war; that progress must necessarily be slow; and that the nature of the country makes anything like the break-through at Alamein impossible. About the only thing that can be said at the moment is that this new Allied offensive began well; the fighting is growing fiercer all the time; and there is no reasonable prospect of an early decision.

The Italian campaign cannot in itself be a decisive factor. The Germans appear to believe that it was undertaken in order to

pin down German divisions, and if possible cause the German High Command to reinforce the Italian front with troops from Western Europe.

Today there's a lull in the air war, but last week there was a significant change of targets. For a couple of weeks Allied bombers have been working on the whole elaborate system of railways feeding down to the coasts of France and Belgium. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that the bombing of railways imposes only a temporary check on movement. They can be quickly repaired, and it is often possible to move troops and supplies by road. And there is an excellent highway system running inland from the West coast of Europe. But movement by road requires oil and gasoline, so last week our heavy bombers went to work on Germany's synthetic oil refineries. The R.A.F. at night concentrated on ammunition dumps and tank storage depots. The medium and fighter bombers went for gun positions including ack-ack batteries. The bombing pattern is easy enough to understand; destroy the ack-ack guns, and reduce the opposition to concentrated coastal bombing. Destroy the ammunition bomb dumps and vehicle parks, and the Germans must try to replace them. Wreck the railway lines and they must try to move the stuff by road. Then bomb the oil refineries in an effort to slow down road transport. This is the great test of strategic bombing, but it will be impossible to assess the results accurately until the land fighting begins.

For the whole plan and pattern is designed to isolate the battlefield, and to make easier the task of the ground forces.

Today it's possible to tell you something about the plans for the Civil administration of the territory that will be occupied by those Allied ground forces. Master agreements have been drawn up with the governments in exile concerning the civil administration of their countries. The agreements haven't yet been signed but they have been agreed to. In general they follow the line of the agreement between Russia and Czechoslovakia. The governments in exile on their return will apply their own national laws and their own civil administration. Their armed forces will be under General Eisenhower's command; but the Anglo-American forces will not interfere in domestic politics unless there should be disorders that interfere with the prosecution of the war. The purging of collaborationists will be entirely a matter for the governments concerned. In one case at least this agreement has been submitted to the underground of the country concerned, and the underground has approved it. There appears to be a genuine ~~belief~~ confidence on the part of the governments in exile here that we do not intend to interfere in their domestic politics, and that General Eisenhower's authority will be used only for purely military reasons. If the returning governments want to try their war criminals, hold elections, confiscate the property of collaborationists, they can do so; [redacted]

~~the operation of the part or the military system or anything~~ ~~which in the opinion of the Allied High Command is~~ In fact they can do just about anything they want to, so long as it doesn't interfere with the military operations against Germany. Most of the governments in exile have said that they plan to resign and hold free elections as soon as possible. There is of course no guarantee that this will happen. You will remember that Marshal Badoglio , the Duke of Addis Abbaba, promised to resign as soon as Rome was recaptured. But he has now informed the Allies that conditions have changed, and his mind has changed too, and he does not plan to resign when Rome has been re-taken. No one seems to know what if anything the Allies can or should do about the Marshal's change of mind.

These agreements with the governments in exile are military and not political That means that the Allied High Command could, if it so desired,exercise great and perhaps decisive political influence - as it tried to do in North Africa - but we have not undertaken any political commitments in regard to these governments. It may or may not be wise to place such power in the hands of Generals, but it would be difficult to think of a workable alternative. Moreover, the governments in exile appear to be convinced that General Eisenhower will not abuse his powers. And that, when you come to think of it, is a pretty high tribute to General Eisenhower.

The position regarding France is somewhat more obscure. Mr. Eden has said that the French Committee is the authority with which the Allies will deal in France. There have been some conversations between General Eisenhower and General Koenig, who heads the French Military Mission in this country. Everyone, even those who dislike or distrust General de Gaulle, admits that there is no other authority with which we can deal in France. But there is a reluctance to accord to the French National Committee the same degree of recognition that has been given to the exiled governments of Belgium, Holland and the rest. The negotiations between Generals Eisenhower and Koenig have come to a standstill, ostensibly because the French General is not permitted to communicate with his colleagues in Algiers except by using the British code. The real difficulty is that the French feel that their status as a provisional government is in question; that they are being given no information regarding military operations which must vitally affect their country and the underground resistance movement. So it would appear that we have reached substantial agreement about the civil administration of all the occupied countries in Western Europe except France.....the most important one.

One important thing happened in the House of Commons last week - the plan of the Anglo-American experts for international monetary arrangements took a real beating. Nobody seemed to like it. The whole House was dead set against anything that looked like a return to the gold standard. It wouldn't agree to any international currency arrangement that would limit Britain's domestic economic policies. Others thought it was foolish to talk about currency before trade, and still others demanded that nothing be done to prevent this country from entering into special trade agreements with other nations in the sterling area. The House agreed that the scheme of the experts might be a suitable foundation for further international consultation; but they agreed to it only because it didn't commit them to anything. There are a lot of people in the House of Commons and elsewhere who don't understand these proposals. But it was clear from last week's Debate that a return to the gold standard this Government can never agree to.

C.B.S. LONDON MAY 21, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The Italian campaign is going much better than most people had expected. The announced objective is the destruction of the German armies. We are urged not to relate this offensive to anything that may be happening in other theatres; but itis clear that one of the primary objectives is to pin down the largest possible number of enemy troops. However, in this kind of warfare the enemy has a choice. He may refuse to be pinned down, and he may refuse to reinforce. Rommel in North Africa saved his armies repeatedly by skilful withdrawal, only to lose them when they were pinned against the sea. If the Germans xx decide or are forced to pull back in Italy, they might suffer a political defeat in the loss of Rome; but their 25 divisions, or what's left of them, would eventually arrive either at the line of the Poe, or the mountain barrier of the Alps. Hitler's intuition xxxxx in the past has caused him to order his troops to die where they stand, but in Southern Italy he can pull them back to where they may fight again on equally favorable ground. While it is true that the airfields round Rome and in northern Italy would be of value, it is impossible to regard the present campaign in Italy as anything more than the least important of the triangular attack against the Continent of Europe.

On the other two fronts, the Russian and the Western, this is the period of waiting - the assumption being that the land attacks in those areas will be co-ordinated. Speculation about

land action in the West is futile and forbidden. But it might be well to remember that General Eisenhower in his first message to the people of Occupied Europe said: "Above everything else, be patient". It would, of course, be permissible to speculate as to what this period of waiting is doing to the German troops manning the Atlantic defences. When the British were waiting for the invasion barges their defences were improvised; their guns, ammunition and armour frighteningly inadequate. But their spirits were high, and their confidence unequalled. Part of that was due to the fact that men from Kent, from Sussex and from Essex were stationed in their own counties - their backs to their own homes and fields, knowing every twisting lane and hedgerow. For the Germans it will be different. There is a hostile civilian population behind them. They will be fighting for and on foreign soil. The British always had the hope of eventual aid from the Western world; the Germans must know that they can rely only on their own skill and resources. I can find no one here who expects them to fight with less ability than they have displayed in Italy, Africa and Russia. But even in these days of mechanised warfare battles are sometimes determined by the intangibles. But the waiting is not confined to military matters. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding most of the problems that engage men's minds. Wherever you look decisions seem to be deadlocked - procrastination becoming a habit. In the old days at Geneva Mr. Litvinov used

to maintain that peace was indivisible. It now begins to appear that delay can be similarly defined. The failure to recognise that the maintenance of peace was a universal obligation led to war. The continued refusal to admit that there are decisions that must be made, and not alone on the battlefield, may produce an abiding cynicism and disillusionment. Mr. Anthony Eden, who is not the most original phrase-maker in this country, summed it up when he said: "It is easier to consult than to agree".

Let's examine a few of the decisions that are being awaited. There has been held in London a meeting of the Dominions Prime Ministers. They talked about a post-war organisation for the maintenance of peace; better machinery of consultation between the Dominions; Colonial problems, economic policies, migration, aviation and shipping. The declaration following the Conference was uninformative. The British Commonwealth cannot agree on an aviation and shipping policy until it knows what the United States and Russia will do. Britain cannot decide her policy regarding emigration until she knows how many Britons will still be living when the war is over. She cannot decide her financial policy until agreements have been reached with other nations. Therefore, she is waiting. One nation waits on another, and meanwhile tomorrow is coming.

There is a Yugoslav mission in London. It comes from what the Prime Minister now refers to as Titoland. So far the members of this delegation have not seen Mr. Eden or any other

member of the War Cabinet. It is true that this is a military mission, but the reason these men have not seen anyone who makes policy, military and political, is because policy decisions have not been taken. That is also the reason why the Allies are broadcasting to Yugoslavia, dropping leaflets on that tortured country, but refusing to allow Tito's representatives airtime or the opportunity to prepare their own leaflets.

The prophets tell us that one day Allied forces will land in France, but there is no effective agreement with the French National Committee in Algiers. And that is because Washington and London have not reached complete agreement.

Agreements regarding civil administration have been reached with Belgium, Holland and Norway. We are told that the nature of these agreements is not to be divulged for reasons of military security; and that leaves the average individual with the choice of suspecting Anglo-American policy, or of wondering just how far military security is to be used to stifle discussion of foreign policy.

There have been prolonged discussions about the surrender terms to be offered Germany, and here again the world is waiting. Peace terms, if they are to be lasting, must not only have the support of the victorious powers when they are made. They must be capable of commanding continued support during the post-war years. The degree of that support will depend upon the political

complexion of the victorious powers five, ten,fifteen years after victory. And no one can predict with assurance what political parties will exercise control in this country or in the United States once the battles have been won. Meanwhile British Cabinet Ministers are missing no opportunity to warn people that the going after the war will not be easy. On Friday Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Minister of Production made a speech that was not very widely reported in this country. But he said: "There is no further mobilisation,human or material, that we can undertake. We have no reserves from which to draw. And I mention this as showing that a war economy will still be necessary to bring the greatest impact to bear in the war against Japan, and for the further task of occupying Europe to maintain peace. It is most important that we should begin to habituate ourselves to the feeling that something of the same kind of regimented economy will be necessary". And Mr. Lyttelton added: "Let me say again that we shall need continued control both of consumption and of investment expenditure to prevent inflation and the waste of scarce materials and still scarcer labour". Speaking of the necessity of increasing exports the Minister of Production estimated that Britain would have to export fifty percent above the pre-war level in order to maintain the standard of life. He said: "Industry and finance must cooperate with the government in trying to expand these exports, even at a time when the home market appears more attractive, more profitable and easier to fill."

That's another thing people will have to wait for - the answer to the question: How Britain can increase her exports fifty percent above the pre-war level, without more sweeping economic and financial agreements than appear to be coming up over the economic horizon.

This waiting for the day of battle produces great tension and considerable irritability. But it must be ten times more trying for the people in the occupied countries. The waiting for the policy decisions may produce despair and disillusionment in friend and foe alike. So far as I can discover the delay is occasioned not by ill will or irresponsibility, but rather by a failure to appreciate the urgently chaotic conditions that will prevail on the Continent of Europe after the collapse of Germany. The waiting is also caused by old-fashioned methods of diplomacy plus the belief that it is enough to have cordial personal relations existing between heads of States. Moreover, there is a desire to avoid difficult political decisions by handling such matters through military channels. That means postponement but no solution. Perhaps that is the best method, maybe it's inevitable, but anyway it's what we're doing, and we ought to be aware of it. The persistent refusal to face and deal with unpleasant facts was one of the main reasons why democracies were so nearly eliminated by this war. We waited hoping that something would turn up that would make difficult and

dangerous decisions unnecessary.

It is history and not pessimism that tells us that it is in the very nature of victorious coalitions to come unstuck once the victory has been won. ~~The opportunity is now present~~ The machinery for consultation and agreement between the Allies, except in military matters, is just about what it was twenty-five years ago; and the result appears to be, in this country at least, great confidence in military victory, but considerably less confidence than there was in 1918 that the victory will produce a more livable world for men and women who have suffered to achieve it. That is the task of Statesmen and not of Generals. And for those who wait and procrastinate retribution will not limp -at least it hasn't so far.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MAY 21, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 D.B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: Our Fortresses and Liberators were over the Pas des Calais again today - bombing unspecified military targets. Light and fighter bombers were sent against the railway lines.

In Italy American troops continue to make progress along the coast. Further inland the Eighth Army is encountering stiffer resistance north of the Liri Valley. It appears that the outer defences of the so-called Hitler Line have been driven in, but the line itself is still intact.

Admiral Mountbatten's latest communique records no important change in the confused fighting on the Burma front. Total Japanese casualties in that area are now placed at 25 thousand.

C.B.S. LONDON MAY 21, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The Italian campaign is going much better than most people had expected. The announced objective is the destruction of the German armies. We are urged not to relate this offensive to anything that may be happening in other theatres; but itis clear that one of the primary objectives is to pin down the largest possible number of enemy troops. However, in this kind of warfare the enemy has a choice. He may refuse to be pinned down, and he may refuse to reinforce. Rommel in North Africa saved his armies repeatedly by skilful withdrawal, only to lose them when they were pinned against the sea. If the Germans xx decide or are forced to pull back in Italy, they might suffer a political defeat in the loss of Rome; but their 25 divisions, or what's left of them, would eventually arrive either at the line of the Poe, or the mountain barrier of the Alps. Hitler's intuition xxxxx in the past has caused him to order his troops to die where they stand, but in Southern Italy he can pull them back to where they may fight again on equally favorable ground. While it is true that the airfields round Rome and in northern Italy would be of value, it is impossible to regard the present campaign in Italy as anything more than the least important of the triangular attack against the Continent of Europe.

On the other two fronts, the Russian and the Western, this is the period of waiting - the assumption being that the land attacks in those areas will be co-ordinated. Speculation about

land action in the West is futile and forbidden. But it might be well to remember that General Eisenhower in his first message to the people of Occupied Europe said: "Above everything else, be patient". It would, of course, be permissible to speculate as to what this period of waiting is doing to the German troops manning the Atlantic defences. When the British were waiting for the invasion barges their defences were improvised; their guns, ammunition and armour frighteningly inadequate. But their spirits were high, and their confidence unequalled. Part of that was due to the fact that men from Kent, from Sussex and from Essex were stationed in their own counties - their backs to their own homes and fields, knowing every twisting lane and hedgerow. For the Germans it will be different. There is a hostile civilian population behind them. They will be fighting for and on foreign soil. The British always had the hope of eventual aid from the Western world; the Germans must know that they can rely only on their own skill and resources. I can find no one here who expects them to fight with less ability than they have displayed in Italy, Africa and Russia. But even in these days of mechanised warfare battles are sometimes determined by the intangibles. But the waiting is not confined to military matters. There is an atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding most of the problems that engage men's minds. Wherever you look decisions seem to be deadlocked - procrastination becoming a habit. In the old days at Geneva Mr. Litvinov used

to maintain that peace was indivisible. It now begins to appear that delay can be similarly defined. The failure to recognise that the maintenance of peace was a universal obligation led to war. The continued refusal to admit that there are decisions that must be made, and not alone on the battlefield, may produce an abiding cynicism and disillusionment. Mr. Anthony Eden, who is not the most original phrase-maker in this country, summed it up when he said: "It is easier to consult than to agree".

Let's examine a few of the decisions that are being awaited. There has been held in London a meeting of the Dominions Prime Ministers. They talked about a post-war organisation for the maintenance of peace; better machinery of consultation between the Dominions; Colonial problems, economic policies, migration, aviation and shipping. The declaration following the Conference was uninformative. The British Commonwealth cannot agree on an aviation and shipping policy until it knows what the United States and Russia will do. Britain cannot decide her policy regarding emigration until she knows how many Britons will still be living when the war is over. She cannot decide her financial policy until agreements have been reached with other nations. Therefore, she is waiting. One nation waits on another, and meanwhile tomorrow is coming.

There is a Yugoslav mission in London. It comes from what the Prime Minister now refers to as Titoland. So far the members of this delegation have not seen Mr. Eden or any other

member of the War Cabinet. It is true that this is a military mission, but the reason these men have not seen anyone who makes policy, military and political, is because policy decisions have not been taken. That is also the reason why the Allies are broadcasting to Yugoslavia, dropping leaflets on that tortured country, but refusing to allow Tito's representatives airtime or the opportunity to prepare their own leaflets.

The prophets tell us that one day Allied forces will land in France, but there is no effective agreement with the French National Committee in Algiers. And that is because Washington and London have not reached complete agreement.

Agreements regarding civil administration have been reached with Belgium, Holland and Norway. We are told that the nature of these agreements is not to be divulged for reasons of military security; and that leaves the average individual with the choice of suspecting Anglo-American policy, or of wondering just how far military security is to be used to stifle discussion of foreign policy.

There have been prolonged discussions about the surrender terms to be offered Germany, and here again the world is waiting. Peace terms, if they are to be lasting, must not only have the support of the victorious powers when they are made. They must be capable of commanding continued support during the post-war years. The degree of that support will depend upon the political

complexion of the victorious powers five, ten,fifteen years after victory. And no one can predict with assurance what political parties will exercise control in this country or in the United States once the battles have been won. Meanwhile British Cabinet Ministers are missing no opportunity to warn people that the going after the war will not be easy. On Friday Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, the Minister of Production made a speech that was not very widely reported in this country. But he said: "There is no further mobilisation,human or material, that we can undertake. We have no reserves from which to draw. And I mention this as showing that a war economy will still be necessary to bring the greatest impact to bear in the war against Japan, and for the further task of occupying Europe to maintain peace. It is most important that we should begin to habituate ourselves to the feeling that something of the same kind of regimented economy will be necessary". And Mr. Lyttelton added: "Let me say again that we shall need continued control both of consumption and of investment expenditure to prevent inflation and the waste of scarce materials and still scarcer labour". Speaking of the necessity of increasing exports the Minister of Production estimated that Britain would have to export fifty percent above the pre-war level in order to maintain the standard of life. He said: "Industry and finance must cooperate with the government in trying to expand these exports, even at a time when the home market appears more attractive, more profitable and easier to fill."

That's another thing people will have to wait for - the answer to the question: How Britain can increase her exports fifty percent above the pre-war level, without more sweeping economic and financial agreements than appear to be coming up over the economic horizon.

This waiting for the day of battle produces great tension and considerable irritability. But it must be ten times more trying for the people in the occupied countries. The waiting for the policy decisions may produce despair and disillusionment in friend and foe alike. So far as I can discover the delay is occasioned not by ill will or irresponsibility, but rather by a failure to appreciate the urgently chaotic conditions that will prevail on the Continent of Europe after the collapse of Germany. The waiting is also caused by old-fashioned methods of diplomacy plus the belief that it is enough to have cordial personal relations existing between heads of States. Moreover, there is a desire to avoid difficult political decisions by handling such matters through military channels. That means postponement but no solution. Perhaps that is the best method, maybe it's inevitable, but anyway it's what we're doing, and we ought to be aware of it. The persistent refusal to face and deal with unpleasant facts was one of the main reasons why democracies were so nearly eliminated by this war. We waited hoping that something would turn up that would make difficult and

dangerous decisions unnecessary.

It is history and not pessimism that tells us that it is in the very nature of victorious coalitions to come unstuck once the victory has been won. ~~The opportunity is now present~~ The machinery for consultation and agreement between the Allies, except in military matters, is just about what it was twenty-five years ago; and the result appears to be, in this country at least, - great confidence in military victory, but considerably less confidence than there was in 1918 that the victory will produce a more livable world for men and women who have suffered to achieve it. That is the task of Statesmen and not of Generals. And for those who wait and procrastinate retribution will not limp -at least it hasn't so far.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY MAY 28, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 D.B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW

Several times in this war the British have demonstrated their ability to fly into a great calm at times of crisis. The climate of opinion and the pattern of behaviour in this country today reflects that national characteristic - but this time there is a difference. Four years is a long time to wait. The people in this island, and that includes most of the Americans, are now practising an exaggerated casualness - most are leaning over backwards in an effort to avoid any public expression of the tension, the weariness, the hope and impatience that fill the air. The men and women on bicycles seem to travel more slowly; the taxi drivers are more deliberate; voices are pitched just a little lower - even the American soldiers playing baseball in Hyde Park make less noise than they did a few months ago; the men writing editorials in London papers employ fewer adjectives, perhaps because they know that none is adequate to the occasion. This is the time when the sky over the Straits of Dover is kinder than ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ it has been since this waiting started four years ago. This is a time when just a little knowledge of what is coming seems enough to choke a man. Everyone tries to act and talk in a normal fashion, and most people succeed. It is a great thing ~~xxxxgreatxtributex~~ to witness such steadiness and self-control in people who have suffered much and who will soon face new and unknown dangers. This atmosphere - this climate of opinion is a tribute to the men and women produced by

democratic societies. Later there may come disappointment and disillusionment; but it must be recorded that so far as one reporter can judge, the people who are waiting - soldiers and civilians, Americans and British - are steady, confident, and show not the slightest sign of flinching in the face of the ordeal that lies ahead. And anyone who has seen anything of this war will tell you that you can judge with some accuracy how troops will act under fire if you watch them while they're waiting.

It is not easy - indeed it is impossible - to talk about present plans or about the immediate future. Perhaps that's one reason why most of Britain's news during the past week has had to do with long-range plans. The House of Commons spent two days debating Britain's foreign policy. Mr. Churchill surveyed the horizon, but it is difficult to bring any definite policy into focus as a result of his words. Many people had expected the Prime Minister to use this historic occasion as an opportunity to outline to the peoples of Europe the kind of policy Britain proposed to pursue. That he did not do. He did refer again to the necessity for a World Council, and he said that it must have enough force to maintain the peace. He had blunt words for Turkey, implying that they wanted too much for the carpet. He was hopeful about Yugoslavia and Greece, and he said flatly that there could be no recognition of the French National Committee, because he was not sure that it represents the French nation as

the governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet represent their countries. He did not press his comparison to include the governments in exile.

Mr. Churchill spent about a quarter of his time on Spain. He said he was there to speak kindly words of Spain - and he did. Just why he did so remains something of a mystery. But it was quite clear that he was speaking about this Spain - Franco's Spain. His remarks have produced bitter comment in the Liberal and Left Wing press in this country. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ The Economist points out that"the Hungarians have not fought the British, nor have the Finns; yet because of their attack on Russia,Britain is at war with both. At a moment when Russian confidence in Britain's intentions is a vital factor in the strategy of war and peace, it is very curious procedure to give only a glancing reference to Russia's part, but four columns of quite extravagantly kindly words to Russia's enemy." And the same magazine enquires: "Why the French Committee should be thought so much less representative than a government which had to fight a three-year civil war,with massive foreign help,to get into power at all."

The opinion is growing in this country that Britain and America are trying to preserve a state of fluidity in France, and many believe that chaos might be a better word to describe it. Mr. Churchill maintained that the war was becoming less ideological. That gives rise to the question whether ideology is something

that is useful only in the desperate days of defence. The New Statesman points out that "ideology played a very important part in Mr. Churchill's speech, and that his ideology is to maintain as far as possible British interests, and the political and economic status quo." Mr. Churchill is a legitimist, as he was at the time of the abdication of Edward the Eighth. Today he appears to be attached to the principle of legitimacy in Spain and in Greece - two countries of vital importance to naval power in the Mediterranean. It may be that the war is becoming less ideological. But the reaction to Mr. Churchill's references to Spain certainly demonstrates that ideological differences have not been eliminated in Britain. The Prime Minister said in effect that he had no objections to Fascism so long as that Fascism was favorable to Britain. There may be ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ important military or political reasons for the Prime Minister's kindly words for Franco, but if they exist no British commentator or editor has discovered them. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Churchill's remarks on Spain ~~xxxxxx~~ damaged severely the political unity of Great Britain, and provided his political opponents with ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ considerable ammunition which they will undoubtedly use at a later date. ~~ThexxxxxxxofxthexSpanishxxivilxwarxxutxdeepxinxthisx countryxxxxThexPrimexMinisterxresponsedxoldxwoundsx~~

Out of the big debate on foreign policy there emerged a widespread dissatisfaction with the policy regarding France. But

in addition to that two definite schools of thought became clearly recognisable. They are the Big Four school, and the European school. The first see the United States, Britain, Russia and China emerging as the dominant powers destined to determine the peace and to maintain it by force of arms. But this combination is held together only by a common desire for victory. And the European school of thought maintains that it is improper and unworkable to plan the maintenance of peace without the active participation of the European powers. They maintain that no peace settlement can stand in which the nations of Europe are not full and willing partners. Already America, Britain and Russia have been discussing between themselves the surrender terms to be offered Germany. There has been no effective consultation with the French, and yet in the future as in the past, Europe's prospects for peace will depend to a great extent upon the future relations between France and Germany. Mr. Anthony Eden, in winding up the debate for the Government,outlined the official attitude. He came down squarely on the side of the Big Four. "The four victorious powers", he said "must maintain close political and military collaboration, their first job being to prevent a new war by Germany and Japan. They must have the necessary force for this purpose." Then he used the phrase: "Responsibility must be related to power." As a consequence of that doctrine he thought the world organisation must be constructed on and around the four great powers. But he did say rather vaguely that other peace-loving nations could play

their part in the structure.

There you have a quick summary of British foreign policy as revealed in a two-day debate in the House of Commons. If it is baffling to you it is equally so to many people in this country. ~~It seems to me that Britain by virtue of her geographic and economic position is playing a waiting game because she finds it impossible difficult and unwise to decide her hand~~

Another glimpse of future plans was revealed on Friday in the Government's White Paper on full employment. It is one of the most significant documents yet produced in the general field of post-war planning. It suggests a reversal of previous practice. When there are few unemployed the weekly contributions to the social security scheme will be increased. When there are many unemployed the contributions, both by labour and by industry, will be reduced, and that means that the public will have more money to spend. Something of the same thing is contemplated for taxation. In prosperous years taxes would be higher than necessary, in order that the surplus could be carried over for bad times. The Government will encourage the mobility of labour by training and resettlement schemes.

The Government is to help the heavy industries - coal, steel, engineering and ship-building - to secure overseas markets. The Government will also influence the location of new enterprises. That means that an industrialist will have to get government approval before he can erect a new plant in a given area. It is proposed that a central research staff shall be established to analyse and predict economic trends. It is further stated that rationing and a measure of price control will be continued for some time. Even the use of capital will be controlled in order that there may be sufficient funds for urgent reconstruction work. Priorities for the allocation of raw materials and labour will

be continued.

The implication of this whole plan is quite clear. It proposes a closer partnership between government and industry. It means more government support in securing export markets. Right now British raw materials, manpower, everything else down to hairpins and bicycles are strictly controlled. That control is not going to be relaxed for some time after the war. There will be continuing shortages of certain essential materials, for example steel. Is the available supply going to be used for making cutlery, school houses, saloons or products for export? Someone has to decide, and that means that the controls now existing must be continued. There doesn't appear to be any serious debate about the advisability of continuing many of these controls, and few people seem to doubt that the wartime partnership between government and industry will continue. The real question is: Who is going to do the controlling, and for what purpose, and in whose interest? Is it to be in the interest of the cartels and corporations? Or in the interest of the public and the wage-earners? There is the area of political debate in this country after the war. It will, I think, not be a debate about the direction of change, but about the rate of change. And in general the movement will be towards greater partnership between industry and government, which is just another way of saying an increased measure of government control over the economic life of the country.

C.B.S. LONDON JUNE 4, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: On the Western Front the American heavy bombers are closing the range. For the past three days they have been working on targets on the western fringe of France. Today two waves of Forts and Liberators have bombed near Boulogne, and there may be news of more activity later on.

The Russian front is quiet except for German and Rumanian counter attacks near Jassey, which the Russians claim to have under control.

The Burma campaign seems rather remote, but the latest word in London is that the overall position gives cause for satisfaction but no complacency.

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JUNE 4, 1944.
19.30.45-19.42 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The battle for Rome is nearing its end. General Alexander's forces have already won a significant and well-planned victory. But it is well to remember that the announced objective was not the capture of Rome but the destruction of Kesselring's armies. Great damage has been inflicted upon them, and they have lost much material, but it is still too early to judge the extent to which the major objective has been achieved. In the Western Desert Montgomery and Alexander tried repeatedly to destroy Rommel's army, and they failed to do so until the Germans were pinned against the sea. Ever since Stalingrad the German High Command has shown great ability in getting out of traps. In Italy the Allies have the greater numbers and material; ~~their~~ our domination of the air is practically complete; we have more reserves at hand; our supply lines are less disturbed; we are fighting in a relatively friendly country; and we command the sea on both of the enemy's flanks. These conditions might lead us to expect an overwhelming and annihilating victory. That might occur if both sides were seeking a decision. But it is now obvious that Kesselring is fighting to avoid a decision. He hopes not to win, but to damage and delay. The collapse of the Alban Line will force a large part of Kesselring's armies on to the secondary mountain roads.

Many years ago Mr. Churchill said of the Battle of Jutland: "There are profound differences between a battle where both sides

wish for a full trial of strength and skill, and a battle where one side has no intention of fighting to a finish and seeks only to retire without disadvantage or dishonour from an unequal and undesired combat". Something of the same kind might be said of Kesselring's tactics. It is an effort to make the destruction of Europe the price of Germany's defeat, coupled perhaps with the hope that the Allies will grow weary of the horror and destruction.

The Pope's plea for the salvation of Rome, his request for mercy for the vanquished, his reference to the possibility of a negotiated peace met with respect in this country, but very little acquiescence. The Sunday Express says editorially: "Of course we shall spare Rome if it is possible, though we did not cry for pity on our own shrines. He pleads for mercy for the vanquished, and we reply that we are not without mercy. He pleads for a negotiated peace; that, whatever he may plead, we will not have." And the Express concludes that Britain is determined to crush Germany and Nazism and Fascism to dust, and not even the Pope shall gainsay us.

Most of the world is waiting for the crushing blow from the West, and the tension is increasing. Over here one hears very little discussion of the forthcoming military operation. It seems to be generally realised that it [redacted] the stage where discussion can influence the outcome. But there is still

considerable controversy about Allied policy towards France. There is widespread uneasiness and considerable alarm. General de Gaulle will shortly be engaging in conversations with the British here in London, but no plans have been made for American participation in these talks. I think what is happening is this: An effort is being made to try to find a formula - some means by which American representatives can exchange views with General de Gaulle without in fact engaging in official conversations with him. The possibility of direct conversations cannot be ruled out, but the prospects are certainly not very favourable. Meanwhile the British public is being told - unofficially of course - that the failure to recognise the French National Committee is the direct result of American policy. And it is common talk in government circles that this is the personal policy of President Roosevelt. There is no point in trying to disguise or conceal these matters. There is disagreement between Britain and America over France and over Spain.

The British are naturally more interested in France than we are, because after the war they will have to live with her as a very near neighbour. And it seems possible at least that public opinion and the press may force British recognition of the French National Committee. The demand for such action is reflected by almost every daily newspaper, no matter what its political complexion, and by the weekly magazines as well.

Such unanimity of opinion has scarcely been seen since the universal condemnation of the deal with Darlan. It seems to be made up of a combination of considerations. There is a certain sentimental attachment to General de Gaulle as the man who led the gallant remnant of the French who stood by Britain when all seemed lost. There is the widespread belief that the National Committee is more representative than several exiled governments that now enjoy British recognition. And above everything else there is the widespread fear that a failure to regularise relations with the French National Committee may jeopardise civil peace in France, and reduce the military aid given by the resistance movement. In addition to these considerations there is the knowledge on the part of the British, who have been considerably bombed, that no people enjoy that modern experience. They know that the French are now suffering great destruction and loss of life; that in certain areas they are being bombed as the British were never bombed; and people here are worried about French reaction, not only now but later. It would be possible to talk at length about the representative character of any government in exile; equally possible to discuss General de Gaulle's personality and the reputations of some of the men around him. It would also be permissible to debate the wisdom of making Generals responsible for important, perhaps decisive, political decisions. But I am concerned to report only a few facts, or at least I believe them to be facts.

The first is that there is a widespread and growing impatience at the Anglo-American failure to reach a complete working agreement with the French National Committee. The second, the failure to reach such an agreement is attributed in government circles and in the press to the personal policy of President Roosevelt. The third, the pressure of public opinion may be sufficient to force the British Government to recognise the French National Committee regardless of Washington's wishes. Fourthly, the present uncertainty, the failure of existing machinery to achieve an agreed policy, is causing many ~~people~~ thoughtful people to question the possibility of united action when the threat of the enemy is removed. As one Statesman put it to me the other day: "Faith in the future is a delicate thing, and if it is too much damaged now we may find that military victory will not be sufficient to restore it." To most observers here the position seems to be serious, but as I said, the door is not yet closed, the diplomats may find their formula which will permit us to achieve a working agreement with the French National Committee. If we fail to do so for reasons of personal pride, irresponsibility or the belief that proud nations can be remade in our own image, then the responsibility will rest heavily upon those who make the decision. In saying that I am attempting to do no more than summarise the opinion of most political observers that I know, both American and British, who have knowledge of European and French affairs.

As most of you know, a great military effort is to be launched from this Island at some future date. Elaborate preparations have been made to bring you news of this undertaking with speed and accuracy. ~~Yesterday there occurred one of those fantastic, incredible mistakes~~ Yesterday there was a false alarm, and it was one of those things that just doesn't seem possible. The news agency concerned had taken every measure that caution and great experience could devise to prevent such a thing happening. It was one of those accidents that no man can foresee. But it prompts me to tell you as much as I can, within the limits of military security, of the method by which you will be informed of the commencement of operations. In the first place there won't be any scoops. The official announcement will come over all four radio networks simultaneously from London. Cables will go forth to the American news agencies at the same time. The announcement will be official beyond all doubt. During the early days, and until such time as all of the major news-gathering agencies - radio and press - are represented on the other side, all material reaching London will be pooled. That simply means that whatever reaches the cable heads or the radio transmitters - whether it comes from an American, Canadian, Australian or a British correspondent - will be available to everybody. There will be no such thing as exclusivity. This regulation was laid down by Supreme Headquarters/Allied Expeditionary Force, and its aim is to provide listeners and readers in Allied

and neutral countries with the maximum amount of news in the least possible time. This does not mean that you will be receiving only the official handouts. But it does mean that during the early days any American broadcaster or correspondent filing from London will have available for his use or information the sum total of all the despatches coming back from the Continent. As soon as adequate arrangements can be made for all of the major news-gathering organisations to be represented, pooling will cease.

~~Sexfxdxxxxxmerixanxbroadcastingxisxconcerned~~

An elaborate organisation has been established for the delivery of copy to London. It will come in by land, sea and air courier; and it will reach you as soon as modern means of communication can get it to you. ~~Recordingxxx~~ Eye-witness accounts of action at sea, on land and in the air, will arrive in recorded form; and as soon as military requirements permit we hope to originate broadcasts direct from the Continent of Europe.

I have participated in the planning of the news coverage of Allied operations since this war began. The planning for this one is more complete and comprehensive than any I have seen before. But the proof of the planning is in what comes out of the loud-speaker. OF The reporters who are going to do the job, it seems to me fair to say that they consider their assignment

as something more than just a way to make a living

CBS. JUNE 11. LESUEUR. Used by Murrow - 19-30

FROM AN AMERICAN FIELD HOSPITAL SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE.

The first American girls arrived on the second front today - one hundred and sixteen of them. When they waded ashore through cold Channel waters from the landing barges, soldiers in foxholes on the beach blinked their eyes, scarcely believing that the padded figures wearing two layers of men's uniforms - including pants, leggings and steel helmets - were really American Army nurses.

The nurses didn't take time to remove their wet clothing before they set about caring for the wounded. Some of them set up pup tents while two Red Cross girls started placing cigarettes in the mouths of badly wounded paratroopers as soon as they arrived.

Most of the girls are from the Middle West, particularly Wisconsin and Minnesota. Some have already had front line experience in North Africa and Italy; but most of them are as green as some of the troops were on the first day of the second front. Margaret Stanfill of Hayti, Missouri, the first woman ashore said: she got a big kick out of the Channel crossing and was fascinated by a glider bomb which circled her ship and exploded harmlessly in the channel with considerable noise.

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92 INTLD MN
PRESS SECTION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

CBS. MURROW JUNE 11. 19.30 270 ~~xxx~~ LEAD.

THIS IS LONDON: In Normandy the battle is raging furiously. It is a swaying struggle, but so far as we know the day has brought no important change in the position. X

General Alexander's steady advance in Italy continues. South-East Asia Command reports satisfactory progress in clearing the Kohima-Impal area.

The lull on the Russian front continues, although it is generally expected both in London and in Moscow that the Russian offensive will be launched in the near future.

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PRESS SECTION
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JUNE 11, 1944. 270
19.30.45-19.42 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

It's just about four years since the British troops came back from Dunkirk. When they returned in the little fishing smacks and paddle steamers, the people at the ports cheered them and gave them tea. Today there are fewer signs of emotion. It causes one to wonder whether the British ever cheer their victories. Nothing that has happened has demonstrated more clearly the weight of fatigue that rests upon this country. The civilian population is simply too tired to react . Hard work and repeated disappointments have taken their toll, and that applies to women as well as to men. As a matter of fact, the only reason the British have been able to put such a formidable force into the field is that women have been doing men's jobs - releasing men for combat duty. I should like to tell you a story brought back by my colleague Charles Collingwood, who went across in an LST on D Day. He says: "The last word from the shore that the men on my ship had was a signal from a Wren (one of the girls serving with the Royal Navy). I should say that in this port there are a lot of British Wrens who help run the shore base. They live in dormitories up above the harbor, and it is a constant pastime among men of the LST's in port to keep the girls under a continual inspection through their glasses. When the boys caught on that there were girls up there who knew semaphore there was a sudden interest in the technique of signalling, and many a man learned to wave his way through a halting alphabet.

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PRESS SECTION
PRESS & CENSORSHIP BUREAU

They used to signal "Hello" and "How are you?" and "How about a date?" This never did them any good, but they felt very dashing and it made them happy. The signalling was finally stopped on security grounds, but the boys used to keep the girls under constant observation just the same. Collingwood says the night before they sailed, just as it was getting dark, a girl came out of the Wren house where they all live and began to signal. She made just one word. The amateur signallers on the LST spelled it out. The one word was: "Courage". And then, because she knew it was against the rules, the Wren turned around and ran back into the house. ...The work she was doing probably released a man who could go to sea and fight..Our WAVES are doing the same thing..the other night I talked with the commander of the first American ship to be sunk in this operation..He told me how his ship was caught and hammered to death by shore batteries..he ordered the power boats over in an effort to tow her clear..but it was no good..he had to abandon ship..the current carried the swimming men round and round the sinking ahip..and the Germans sontinued to shell her...Some of the men who fought that ship so well were probably released for sea duty by WAVES who had taken their place ashore..The skipper was quietly proud of his men..and he was also proud of his wife who is in the WAVE.. ..Our invasion fleets..and the ships escorting them carry many men who are at sea simply because women have voluntered to take their places ashore..Eyve talked with a lot of Navy men over here, and with some Navy pilots too. No matter how tough the job they're doing they all have a salute for the WAVE

replacing them ashore.

Now that the great push is on the American sailors in the narrow waters are doing men's work, and the Navy can use more thousands of WAVES . When men who have been sunk and who are waiting for another ship pay tribute to the work the WAVES are doing, then there is nothing that a landlubber can add..The word from the sea is that more women are needed to release men for active service..and the voice from the sea expects an answer in the form of more enlistments in the WAVE...

PASSED AS CENSORED
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PRESS SECTION
PRESS & CENSORSHIP BUREAU

This is the sixth day of the invasion of Western Europe. Troops are in continuous contact, from east of the River Orne to a point northwest of St. Mer Eglise. This is a distance of something like 50 miles, but at no point is the penetration deeper than eleven miles. Something like 500 square miles of the Continent have been occupied by the Allies, but about two million more are still controlled by the enemy. We have made a beginning and a brilliant one, but it is still only a beginning. It seems unlikely that more than a fraction of the available force has been committed. ~~Something like two million men are poised waiting to strike or to defend.~~ The battle has started, but it has not yet been fully joined - far from it.

This is perhaps a good time to survey the accomplishments and lessons of the past week. In some places the West Wall was easier to breach than we had expected. In other places the issue hung in the balance for many hours. The correspondents who went ashore do not agree as to the strength of the coastal fortifications, but the more experienced of them say that the West Wall was far from being a fake. The enemy troops along the coastal fringe were of second or third-rate quality - a number of Poles, Czechs and Russians among them. Most of them fought with cunning and determination.

The airborne landings were on the whole succesful, and some London commentators maintain that this was the final proof of the effectiveness of this type of warfare, and that it marks a revolution in the conduct of warfare comparable only to the introduction of the

tank.

There can be no question that the cooperation between land, sea and air forces has reached a new high. On the whole the communications between spotters on the ground and warships at sea were satisfactory. The close air support has been operating along the same lines as those established by Air Marshal Tedder in the Western Desert. We now have a couple of crash landing strips, and one or two re-arming and re-fuelling strips, but the weight of our air attack must for some time to come continue to be based on this island. The Allied heavy bombers have shortened their range, and are now working on transport and communications feeding the front in Normandy. The Germans continue to hoard their air strength, but their defence against night bombing is stiffening. The Royal Air Force lost 20 heavy bombers last night.

Every report reaching London indicates that our medical and evacuation services are working smoothly; the landing craft come back carrying the wounded; they are moved with tenderness and speed; the men going aboard to be transported to the fighting front just don't look at the wounded being brought ashore.

During most of the last six days the weather has been against us, ~~and our operations are probably 24 hours behind schedule as a result.~~ But today the weather has improved, and our medium bombers have been out in full strength. Some of the Marauders have been going in as low as 200 feet to bomb tank concentrations and field guns.. This overwhelming Allied air superiority will

pay dividends not only in terms of the destruction of communications, armour and guns. In the early days of this war I saw many troops who had fought for days or weeks under the incessant threat of German aircraft, when our planes were nowhere to be seen. That state of affairs affects the toughest and the best-trained troops.

Today it appears that the enemy has concentrated his armour in the area round Caen, which is about the only terrain on the present front favorable to the use of armored forces. There is no doubt that all of the German local reserves are now in action, but their major counter-attack is not yet underway. There is nothing in prospect except fighting of increased intensity and bitterness. The Allied Commanders continue to regard the situation as satisfactory. The reinforcements - the armour and supplies - are going in on schedule; and General Montgomery has been able to hold some of his crack formations in reserve . Our progress has been slow at all points during the last 48 hours, but that does not necessarily mean that we are lacking the strength for heavier blows. Montgomery has earned his reputation for caution, and there is nothing in his record that should lead us to expect him to move sizeable forces too far forward where they would be in danger of being bitten off by a counter-attack.

The Germans continue to harass the flanks of our convoy route, but so far their losses have been greater than ours, and there is no information here at Headquarters to indicate that we have

sustained serious loss, either in fighting ships or in transport.

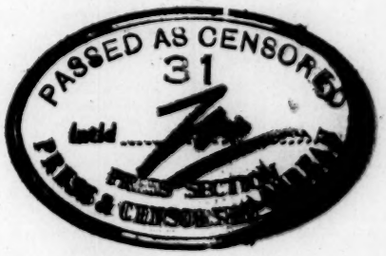
During the past six days hundreds of thousands of words have been reaching London from Allied war correspondents in the field. From this mass of material it is, I think, possible to draw a few general conclusions. The first is that no correspondent has found or is likely to find words adequate to describe the deeds of personal heroism he has witnessed. There seems to be agreement that the behaviour of the German troops in the territory we have liberated was, on the whole, correct. Most reporters say they observe signs of malnutrition among the civilian population, but there have been no reports of atrocities committed by the German troops of occupation.

The reports about French political opinion vary considerably. Some correspondents maintain that the allegiance to de Gaulle and to the French National Committee is almost universal, while others find that Marshal Petain's following is still considerable. The majority of correspondents are of the opinion that General de Gaulle would be warmly welcomed in the liberated territory. It is, of course, obvious that we haven't yet liberated enough territory for anyone to form a sound judgment about the present political complexion of the French civil population. There seems to be general agreement that the Allied forces have received a cordial

welcome from the people of Normandy, but the enthusiasm appears to have been tempered by the knowledge that the "red-hot rake of battle" may have to be drawn across most of France before the Germans are defeated.

The London press continues to devote considerable space to General de Gaulle. He has stated his dissatisfaction with the financial and political arrangements existing between the Allies and the French National Committee; and he has been refused permission to land on French soil. The demand for the recognition of the French National Committee as the provisional government of France is increasing, and more and more the responsibility for the failure to take such action is rightly or wrongly placed upon President Roosevelt.

One domestic development of the last six days deserves to be recorded. At a time when the best of the youth of the English-speaking world are buying with their lives the safety and the security of all who breathe the air of freedom, French and German bonds have risen on the Stock Exchange - so have shares in Continental railways. Considerable money has been made; that is perhaps inevitable, and hardly likely to be of interest to the men in Normandy.



As more and more men - the wounded, the correspondents and the couriers - return from the far shore, we continue to here stories of heroism and hard work. Army officers even have kind words for the Navy. And friends of mine in the Royal Navy sing the praises of the American sailors - and the Royal Navy thinks it's pretty good, and never gives out praise to another fighting service unless that praise is richly merited. ~~Ourxxxxxxxxx~~ It will probably be many years before history catches up with what the two Navies have done in the past two weeks. Some of the story you have heard. The man responsible for the arrangements which permitted American reporters to cover our Navy is sitting here with me now. He has talked to us here at SHAEF on the Naval situation. I have sat in many briefing conferences since this war began, and never have I heard more concise answers given to questions, and never have I seen an officer take less evasive action. His answers were direct rapid fire; his denials a heavy salvo; when he said something was "off the record" nobody doubted that it was off the record, and that there were sound reasons for not publishing it. Most of the American correspondents here at SHAEF have received their Naval information from Captain Leland Lovat of the United States Navy. He has been our naval spokesman, and in the opinion of most correspondents we couldn't have had a better one. Since those of us who work here have had the benefit of his experience and information, I see no reason why you at home shouldn't have the same opportunity. Captain Lovat (this is on the record).....

As you know, the Germans have been using their pilotless planes against southern England for the last few days and nights. Any report about this weapon must be made in the most general of terms. The security censors have clamped down a pretty complete ban on any discussion of these attacks. ~~The~~ ~~in~~ ~~action~~ ~~in~~ ~~doing~~ ~~so~~ Their reasons for doing so are both clear and valid. There is reason to believe that the Germans lack information regarding the performance of these missiles in the air, the effect they have when they ~~xxxx~~ explode, and the accuracy of their aim. For those reasons no denial or confirmation can be given of the German claims. But it is worth noting that in the last twenty-four hours the Germans themselves have started to put the whole operation in its proper perspective for their own people. They are no longer maintaining that it will cause the collapse or the destruction of England.

Having seen one or two of these buzzing bombs, and having had an opportunity to see from the air the platforms from which they are launched; and having had rather unusual facilities for observing the conduct of civilians during air raids - I should like to make a few personal observations concerning this latest form of attack. It was by no means unexpected. Defensive plans have been well underway since last October, and they are meeting with a reasonable amount of success.

~~A re-grouping of ack-ack guns has been carried out, and the new defences are meeting with reasonable success.~~ The sky over the southern half of England is again heavy with the constant threat of destruction. The civilian population seems to be as steady as ever it was. But there is nothing light-hearted, gay or defiant in the reaction, as there was in the old days when the bombers were piloted by boys. If ever there was any chance of Britain's agreeing to a soft peace with Germany, that chance has now been considerably reduced. Aerial bombardment, both for those who bomb and those who receive, is a rather impersonal sort of thing. Anger is seldom directed at the individuals doing the bombing. And the bomber crews don't gloat about, or derive satisfaction from the killing of civilians. But this newest development is somehow different. The very fact that no lives are risked in delivering the high explosive serves to increase the resentment. The element of combat and courage between the bomber, the gunners and the night fighters is lacking; and the whole thing becomes mechanical and rather obscene. It's true that these pilotless planes do resemble in a vague sort of way a short-winged fighter. They do give off a yellowish white light at night. Their sound is a rather low-pitched rumble, easily distinguishable from the noise made either by bombers or fighters. The runways from which these craft are launched are cleverly camouflaged and exceedingly difficult to destroy. From the air they

appear to an untrained observer to resemble a long concrete ski-run; nearby there is a square concrete house; and the bombs, to be effective, must score direct hits on one or both of those installations. For the past couple of days and nights Allied bombers have been working on those installations. That may be one reason why the Germans chose to employ their new device just at this time. For bombers that are used against those targets must be diverted from other objectives which might contribute more directly to the progress of the war in France.

If the Germans had hoped to shatter civilian morale, they have failed. This is not a weapon that will affect the outcome of the war. And if the Allied High Command should choose to let those emplacements alone and concentrate on tactical bombing behind the enemy lines, then British civilians will just take it and go on working. My personal impression is that aside from the inevitable personal tragedies and loss of homes that attends any indiscriminate bombing, the most important result of this German effort will be its effect upon the minds of the people who are subjected to it. The British make little jokes about their national characteristic of forgiving and forgetting, but I have the impression they are going to remember this - and not because it's worse than previous bombings...far from it. It's just because it's a little more mechanical,

inhuman and altogether too German.

British and American scientists will soon master these pilotless planes, but the people who live here are now less than ever likely to forget the political philosophy that caused them to be launched.

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PRESS SECTION
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

Murrow to CBS...seven thirty....

This is London..The latest news here is that we are thru to the coast at Barneville..The American Ninth division drove thru a corridor six to seven miles wide..That means that there is a dangerously narrow n neck in our salient..just near St Saveur...~~There has been no important~~ ~~xx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~zx There is no important change at the ends of our perimiter — ~~xxxxxx~~zx we ~~still~~ do not hold Mount bourg but we have cut off the Cherbourge peninsula..The Americans have made a local advance near St L8..and the British have secured limited objectives East of Tilly.. More than fifteen thousand German prisoners have now been counted... American heavy bombers have been out in great strength today... more than thirteen hundred of them..attacking strategic tagets in Germany..they bombed thru cloud and met no fighter opposition..This is the greatest ~~xxxx~~x daylight force ever to be sent against German targets..The Marauders and Havocs have continued to bomb ammunition dumps and communications behind the lines..Some of the Marauders have been flying from three in the morning till eleven at night...

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C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY JUNE 25, 1944.
19.30.45019.40.10 EDWARD R. MURROW. (550)

This is a country of curious contrasts. Great battles may be fought - nations destroyed - and Empires collapse - but there is a long-established routine, a way of living, a method of conducting the Government's business that goes steadily on. When Neville Chamberlain made his big pronouncement at the time of Munich, it had to be preceded by several questions from Members of Parliament - one dealing with the state of the municipal drainage in a rural town - another with the progress of a rat-catching campaign in another place. At the height of a daylight blitz on London the House of Commons spent two days debating the care and treatment of a few hundred enemy aliens interned on the Isle of Wight. When Italy declared war the highest court in the land was considering the appeal of an Italian convicted of murder; ~~the verdict was reversed~~ the court decided he was not guilty. On the day of the invasion of Europe from the shores of England, there was a wonderfully trivial bit of business in the House. A Member requested an assurance that in the future the members of the Government Minor and Manipulative Grades Association of Office Cleaners would be referred to as such, and not as Charwomen or Charladies. The spokesman for the Government stated that they would continue to be referred to as Cleaners.

Down in the country 14th century thatched cottages house some of the most complicated pieces of radiolocation machinery ever

devised by man - American and British wounded are recuperating in houses made famous by the English poets whose works they studied in school. The other day the Commander of a tank outfit sent in a requisition for a good archeologist. When asked what he wanted with such a learned individual the Commander replied that he had to move his tanks; these modern roads wouldn't hold them; but he knew that there was an old Roman road that ran from here to there, and he knew from experience that that would carry his tanks.

Pilotless planes have been confirming H.G. Wells prophecies. An elderly lady was heard to remark that the thing she didn't like about them was that they were so sly. This newest German weapon seems to be encountering increasingdifficulties in the daytime. None came over the South Coast yesterday - they sent a few over last night, but none have appeared so far today. Sometimes they send them over singly, and other times in salvoes up to ten. There have been occasions when four have been knocked down by fighters almost simultaneously. Their explosive charge is about the equivalent of the old-fashioned two-thousand-pound bomb. Sometimes when the fighter pilots explode them in the air the blast turns the fighter upside-down.

The other day in the House of Commons, Herbert Morrison gave the first official information about the effectiveness of these doodle-bugs. Little damage of national importance has

been caused, and public utilities have been only slightly affected so far. Back in February the Germans ran five light night raids. They were very light indeed compared to the old Blitz raids, but they killed more people than the doodle-bugs have in the first five days they have been used. And then Mr. Morrision made a very important statement. He said it may be that the enemy will improve his devices, or that other devices are in store for us. You will have noticed that a great weight of British and American bombs has been going down on the Pas de Calais. A much greater weight than was ever dropped in a comparable time on the airfields from which the night bombers flew. But the night bombers, even in medium strength, did more damage. The conclusion would seem to be obvious. Huge fleets of Allied bombers are not being diverted from other attractive military targets just in order to flatten the nests of these relatively ineffective doodle-bugs. It would seem that Mr. Morrison's warning "that other devices may be in store for us" should be taken seriously, and is in fact being taken seriously by the High Command. These launching platforms, ~~with~~ the control and assembly buildings, are not of uniform size. Some of them appear to be much more elaborate than anything that would be required to launch these relatively small projectiles. All of these installations are well camouflaged, hard to find and hard to hit. In some cases it has been necessary to blast out the whole corner of a small forest before the building and ski-way is clearly visible. Whole areas in the Pas de Calais present

a dismal sight. The bomb craters overlap; it's as though some giant had been reaching down from the sky with a post-hole digger. But there's one interesting fact about the pattern made by the bomb-strikes. There are a lot of small villages in that part of France. Flying over it the other day I could see six villages and six bomb strikes; and so far as I could tell not a village had been damaged. It's true, of course, that there's been a lot of damage to civilian property - that's inevitable because some of the launching platforms are very close to groups of houses. But when it is finally possible to get in there on the ground, I think we'll find that the bombing is a tribute to the accuracy of our bombardiers.

Last week the House of Commons devoted three days to a discussion not directly related to the war. It was debating the White Paper on employment policy. The Government merely said that it accepted the responsibility for the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war. That is not legislation; it is merely a declaration of intention; but it does represent a change. In the past governments have accepted a measure of responsibility for solving the problems created by unemployment. This is a more affirmative approach, and it is likewise a recognition that private enterprise in Britain after the war cannot guarantee or maintain full employment. Private enterprise will be encouraged by the Government to time its investment to fit in with the over-all picture. A small committee

of experts will produce a manpower budget, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ showing what manpower is available, just as a financial budget indicates what money is available. During periods of prosperity the workman's contribution to the social insurance scheme will be high; during bad times it will be low. There will be special training courses for men who are required in new industries. This, as I said, is only a declaration of intention; it is not law. It is a declaration of war against unemployment, but those who are to conduct the battle have not yet been selected because this is a coalition government, and the plan represents a compromise between conflicting interests.

Out of this three-day ~~xxxx~~ debate it is impossible to draw final conclusions as to the future political and economic structure of this country. ~~But it is, I think,~~ But the debate did indicate certain trends unmistakably. There is widespread concern in all parties as to what will happen if the soldiers come home and find no jobs. There would appear to be agreement that private enterprise alone cannot insure a high and stable level of employment after the war. It will be necessary for the government to exercise increased control over the distribution of manpower and investment. In other words, this debate can be taken as another indication of a widespread willingness to see a closer partnership between industry and government. The no-man's-land for future debate - the area in which political campaigns will be fought - is this: how much liberty, how much

freedom of action will the individual and the corporation be willing to give up in order to achieve security and steady work? Various nations have tried to solve that problem in different ways. Certainly it would be a mistake to say that the British have in fact solved it. They haven't even drafted the necessary legislation. But the White Paper and the three days debate must be taken as encouraging evidence that they propose to attempt their solution within the framework of Democratic Parliamentary procedure. The general tone of the debate reflected a willingness to move toward what is generally called the Left. That may be only because the Conservatives in this country have always been adept at giving up part of their power in order to retain most of it. But the importance of this debate, while it committed no one to anything, lies in the fact that in the fifth year of war - with great and decisive battles in progress - the House of Commons devoted three days of orderly though at times rambling debate to the question: How can the citizen be assured of steady work without at the same time giving up the essential rights of citizenship? Whatever we may think of the legislation when it's finally produced; whatever the outcome of the argument; anyone who is interested in the survival of democratic processes in Europe must consider the debate a sign of health and strength.

Murrow to CBS...Sunday Seven Thirty..June twenty five...

~~This is London...Its a long time since we have had a Sunday like this.~~ The Russians are moving in a hundred and twenty five mile arc towards the White Russian Capitol of Minsk..The Germans say they are facing eighty infantry divisions and a whole tank army round Vitebsk, ~~and~~ that vital city will probably be cut off before long.. ~~American troops are fighting in the street of Cherbourg and before many days that great port, where American tourists, wearing NY Orchids, used to go ashore, their riches leather baggage preceding them, will be handling starve stuff.~~ The British and Canadians struck south of Caen eraly this morning..the weather is good and progress satisfactory...In Italy allied armies continue to advance along the west coast..but resistance in the center is stiffening... South East Asia command reports the reopening of the Dinpuhr-Imphal road... ~~[illegible]~~ From all fronts the news is good...

LEAD..

THE LATEST WORD FROM CHERBOURG IS THAT THERE IS STREET FIGHTING IN the outskirts..~~This~~ The enemy is fighting desperately..This afternoon a mixed Naval force ~~under~~ consisting of battleships cruisers and destroyers has been bombarding targets in the Cherbourg area..The force is under the command of rear Admiral Deyo flying his flag in the Tuscaloosa...~~V~~ Cloud over Cherbourg is ten tenths but inland visibility is better..Allied fighter and medium bombers have hit seven "choke points" on the RR between Paris and Orleans.

9:40:10

C.B.S. LONDON: SUNDAY JULY 2,1944.
19.30.30-19.42 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

The Germans have had a black week, and the worst of their news has come from Russia. Their defensive positions along the 200 mile front have crumbled, and Marshal Stalin's terse orders of the day have ended any German hope that they might be able to fight a slow defensive action in the East,while concentrating sufficient force to throw us off the western fringe of the Continent. The great White Russian city of Minsk may not yet have fallen, but the Russians will certainly take it in a matter of hours or at most days. The German retreat has in fact become a rout, and it seems likely that the Russians are winning their greatest single victory of the war.

The Germans do not have sufficient troops or equipment to hold three fronts in equal strength. They must choose the point at which they can give ground with the least danger. The retreat in Russia is not a voluntary withdrawal, for the psychological results of a Russian break-through into East Prussia would be enormous, and it might isolate German forces in the Baltic States. It had appeared that the German High Command chose deliberately to give ground in Italy, and that has been done with considerable success from the German point of view. But the enemy is still short of men and armour, and the Turkish radio is now predicting that they may pull straight back out of Italy, leaving only sufficient forces to guard the mountain passes and the approaches to southern France. Whatever

the German grand strategy may be it is clear that they are determined to give first priority to the Western front. The great gun battle around Caen is still ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ going on. But the main battle has not yet begun, and when it does come it is likely to be only the first of several. Rommel has succeeded in getting up a high percentage of his available armour, and the country where this battle will be fought is just about the best tank country in that part of France. It has become necessary to use the R.A.F. heavy bombers in daylight attacks against his tank parks, in order that the weight of bombs dropped might be sufficient to destroy the well-protected and carefully camouflaged tanks being held in reserve. The German position, wherever you look - south, east or west - appears to be deterioriating; but they continue to offer a dour defence. Prisoners appear less confident of German victory than they did a year ago, but there is no indication that the morale, either of the troops or of the Commanders, has been broken. Many of the formations that we have met in Normandy have been composed of second and third-rate troops, but they have fought well. The men who ~~xxx~~ manned the guns in the harbour forts at Cherbourg must certainly have been convinced that they were contributing something to the German cause. It's true that many German prisoners believed they would be shot or mutilated when captured, and steps are now being taken by means of radio and pamphlets to assure the German soldier that he will be well treated.

It is hoped thereby to increase his appetite for surrender.

But there is no indication, even in the secret reports, that the will to fight on has been broken, either in the German Army or amongst the civilian population. The German propaganda of all or nothing, of this being a battle for the existence of the individual as well as of Germany, is obviously effective. The time is coming - no one knows when - it may already have arrived - when Allied propaganda might shorten this war and save lives. The British and ourselves have tens of thousands of people working on the job, and in general they are in the position of soldiers who have guns but no ammunition. They have radio transmitters and printing presses, but only the vaguest of policies. The Allies now have overwhelming and,as soon as we can get it to the right spot, crushing military and material power. We can eventually blast and batter our way into the heart of Germany. The real question is whether that is necessary. No one can seriously maintain that unconditional surrender is either a policy or an idea. It is merely a phrase. Already we are telling the German soldiers at the front that if they surrender unconditbnally they will receive good treatment, cigarettes and good food. If you tell a nation what you intend to do to it once it's defeated, then you are really saying what you are fighting for, and the people of that nation know what they are trying to prevent your doing to them and their ~~nationix~~ nation. They then have a choice. Now they have none. But at some time

the people of Germany must decide to stop fighting. Then, presumably, the Allied leaders will have to say what's going to happen to them. ~~Thxxxxdoesxitxseemxtoxbex~~ The question is: why should they not be told now? The fact is they are not being told. There may be several reasons. It may be that the Allied leaders do not themselves know the answers. Perhaps they cannot agree upon a united policy. It may be that the terms contemplated are so harsh that they would increase the German will to resist. Or on the other hand they might be so generous as to provoke dissatisfaction in one or another of the Allied countries.

Whatever the reasons for our reluctance, it is safe to assume that the answer to Europe's major problem: "What to do with Germany", will not be any easier on the day of victory. But if that answer could now be revealed to the German people it might make the victory easier. Most of the men, British and Americans, who are attempting to undermine the German will to continue the war, are government employees. That means that they cannot speak publicly. But it is a fact that the vast majority of them are bewildered and frustrated by the lack of policy. They have an elaborate machine but very little ammunition. And now it will be said that such remarks are ammunition for Doctor Goebbels. Too much truth has been suppressed on the grounds that it might help Dr. Goebbels. He knows full well the messages we are sending to the German peopl And he has in one sense keyed his to ours, for he hammers conti

on the theme: "The Allies offer you nothing but annihilation or slavery". There have been times in this war when the potency of propaganda has been over-estimated. When a nation is wading through victories as the Germans did for two years, it is difficult if not impossible to destroy their faith in themselves and to present to them a more attractive livable alternative. But now, when the war machine is running down, when defeat follows defeat, when the final crash may be only a matter of months - and idea or a plan might shorten the war. It's no good blaming the Office of War Information or the Ministry of Information for the lack of ammunition. This is a decision that can only be taken by heads of state. The decision may have been made; if it has, it has not been revealed; and the continued concealment xxx is no contribution to victory. If that sounds blunt and dogmatic I can only say that I know no one engaged in writing or speaking to the Germans who would disagree with it.

No report from London would be complete without some mention of the doodle-bugs. They have continued to come over at night as well as in the daytime. As you know, they have been falling on southern England. I can't tell you that they have hit London; no more can I tell you that they have not hit London. That's the way the censorship is. Today there is some agitation in the newspapers, saying that the censorship ought to be relaxed because rumour is filling the gap, and people in the north of England

have an exaggerated idea of the damage done. It may be that Mr. Churchill will give some information about casualties, and the number of these flying pigs shot down, when he speaks to the House Commons ~~xxxTuesdayxxx~~ this week. So far the Germans do not appear to have exhausted their supply of these flying bombs. And there are sound reasons to expect the arrival of bigger and more destructive missiles sometime in the future. The German radio is saying that they'll keep their revenge weapon at home if Britain and America will stop bombing German cities. That means, of course, that these rather graceful but weird gadgets will continue to arrive. A couple of London papers suggest today that we should choose three or four small German towns and obliterate them as retaliation. That isn't likely to happen either. "London can take it" was a fine heroic phrase. But "southern England can take it" doesn't have the same ring. As one who saw something of the old-fashioned blitz, I have been interested in observing the reaction of people in southern England to this new air weapon. In the first place the rescue, demolition and first-aid services are working with the ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ smoothness and precision of veterans. There are a few bomb stories, but they somehow don't seem to measure up to the old ones. The Americans, men and women, have quickly become accustomed to the routine, although all of the old-timers, of course, tell them that it's nothing like as bad as the old days - and it isn't. It's just different. It isn't

easy to generalise about public reaction in a place the size of southern England, but here are a few personal impressions for what they are worth. People resent these things more than they did the old-fashioned bombs - partly because they're unpredictable, and partly because they come near the end of what has been a long war. The civilian population feels a little like a front-line soldier when he knows he has leave coming. At such a time, as some of you know, he becomes extra careful because that leave seems important and he wants to live to enjoy it. People in southern England feel that they have a bit of leave coming, in the shape of peace, in a few more months. I have noticed the same attitude with pilots who were flying their last mission. No matter how easy it is, or how good the fighter protection, they have a tendency to take every possible precaution, wrap themselves up well in flak suits and put on the tin helmet as soon as they cross the enemy coast. On earlier and tougher missions they were much less concerned about risk, but on the last one they want to be sure to come back. That's about the way it is with these flying bombs.

During the last week the British press and radio have handled two pieces of American-made news; and have done it in a manner that reflects credit on broadcasters and journalists. The storming of Cherbourg was reported in as much detail, with as great satisfaction and with as glowing tributes to the American troops,

as would have been the case had the action been fought by the oldest and best of the British regiments. ~~The nomination of Mr. Dewey was almost~~ The news of Mr. Dewey's nomination was an example of good reporting by British correspondents in Chicago, coupled with restrained and informative editorial comment here. ~~It was almost a model~~ It might almost serve as a model for reporting domestic politics of an Allied country.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London.....Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. MURROW. JULY 2. 19.30 LEAD:

642

THIS IS LONDON: For seventy two hours the Germans have been counter attacking in the Caen area..Most of the attacks have been of batallion strength or less, supported by a few tanks ...And the latest word at SHAEF is that the bridgehead over the ODON stands firm... Romell has comitted part of his strategical reserve to this patching effort..~~xndzkhezzizxnx~~ (and aside from street fighting there is no more expensive form of attack)..The weather over the battle front is still unfavourable..Fortresses and liberators attacked the flying bomb bases today but they bombed thru cloud..In Italy the fifth and eighth armies ~~xxxxxx~~ continue to move up both coasts... reaching for the important ports of Leghorn and Ancona...The Russians are still moving to the west,outflanking and destroying the retreating Germans.

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PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

C.B.S. LONDON: SUNDAY JULY 2,1944.
19.30.30-19.42 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

43:10

The Germans have had a black week,-and the worst of their news has come from Russia. Their defensive positions along ~~the~~ a 200 mile front have crumbled, and Marshal Stalin's terse orders of the day have ended any German hope that they might be able to fight a slow defensive action in the East,while concentrating sufficient force to throw us off the western fringe of the Continent. The great White Russian city of Minsk may not yet have fallen, but the Russians will certainly take it in a matter of hours or at most days. The German retreat has in fact become a rout, and it seems likely that the Russians are winning their greatest single victory of the war.

The Germans do not have sufficient troops or equipment to hold three fronts in equal strength. They must choose the point at which they can give ground with the least danger. The retreat in Russia is not a voluntary withdrawal, for the psychological results of a Russian break-through into East Prussia would be enormous, and it might isolate German forces in the Baltic States. It had appeared that the German High Command chose deliberately to give ground in Italy, and that has been done with considerable success from the German point of view. But the enemy is still short of men and armour, and the Turkish radio is now predicting that they may pull straight back out of Italy, leaving only sufficient forces to guard the mountain passes and the approaches to southern France. Whatever

the German grand strategy may be it is clear that they are determined to give first priority to the Western front. The great gun battle around Caen is still ~~progressing~~ going on. But the main battle has not yet begun, and when it does come it is likely to be only the first of several. Rommel has succeeded in getting up a high percentage of his available armour, and the country where this battle will be fought is just about the best tank country in that part of France. It has become necessary to use the R.A.F. heavy bombers in daylight attacks against his tank parks, in order that the weight of bombs dropped might be sufficient to destroy the well-protected and carefully camouflaged tanks being held in reserve. The German position, wherever you look - south, east or west - appears to be deterioriating; but they continue to offer a dour defence. Prisoners appear less confident of German victory than they did a year ago, but there is no indication that the morale, either of the troops or of the Commanders, has been broken. Many of the formations that we have met in Normandy have been composed of second and third-rate troops, but they have fought well. The men who manned the guns in the harbour forts at Cherbourg must certainly have been convinced that they were contributing something to the German cause. It's true that many German prisoners believed they would be shot or mutilated when captured, and steps are now being taken by means of radio and pamphlets to assure the German soldier that he will be well treated.

It is hoped thereby to increase his appetite for surrender.

But there is no indication, even in the secret reports, that the will to fight on has been broken, either in the German Army or amongst the civilian population. The German propaganda of "all or nothing," of this being a battle for the existence of the individual as well as of Germany, is obviously effective. The time is coming - ~~no one knows when~~ - it may already have arrived - when Allied propaganda might shorten this war and save lives. The British and ourselves have tens of thousands of people working on the job, and in general they are in the position of soldiers who have guns but no ammunition. They have radio transmitters and printing presses, but only the vaguest of policies. The Allies now have overwhelming and, as soon as we can get it to the right spot, crushing military and material power. We can eventually blast and batter our way into the heart of Germany. The real question is whether that is necessary. No one can seriously maintain that unconditional surrender is either a policy or an idea. It is merely a phrase. Already we are telling the German soldiers at the front that if they surrender unconditionally they will receive good treatment, cigarettes and good food. If you tell a nation what you intend to do to it once it's defeated, then you are really saying what you are fighting for, and the people of that nation know what they are trying to prevent your doing to them and their ~~xxxxxxx~~ nation. They then have a choice. Now they have none. But at some time

the people of Germany must decide to stop fighting. Then, presumably, the Allied leaders will have to say what's going to happen to them. ~~Thexxdoexnitxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The question is: why should they not be told now? The fact is they are not being told. There may be several reasons. It may be that the Allied leaders do not themselves know the answers. Perhaps they cannot agree upon a united policy. It may be that the terms contemplated are so harsh that they would increase the German will to resist. Or on the other hand they might be so generous as to provoke dissatisfaction in one or another of the Allied countries.

Whatever the reasons for our reluctance, it is safe to assume that the answer to Europe's major problem: "What to do with Germany", will not be any easier on the day of victory. But if that answer could now be revealed to the German people it might make the victory easier. Most of the men, British and Americans, who are attempting to undermine the German will to continue the war, are government employees. That means that they cannot speak publicly. But it is a fact that the vast majority of them are bewildered and frustrated by the lack of policy. They have an elaborate machine but very little ammunition. And now it will be said that such remarks are ammunition for Doctor Goebbels. Too much truth has been suppressed on the grounds that it might help Dr. Goebbels. He knows full well the messages we are sending to the German people. And he has in one sense keyed his to ours, for he hammers continually

on the theme: "The Allies offer you nothing but annihilation or slavery". There have been times in this war when the potency of propaganda has been over-estimated. When a nation is wading through victories as the Germans did for two years, it is difficult if not impossible to destroy their faith in themselves and to present to them a more attractive, livable alternative. But now, when the war machine is running down, when defeat follows defeat, when the final crash may be only a matter of months - and idea or a plan might shorten the war. It's no good blaming the Office of War Information or the Ministry of Information for the lack of ammunition. This is a decision that can only be taken by heads of state. The decision may have been made; if it has, it has not been revealed; and the continued concealment ~~xxx~~ is no contribution to victory. If that sounds blunt and dogmatic I can only say that I know no one engaged in writing or speaking to the Germans who would disagree with it.

No report from London would be complete without some mention of the doodle-bugs. They have continued to come over at night as well as in the daytime. As you know, they have been falling on southern England. I can't tell you that they have hit London; no more can I tell you that they have not hit London. That's the way the censorship is. Today there is some agitation in the newspapers, saying that the censorship ought to be relaxed because rumour is filling the gap, and people in the north of England

have an exaggerated idea of the damage done. It may be that Mr. Churchill will give some information about casualties, and the number of these flying pigs shot down, when he speaks to the House Commons ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ this week. So far the Germans do not appear to have exhausted their supply of these flying bombs. And there ~~are xxxxxxxxxxxx to~~ expect the arrival of bigger and more destructive missiles sometime in the future. The German radio is saying that they'll keep their revenge weapon at home if Britain and America will stop bombing German cities. That means, of course, that these rather graceful but weird gadgets will continue to arrive. A couple of London papers suggest today that we should choose three or four small German towns and obliterate them as retaliation. That isn't likely to happen either. "London can take it" was a fine heroic phrase. But "southern England can take it" doesn't have the same ring. As one who saw something of the old-fashioned blitz, I have been interested in observing the reaction of people in southern England to this new air weapon. In the first place the rescue, demolition and first-aid ~~services~~ people are working with the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ smoothness and precision of veterans. There are a few bomb stories, but they somehow don't seem to measure up to the old ones. The Americans, men and women, have quickly become accustomed to the routine, although all of the old-timers, of course, tell them that it's nothing like as bad as the old days - and it definitely isn't. It's just different. It isn't

easy to generalise about public reaction in a place the size of southern England, but here are a few personal impressions for what they are worth. People resent these things more than they did the old-fashioned bombs - partly because they're unpredictable, and partly because they come, near the end of what has been a long war. The civilian population feels a little like a front-line soldier when he knows he has leave coming. At such a time, as some of you know, he becomes extra careful because that leave seems important, and he wants to live to enjoy it. People in southern England feel that they have a bit of leave coming, in the shape of peace, in a few more months. I have noticed the same attitude with pilots who were flying their last mission. No matter how easy it is, or how good the fighter protection, they have a tendency to take every possible precaution, wrap themselves up in flak suits and put on the tin helmet as soon as they cross the enemy coast. On earlier and tougher missions they were much less concerned about risk, but on the last one they want to be sure to come back. That's about the way it is with these flying bombs.

During the last week the British press and radio have handled two pieces of American-made news; and have done it in a manner that reflects credit on broadcasters and journalists. The storming of Cherbourg was reported in as much detail, with as great satisfaction and with as glowing tributes to the American troops,

as would have been the case had the action been fought by the oldest and best of the British regiments. ~~The nomination of Mr. Dewey~~ ~~was almost~~ The news of Mr. Dewey's nomination was an example of good reporting by British correspondents in Chicago, coupled with restrained and informative editorial comment here. ~~It was almost~~ ~~a model~~ It might almost serve as a model for reporting domestic politics of an Allied country.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London.....Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

C.B.S. MURROW: JULY 9: 19.30: LEAD:

THIS IS LONDON: ....In the mist and rain of this Sunday morning the British took Caen..The Americans have taken Le Haye de Puys and are now well beyond it..The Russians are in Vilna and their advance on a hundred and fifty mile front is nowhere held..There is hard fighting in Italy..and only limited advances..The Germans are fighting hard to prevent our reaching Florence, Leghorn and Ancona.....

....Cue for Janet.... Janet Murrow saw the old fashioned Blitz and has been observing civilian reaction to the Doodle Bug...

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There's an old saying that heavy fighting produces bad weather. There doesn't seem to be any scientific basis for this assertion; but it is a fact that the month of June produced more bad weather than Western Europe has seen during that month for something like ten years. The weather has played its part in slowing down the Allied build-up on the beaches; and it has also reduced the number of kills scored against the German flying bombs.

On Thursday in Normandy I saw soldiers who had been there a month - there hadn't been sun enough to give them a tan. But Thursday was a fine day, and the troops behind the line were making the most of it. This Normandy battle is being reported by about as able a group of correspondents - British and Americans - as has ever been assembled. I have known men who can visit a battlefront, or a nation, and after a few hours or days utter profound judgments on politics or grand strategy. Not possessing such ability, I shall confine myself to a few impressions of the American sector.

In the first place, this battle that is now in progress is tougher than anything we have encountered since D-Day. The German troops are as good as any in the German Army; they are fighting fanatically and with great skill. Some of the earlier estimates of the quality of German troops and their resistance, based on the Cherbourg campaign, must be revised. This hedgerow

fighting is not exactly the sort of thing for which our men were trained, but they have adapted themselves to it with a speed which has amazed their officers. Another thing about this Army in Normandy... It gives you the impression of being both cleaner and tougher than the one in North Africa. Most of the men shave; their weapons are well cared for; and there is an air of eagerness that I have not seen before. Everyone you talk with, from the casualty clearing stations right down to the beach, will tell you that the lightly wounded are anxious to get back - have no desire to return to England. It is generally possible to tell something about troops by watching them - their expression and their bearing - while moving up to the front. The men ~~that~~ I saw in Normandy were relaxed and confident. They have become accustomed to the sounds of battle - when a horse stepped on a landmine I didn't see a single man in a long truck convoy who flinched. There is a universal pride in both weapons and equipment. A young Lieutenant in charge of thirty trucks, moving stuff from an emergency landing strip, said: "They're the best 2½ ton truck in the world, and the boys ~~xxxx~~ who are driving them have learned not to give them more of a beating than is necessary." Everything behind the lines moves on wheels - nobody bothers about proper intervals because the air overhead belongs to us. The bulldozers and the graders have done an astonishing job in widening those narrow Normandy roads. The young men handling the levers and throttles on the bulldozers do so with arrogant confidence and incredible skill. The men stringing telephone lines seem to take pride in never

putting a climbing iron into a pole less than waist high. They seem to take a running jump at the pole, swarm up it and then maybe buckle their safety belt when they get to the top.

The negro troops, driving heavily laden ducks up from the beach, sat up there as proud and confident as any Admiral on his bridge. Any corporal or sergeant will explain to you the tactics of last week's battle, pointing out just how the infantry came up that ravine to outflank an 88 or a heavy machine gun position. Wherever men are resting you'll find them reading "Stars and Stripes". It's torn apart and passed around page by page until the print is literally worn off. Letters from home are worth more than a day's pay.

The other day I stood at a busy cross-road - two streams of traffic moving to the front - and remarked to a sergeant that there seemed to be an awful lot of transport, not all of it fully laden, and that the problem of supplying gasoline must be tremendous. Whereupon he gave me a little lecture about home. It went something like this: He said: "That's the kind of people we are - wasteful; always looking for new ways of doing old things; never believing the new way doesn't exist." He said: "Look at all those Jeeps; some of them have only a couple of men in 'em; we've always been like that - we've never walked if we could ride. Even out in Texas in the early days no man walked if he could find a horse." And the sergeant went on: "When our people were moving west, the

ones who got there were the ones who had good horses, knew the fords and the mountain passes and where the water holes were; and who had sense enough to pack their wagons right. They had to figure out this thing they call logistics, too." And then he looked out at that great mass of ships in the bay - at the double stream of traffic moving up to the front - and we listened for a moment to our guns that had started up over the hill. The sergeant said: "Seems to me we're fighting this war in the American way, and that the boys up there will probably get where they're going". It was a useful little lecture he gave me.

I stopped a jeep carrying despatches. The driver had a scar that ran from ear to chin. I asked him where he got it and he said"Africa." I asked him if he liked Normandy better than Africa, and he said: "Yeah", it ain't so hot". And then he drove off in a cloud of dust, but not before asking if he could give me a lift.

Out in the yard of the headquarters building a private was tying a rose bush to a stake. The whole place had been considerably knocked about by naval gunfire. The rosebush looked pretty puny. The private said with real anxiety in his voice: "Do you reckon it'll live?"

I don't suppose anyone has conducted a public opinion survey on the American soldier's attitude to the French civilian. I

asked a few of them about it, and again there emerged a quality of mind that seems to me to be peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. Most of them said they were getting on alright with the French, although they hadn't had much conversation with them; and generally they added: "Look, you see what's happened to these houses and villages and churches. If that had happened to us at home we wouldn't particularly love the people who did it, even if they were our friends".

The troops were full of questions about doodle-bugs. Most of them had trained in this country, and a lot of them didn't like it while they were here. But their concern for the civilian population was only slightly less than it would have been had the doodle-bugs been whistling over their own home towns. As a matter of fact, the doodle-bugs were over last night and again today. (One American journalist, writing from the comparative safety of Washington, is quoted as saying that "these things are destroying London, section by section, with clock-like precision". That statement is as far from the truth as its author has taken good care to remain from bombs and bombing.) It is equally untrue to say that this menace has not affected Allied strategy. For more than a year the installations have engaged a considerable proportion of our air strength. Casualties in southern England have been light; but as the Prime Minister told the House of Commons, this battle with the buzz bombs may be "a rather lengthy

affair". Foreign reports indicate that the rocket projectiles may contain as much as ten tons of explosives. That would appear to be a reasonable estimate - although none have so far arrived. Many thousands of children have left London. Several theatres are closing ~~have closed~~, for lack of patrons. # It is now possible to secure a meal in a restaurant without standing in line. # There continues to be some newspaper agitation for reprisals against German cities. But one thing should be made perfectly clear. # In spite of fatigue; in spite of the corrosive effect that sound has on the nerves of a tired people, these doodle-bugs have not so far achieved anything that is likely to influence the course or duration of the war. And that is not merely an impression. On the subject of civilian bombing - pilotless or otherwise - I have had considerable experience.

This is Ed Murrow in London - New Back to Warren Sweeney in N.Y. -

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PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

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Our doodle-bug lull has ended. The Germans sent some over the London area last night, and again this morning. The combined defences of fighters, guns and balloons, take their toll, but some of them continue to get through. London has carried out its largest and quickest evacuation of the war, and two of the deep shelters have been opened. [The thing that caused many people to send women and children out of town was not so much the scale of the present attack as the prospect of heavier blows to come. If the Germans employ their rocket weapon, it will probably come over at such height and speed, ~~as to make present defences altogether inadequate. If that occurs, then~~ that the bombing of the launching points will have to become the major defence.] There has been no noticeable change in public reaction to the doodle-bugs - their temporary absence made them no more welcome, when they started coming over last night. Their inconsistency is a little disturbing.....sometimes they will come in, in a long, shallow, almost noiseless glide, while I have seen others put their nose down and dive, the motors still pushing when they hit the ground.

This attack on southern England hasn't produced anything like the humour and wisecracks that came out of the blitz. The best that I have heard deals with the experience of a sparrow. He was flying inland across the south coast, when a doodle-bug, emitting its usual streak of fire, went rushing past. Said the

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sparrow to the doodle-bug: "What's your hurry?" And the flying bomb replied: "If your tail was on fire you'd be hurrying, too." But the old blitz spirit has not disappeared - this is a true story. The other day a rescue squad dug a woman of sixty from under the ruins of her home. Someone offered her a cup of tea, and she replied: "No thank you dearie, but I'll trouble you for a pint of beer!" # The calmness and the hard work of American soldiers in helping dig people out of the debris has come in for a lot of favourable comment. My own unofficial estimate is that one's chances of being killed by the attack on its present scale are considerably less than they were during the blitz. # The British are a people who never like to be conspicuous, and that often causes them to delay taking up the proper position in the gutter or diving under the table. They are now being officially urged to stay away from glass, and not to bother about their dignity when a flying bomb is heard approaching. Reports from the factories indicate that production has not been seriously affected, and a very elaborate system rooftop spotters makes it possible to disregard distant doodle-bugs.

On the whole, the battle is going well. I spent some time down on the south coast last week, talking with the men who handle the fighters, the guns and the balloons - they seemed reasonably well satisfied with their achievements - and they ought to know.

832.

These attacks, coupled with the stiff fighting in Normandy and Italy, and the great sweeping advances of the Russians have combined to produce a change in the outlook of many people. There is less interest in long-term issues. For example, there has been very little discussion, either in the press or in private conversation, about the Money Conference in New Hampshire. Most people don't understand what's going on. But They seem to feel that whatever is decided isn't going to affect the course and duration of the war - and that's the only thing that seems important. A few months ago Mr. Ghandi's comments regarding a solution of the problem in India, would have caused much discussion and debate. Nothing of the kind has happened. The renewed rumours that Turkey is again thinking about joining the war leave people unmoved. On the occasion of the last conversations the Turks, in the words of one Statesman, "wanted too much for the carpet". Their price was too high and their fear of retaliation too great. Now the danger of retaliation is less, and their bargaining position is not as good as it was.

There is a mild sort of interest in the selection of the Democratic candidate for Vice-President; some curiosity as to what pronouncement the Russians will make when they cross the '39 Polish frontier - a little speculation about renewed rumours of peace between Russia and Finland.....But in general all attention is centred on the three-front fighting, and on the duration of the

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European war. Last night I was talking with a European diplomat who has access to much information. I asked him whether he thought the war would be over by Christmas. He replied: "It must be. Europe cannot stand another winter.". There is in fact a growing sense of urgency, which is the result partly of the great Russian victories and partly of fatigue. One of the most interesting subjects of military debate, both here and in Normandy is what might be called the "bulldozer versus the bomber." It's been going on in a mild way ever since General Eaker over-wrote his story on the bombing of Cassino. Each time the heavy bombers are used against a French town or village they do great destruction and at the same time make the streets impassable for our own vehicles, thereby slowing down the pursuit of the enemy who may have merely withdrawn during the bombing and then re-entered the town, making good defensive use of the piles of rubble we have created. Moreover, the French civilian population has asked on many occasions "Was it really necessary? Must we be liberated with such huge bombs?" And after that the bulldozers must come in and gouge a way through the streets piled high with broken buildings. It is really a question of the proper use of ~~heavy bombers~~ air power. How close to the front it should be employed, and whether it is not being called upon to do the work of artillery and mortars. I do not pretend to know the answer to this question, which is engaging the attention of both air and ground officers, and mention it only to illustrate the increasing public interest in the immediate

purely military aspect of events. Some people are asking why it is that the Russians can bypass towns and villages and mop up the garrisons at their leisure; while we must smash them flat and then come in with the bulldozers to clear a way for our transport. The first reason is that the Russians are fighting on a front of hundreds of miles, and can aim their blows at the weak points, while we in Normandy must strike at the strong points in the German line, simply because it's still so short that it's pretty strong everywhere. But another reason is that the Anglo-American armies are so mechanised, depend so much upon trucks, jeeps and all kinds of wheeled vehicles, that we have got to move our main stream of men and supplies along the roads, and the roads run through the towns and villages. I am told, on good authority, that the Russians are beginning to be a little impatient with the slowness of the Allied advance. That may be because they fail to appreciate the difficulties of water-borne supply, or the problem presented by such a small area which affords little room for manoeuvre.

On the basis of the German divisions identified, it is clear that in Normandy we are up against some of the best units in the German army. And here in London the conviction is growing that German military strategy is following the line so long pursued by German political strategy. The Nazi hope would seem to be to hold us in costly, bitter battle in the West, even at the price of losing great areas on the Baltic and in Poland. They should

be able to evacuate most of their Baltic troops by sea, even though the Russians should cut through to the port of Königsberg in East Prussia. The Germans still have naval units and submarines adequate to protect such a withdrawal. It may be the German hope that the Allies, forced to buy every yard in Italy and in France at great cost will become worried at the rate of Russian advance, and be willing to talk surrender terms. This is a forlorn hope which must fail, and curiously enough the doodle-bugs and their big brothers, if they come, have utterly destroyed any possibility that such a scheme might succeed. For there is now no conceivable set of political circumstances which would permit any British Government to consider the termination of this war on any basis other than the complete elimination of German military power on the Continent. I do not myself believe that such a possibility ever existed, but if it did it has now definitely disappeared. And that is a political and military by-product of the doodle-bug which probably formed no part of German calculations.

There is still a mild interest in British domestic politics. The House of Commons has been debating the relaxation of restrictions when the European war is over. The people of this country, through their Parliament, have given up more of their liberties, more of their freedom of individual decision, than any other democracy engaged in this war. The controls were applied gradually. They were always subject to scrutiny by the House of Commons. It's a safe

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bet that the relaxation of these controls will also be gradual. #
The various political parties are lining up candidates for the first national election. Claud Cockburn who edits a weekly news sheet, says that General Montgomery applied for membership in the Liberal Party shortly before D-Day. His name and prestige may be a political asset in the first General Election; but most observers with a knowledge of General Montgomery and of British Parliamentary procedure will be surprised if the General ever achieves great political stature in this country. # In the first place, the British have ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ been traditionally reluctant to give political power to military men; and in the second place, there is in this country something that is known as the "House of Commons manner." It is an elusive, hard-to-define quality, but it means that a political leader must be able to listen, persuade and cajole. He must appear always to be a servant of the House. He must never overtly parade his power. And he must, in most cases have served a long apprenticeship. But the fact of the matter is that most people in Britain aren't interested in General Montgomery's ~~xxxxxx~~ future, or in when Mr. Churchill will call a General Election, or in how things are going in India or in New Hampshire. They are tired, and they have time only to think and to talk of Montgomery's immediate military prospects, of the progress of the Russians, and of what more can be done to end this war in a hurry. # And that state of affairs, after nearly five years of war, adds up to what the British would call " a not discouraging report".

58:00

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
WICKERSHAM 2-2000

July 17, 1944

KC-7

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
49 Hallam Street, London, England.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In accordance with the terms and conditions of the contract between us dated August 3, 1943 relating to your services on a series of radio programs sponsored by American Oil Company we are hereby exercising our right to renew such agreement for an additional period of fifty-two weeks commencing August 20, 1944.

Very truly yours,

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

BY: Joseph H Ream

n

CC to Music Corporation of America
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

MURROW TO CBS....

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This is London...We are not yet in St Lo..but we are on two sides of it - xxxx

CBS. LONDON: MURROW: JULY 23: 1944 19.45. LEAD.

923

THIS IS LONDON: The Russian advance continues unchecked. The Germans admit the loss of Skov and Ljublin; and it is clear from Russian reports that Lvov is almost surrounded. In Italy the American Fifth Army is in the southern part of Pisa (the leaning tower still stands). The news from Normandy is that the salient between the Odon and the Orne has been cleared.

~~The German radio has been emphasizing all day~~

All day today the German radio has been emphasizing that all is well, and will soon be better.

57:35

PA
FOR
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PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

But Rumours of conditions inside Germany are still being battered to and fro between the European capitals. You have probably heard most of them. Nothing seems too wild to find its way into print or on to the air. But the German censorship has been unusually effective in concealing developments since the alleged attempt on Hitler's life. In the beginning there was a disposition here, even in official quarters, to discount the story - to regard it as a sort of combination of the Reichstag fire and the purge of June 30th 1934. But following Hitler's broadcast, and those by Goering and Doenitz, people began to take a serious and at the same time more hopeful view of developments. In some cases there was perhaps too much hope. Most observers emphasized the fact that while the Navy and the Luftwaffe spoke up with pledges of allegiance, the Army was silent. It is true that subsequently the Army Commanders in the West and in the Balkans sent their telegrams of loyalty. Nothing has so far been heard from Kesselring in Italy, or from the Army Commanders on the Eastern front. It would appear that the bargain between the Nazi Party and the Army has worn thin. It is, on the face of the official German statements, impossible to doubt that there was a serious plot to get rid of Hitler. Had that not been so, Hitler and his colleagues would never have risked public announcements which will inevitably create suspicion, mistrust and uncertainty in all ranks. So far they have revealed the name of only one conspirator,

General Beck, who was Chief of the German General Staff back in 1938. German Generals enjoy great popularity not only in the Army but amongst the civilians, and an announcement of large-scale shootings or dismissals would certainly increase the apprehension of the German people. One thing should be noted with great care. There has been nothing, either in the official statements or in the flood of rumours to indicate that the German people had or were to have any part in the plot to get rid of Hitler. They have no appetite for fighting on barricades, and were obviously not expected to do so. This plan was apparently developed by certain officers of the German Army. German officers have never objected to war. They merely object to losing one. They have never objected to conquest, to tyranny or brutality. The crisis in Germany was produced by the same thing that ousted Mussolini - defeat. Another thing should be borne in mind: The German radio system has been functioning normally, and continues to do so. It has become almost standard practice for anyone who attempts to overthrow a government to seize the radio. Apparently no serious attempt was made to do this.

Every indication, official and unofficial, points to the conclusion that this plot was made by men who did not like the way the war was going, (the way it was being conducted,) and who feared the final consequences for Germany. They may have decided that there were better ways of fighting it, or that the absence of Hitler and some of his colleagues, would make it possible for them to make peace while still retaining sufficient strength to have

another try a few years hence. German spokesmen have today said that some of the officers involved in the plot were in the rear echelon of the High Command, while others were on active duty. They further stated that one man was prepared to assume the responsibility for dealing with the situation had Hitler been eliminated.

Today everyone in the German Army, high and low, must be in some degree suspect by the Nazis. One of the most interesting mysteries involves General Lindemann, Northern Army Group, stationed in the Baltic provinces. He has two armies, the 16th and the 18th, totalling between 40 and 50 divisions. For more than three weeks his position has been threatened by the advancing Russian Armies. As his danger of isolation increased, German propaganda began to prepare home listeners for the evacuation of the Baltic States. But a few days ago the High Command unexpectedly announced its decision of holding that area at all costs. Lindemanns' armies are still there. During the last four days his left flank has come under pressure from Marshal Malinovsky's forces, and Lindemann has pulled back across the Lithuanian frontier, losing about 35 miles, and uncovering the route to Riga. Lindemanns is curiously inactive, shows no signs of pulling out to the West, and has not so far as is known sent any messages of allegiance to Hitler. One London military commentator remarks: "Were General Lindemann to lead the revolt of the German Army against the Party and turn south-westwards, the days of Hitlerism could be numbered on the fingers of a single

hand." If there is to be a break in the German Army, it is more likely to come in the East than in the West or the South. It is yet early to expect repercussions of these events to reach the front line, but certainly there has been no evidence of confusion, uncertainty or loss of fighting spirit amongst the German troops in Italy or in Normandy. In the opinion of most London observers, military and political, there now exists in Germany a state of affairs where anything may happen, but most of them don't expect it to - at least not yet.

This was no attempt at revolution. It was an effort by able military men to ~~place themselves in~~ eliminate those who have brought disaster to Germany. There have been no strikes, and so far as we know, no stirrings among the tired, bovine, determined civil population. But revolutions do not come as the result of a single act; they are made by a series of efforts and incidents. Lenin, who knew a lot about the theory and practice of revolution, laid down three conditions that must be met before a government can be overthrown. The first was a crisis at the top, among the leaders. The second, a crisis below, with the masses of people ready to rise in revolt against the rulers. And third, the existence of an organised force ready to seize power. We are perhaps witnessing the appearance of the first condition in Germany. It may be followed by a lull - execution and imprisonment of the leaders may restore Nazi power, but it can never restore unity nor remove suspicion, nor persuade the Party that it is safe.

The uncertainty and confusion surrounding the original announcements would seem to prove that the Nazis were not sure just how far, how deep, the plot extended. And in spite of the Gestapo, in spite of the numbers that will be killed and imprisoned, they never can be sure that they've got them all. There is bound to be another explosion, and when it comes it may wreck the whole Nazi structure. The great and important fact is that a split has occurred at the top. The first and perhaps part of the third of Lenin's conditions exist. But the second, the willingness of the masses of people to rise against the government, is missing. It would seem that the time has come when a declaration of Allied intentions - a statement of what will happen to Germany and Germans once they surrender - might split the country from top to bottom, and create the conditions necessary for a German revolution. # There are no signs that the Allies are either ready or willing to make such a statement. (It is perhaps a little too much to expect people to make a revolution in order to surrender unconditionally.)

Whatever may have happened to the German Generals commanding on other fronts, the one in charge of the flying bombs in France and in Belgium appears to be extraordinarily loyal. For in spite of all the bombing he has continued to send doodle-bugs over Southern England. On one or two days and nights last week he sent over more than ever before. It is now definitely known that the Germans have installations for launching rockets, and that they have the rockets. However, these installations are very elaborate compared with the doodle-bug platforms, and the rockets

themselves are more difficult to transport to the launching sites. They are not nearly so handy a weapon as the doodle-bug, (but their effect would of course be considerably greater.) The doodle-bug is relatively simple to launch; its fuel consumption is low; altogether it might be called an economical weapon. In terms of manpower and material you can build about four of them for one fighter. And they are, after all, a weapon. It is no answer to call them barbarous - all war is barbarous. They keep people awake; they knock down a lot of buildings; they kill people; and occasionally they score a lucky hit. From the German point of view they are a useful weapon. Any weapon must be termed useful when ~~it permits you~~ it provides a means of hitting your enemy when you can no longer do it by orthodox methods. However, the important thing to say about these doodle-bugs isn't to discuss the ~~xxx~~ ethics of their use - there aren't many ethics left in this war - it isn't even to say that they reveal the essentially selfish side of one's character, for when you hear one mumble overhead and explode in the distance your feeling is one of relief - there is little thought for the people a few blocks away who may have lost the old family sideboard, the home they have saved to make, and the picture of great-uncle taken during the South African War. The important thing about them is that in spite of the misery and suffering they cause; in spite of sleepless nights and smashed buildings, broken homes and battered nerves, they have ~~done nothing to affect the prosecution of the war~~ not seriously interfered with the progress of the war. #

Meanwhile, our air attack against Germany and Austria has reached a new high. During the last six days the United States Strategic Air Force dropped more than sixteen thousand tons of bombs. The principal targets were aircraft factories and oil production plants.

The week appeared to start well in Normandy, but it has ended in mud (and considerable disappointment.) General Montgomery's attack through and beyond Caen was preceded by an unprecedented air bombardment. But the momentum of the attack had faded before the rains came. At the beginning of the offensive there was talk of a "break-through" which later in the week was changed to a "break-in." And it became clear that the further in we got the tougher the going was. The Germans pulled back most of their armour, and met the British tanks about five miles beyond Caen with a heavy screen of anti-tank guns. We have gained, both at St. Lo and beyond Caen a little much-needed elbow room, but there can be no doubt whatever that the attack east of the Orne did not come up to expectations. # The German tanks and guns are now dug in on a solid line running from Troarn to the River Orne. They reacted quickly, and handled their guns with great skill. They are finally committed to this present position, and a break-through is not going to be easy... # XXXXThe Democratic Convention passed almost unnoticed over here..there were too many things of immediate importance...But there did occur one important change in the long range estimate of the war...and it was this..There is a growing conviction in ~~government~~ well informed circles that the War with Japan will not last

as long as had been feared...This confidence is not based on the Japanese Cabinet changes..as a matter of fact ~~xxxx~~ that new cabinet is considered to be as tough or tougher than the old one...The basis of the new confidence is the belief that Russia will play her part in ending the war in the east..—

This is E.A.W. in London - Now back to Warren Lemay in N.Y. -

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S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

Also

Cables & Correspondence

Edward R. Murrow

(August 6, 1944 - April 29, 1945)

Broadcast Sun. Aug. 6th 1944

I've been spending a few hours in two districts of London, where a lot of poor people live. Their houses are one-brick thick, dreary, dull and dirty beyond description...that is on the outside. Inside most of them are spotless. The people who live there are poor and proud; they pay their own way. Most of the children are gone...but the women wearing old shapeless clothes take their market baskets and walk down to the fishmongers on the corner, where they stand patiently in line to buy their rations. They look you in the eye and ask no favours. Their faces have little expression but plenty of character. They are tired, and it shows. Some of them are cooking, eating and sleeping in one room; the rest of the house has been blasted away. There is moss growing in the old bomb scars where homes once stood. There are streets where all the glass is gone. Some of the buildings have been so shaken that you expect them to collapse in the next high wind...and there are places where they are still digging for bodies...and the people go quietly about their business. The British radio says: "more flying bombs were sent over southern England, including the London district, damage and casualties were caused". I have never understood why they putdamage ahead of casualties...most of those houses aren't worth much...but they are homes. And in the evening those quiet proud people gather up a few pillows and blankets and head for the shelters. They never hurry. They pay exorbitant rents for those little brick boxes they call home... but those are the things they are fighting and dying for. When you watch them trudge tiredly to the shelters you think...the real problem of the post-war planners is to see to it that people never again are forced to sleep in holes in the ground.....

C.B.S. LONDON: MURROW: AUGUST 1: 00.45.

This is London...The latest word from the American sector of the Normandy front is that Avranches is firmly held. A heavy armoured column took it. We have entered Granville but there is still street fighting going on there. (Correspondents who returned from Granville a few hours ago report that the U.S. Navy has taken over part of the town). We do not hold Percy and we do not hold Tessy, which means that there are still strong German forces on our left flank. Ten thousand five hundred prisoners have been taken in the American sector since the advance started last Tuesday. This is a daring thrusting advance, and it has notyet lost impetus. This is no probing armoured spearhead, for front line correspondents report the roads jammed with enough armour and guns to fight the battles that impend. The roads and the fields are littered with abandonned German equipment. The Luftwaffe put in an appearance over the American front today, and our fighters shot down fourteen for the loss of two. Medium and light bombers worked on bridges behind the lines and the British heavy bombers were out this evening. One of their targets was Naval units at Le Havre. Tonight the 8th Air Force reports meeting a few rocket-propelled fighters over Germany during recent missions. This is the first time the new German fighter has been announced as being in action. Today the 8th sent about twelve hundred heavy bombers over Germany. The principal target was Munich. There were also targets in Central Germany and airfields in France. Most of the bombing was done through cloud.

CBS: LONDON: MURROW: AUGUST 6: 19.45: LEAD: 1089

THIS IS LONDON: There has been no further news from Brest since American tanks and motorized infantry reached the Port's outskirts, sometime after noon yesterday.

An American combat team is reported to be engaged in stiff fighting for the Port of St. Malo. ~~Our infantry~~ ~~The~~ There is news of increased assistance by the French resistance movement throughout Brittany, and our infantry is moving out onto the Peninsula behind the armoured columns. The whole German Normandy front is in danger of being outflanked by two fast-moving American columns pushing east from Rennes and St. Malo along the two main highways to Paris. Laval has been taken and another column is reported 20 miles beyond Mayenne.

In the centre of the front the Germans still hold Vire. And north of there the British and Canadians are consolidating their gains along the Orne.

Again today more than a thousand American heavy bombers have struck at oil and aircraft factories from Hamburg to Berlin.

In Italy the Eighth Army is still south of the Arno. It appears that patrols that entered Florence last night have been withdrawn.

Tuesday will be the 26th anniversary of what Ludendorff called "the black day of the German Army". It was on the 8th of August 1918, the German July offensive had failed, and the Allies launched their attack with tanks on the Somme. ~~xxx~~ On the surface the German position did not appear as black then as it does today. Members of the British War Cabinet were predicting that with luck and good Generalship the war might be won in a year. Today British officials are more confident and optimistic. Parliament has voted itself a seven weeks' holiday, and is due to return to Westminster on September 26th. Before they left, Members were told by Mr. Eden: "Should it happen that the unconditional surrender of the enemy takes place during the recess, Parliament will be at once recalled". That statement was made in all seriousness - ~~everyone~~ most people seemed to regard it as a reasonable possibility. Mr. Churchill's speech had contributed to the growing optimism; and events in France and on the Eastern front have subsequently reinforced the belief that there will be no sixth winter of war in Europe.

There was no disposition over here to regard Mr. Churchill's review of the war as unduly optimistic. The enemy is on the defensive on every front except one, and that is the British home front. Here the attack continues. And the Prime Minister warned that there may well be worse to come. People continue to leave London, but there are some Members of Parliament who believe that a more serious warning should be issued. They

rents for those little brick boxes they call home...but those are the things they are fighting and dying for. When you watch them trudge tiredly to the shelters you think...the real problem of the post-war planners is to see to it that people never again are forced to sleep in holes in the ground. And that is exactly the point on which certain people were dissatisfied with Mr. Churchill's speech. It did not contain any convincing assurance that the British Government, or its Allies, are prepared mentally, politically and diplomatically for the sudden outbreak of peace.

The surrender terms have been agreed upon, but more difficult problems remain unsolved. However, this concern about the future does not seem to be particularly widespread. Events are moving at such a pace that the average person is content to try to keep up with developments, and hope for the best.

It's August Bank Holiday over here. The seashore resorts are crowded, so are the trains. It is the happiest, most hopeful holiday that Britain has had for six years. And, the other day, I saw a man repairing a street light - just in case.

As you would expect, everyone's attention here is centered on the smashing American drive across and into the Britanny peninsula. And the British press and radio have been giving our troops full credit for a thrust which has transformed the whole situation in the West. The speed of our advance has been due to two things. Having broken the German opposition in that area,

maintain that some of the effect of Mr. Churchill's warning was lost due to the fact that it was wrapped up in a long war survey.

I've been spending a few hours in two districts of London, where a lot of poor people live. Their houses are ~~one-brick~~ one-brick thick, dreary, dull and dirty beyond description...that is on the outside. Inside most of them are spotless. The people who live there are poor and proud; they pay their own way. Most of the children are gone..but the women, wearing old shapeless clothes, take their market baskets and walk down to the fishmongers on the corner, where they stand patiently in line to buy their rations. They look you in the eye and ask no favours. Their faces have little expression but plenty of character. They are tired, and it shows. Some of them are cooking, eating and sleeping in one room; the rest of the house has been blasted away. There is moss growing in the old bomb scars where homes once stood. There are streets where all the glass is gone. Some of the buildings have been so shaken that you expect them to collapse in the next high wind...and there are places where they are still digging for bodies...and the people go quietly about their business. The British radio says: "More flying bombs were sent over Southern England, including the London district, damage and casualties were caused". I have never understood why they put damage ahead of casualties...most of those houses aren't worth much...but they are homes. And in the evening those quiet proud people gather up a few pillows and blankets and head for the shelters. They never hurry. They pay exorbitant

having got the enemy on the run, they kept right on pushing, and once around the corner at Avranches they found the Germans very thin on the ground in Brittany. The key to the whole move was speed, and more speed. The result is not only that we shall soon have fine ports. The significance lies in the fact that the German effort to contain the Allies in Normandy has failed - the bridgehead battle is over, and the Battle of France well underway. General Eisenhower, looking back at North Africa and at Europe, might say with Napoleon: "I may have lost battles, but I have never lost a minute".

The Germans are now confronted with the bitter alternatives of defeat or withdrawal. The purpose of this battle is not to gain another French province; it is not primarily even to gain additional ports. It is to destroy or force the withdrawal of the German Seventh Army. That is the meaning of the left-handed thurst beyond Laval. The Germans may hope to swing their left flank round, and hold the line of the Seine from the sea to Paris, and from there to Switzerland. But If the Allies move to the east, between the Seine and the Loire, they will cut straight across the main rail and road connections with the South of France, and that whole area will fall of its own weight, as did the Britanny peninsula. The Germans cannot hope to hold the South of France for long; but to abandon it would give us Toulon, Marseilles and the Rhone Valley. And it would expose the German rear in Italy, forcing Kesselring to fall back to the Alps. In one week the

German problem has changed from defending the base of the Cherbourg peninsula to defending the approaches to Germany. They had insufficient men and machines to hold a line less than a hundred miles long. Their chances of holding a longer line are certainly less good. They still have something like 25 unemployed divisions in France, but their chances of re-grouping under constant Allied air attack are small, and if they weaken their forces in any coastal area they invite another landing. The Germans can probably be counted on to hold the Pas des Calais, which means the Seine from the sea to Paris, with bitter determination. Not only because of the doodle-bug and rocket ~~xixxxx~~ sites there but because that's the place we need to shorten our communications. The German armies in France have not yet been broken - they are still holding their hinge on the Orne, but the German High Command must now be deciding where the last great battle in France will be fought. It would be unwise to expect future operations to proceed at the pace of the last week, but the pattern has been set.

At the other end of Europe, the Turks have finally decided to work their passage home. But they are not likely to get anything better than steerage accommodation. Their break with Germany seems unlikely to be followed by direct military action. But the repercussions of the move can already be seen in the Balkans, particularly in Bulgaria. There the Government has announced that for reasons of economy it's going to close down the two main pro-German newspapers. The Office of Propaganda in Sofia, which

was closely linked with Dr. Goebells' establishment, has been abolished. And very shortly Russian Consulates are to be established at various point in Bulgaria. These events will be noted further north in Budapest. The Turks may have done nothing more than to arrive late for the feast, hoping to occupy the empty chair at the Peace Conference; but their action may have started the real rot in the Balkans.

The German outlook in the West and in the South is discouraging enough, but it may be that it is in the East where they have made their major blunder. It is not only that the Russians are across the Vistula between Warsaw and Cracow. It is not even the fact that East Prussia is closely threatened. The important points is that the Russian advance to the gulf of Riga has caused the whole Baltic front to become a self-contained theatre of war. It has lost its land connection with the rest of the Eastern front. There are something like forty German divisions in this theatre. They are completely cut off from the rest of the German Army. There are seven mountain divisions in North Finland, three in the south; and the 16th and 18th armies in Estonia and Latvia. This force has not been beaten. It still has room to manoeuver, but it could never have been left in that position for offensive purposes. It must have been designed to keep Finland in the war, to keep the Russian Baltic fleet confined to the Bay of Kronstadt; in other words to maintain the Western Baltic as a German lake. If they fail to do that, they lose the iron ore from Sweden, and

they open the beaches of Pomerania and Mecklenburgh to invasion.

The whole German strategy in the Baltic, the risking of forty divisions, seems to have been based upon the assumption that Finland would remain in the war. But it now appears that Marshal Mannerheim has assumed power in Finland; that he is acceptable to the Russians; and that there have been conversations between his representatives and the Russians in Stockholm. If Finland gets out of the war, the whole German strategy in the Baltic collapses; they lose effective control of the Baltic; they also lose about forty divisions, which is more than they've got in Italy. The German decision to stand fast in the Baltic States was hotly disputed. It is said to have been opposed by the High Command. But it was in line with Hitler's earlier decisions. If Finland goes out of the war, and disaster overtakes the German divisions in the Baltic, that fact may be more decisive than the fall of Paris.

One thing that does not change is geography, and it is true that the Allies are further from German soil today than they were 26 years ago. ~~Emkxikxseemsxlikely~~ We don't yet know which side will win this maccabre race between the occupation of ground, and the launching of the ten-ton rockets; but it is certainly safe to assume that Hitler, like the Kaiser 26 years ago, has been told that the black day of the German Army has arrived.

Wm Murrow

Yesterday was the biggest and best day in the air since D Day. The speed, scale and diversity of this attack surpasses anything that has gone before - Allied bombs are literally beating out the pattern of victory on the Continent. The whole air arm is becoming more flexible and, in spite of occasional accidents, it is geared more closely than ever before to the ground action. No one person can see it all, and in order to understand it you must see it in operation. For example, yesterday afternoon a Marauder group was briefed for a bridge ~~somewhere east of Paris.~~ The bombs - four one-thousand pounders to each ship - were loaded and fused; then the mission was scrubbed. We knew that the weather was perfect at the field and over the Continent; but somebody at Bomber Command had changed their mind. We sat around in the Officers' Mess, drinking iced grapefruit juice, listening to a blond second lieutenant playing Lili Marlene on a piano badly in in need of tuning. Just outside the open window two pilots were pitching horseshoes and calling loudly for an impartial judge to measure the close ones. A couple of hearty, happy-looking lieutenants - a pilot and a bombardier - came in to have a word with the Intelligence Officer. One of them asked him if he could give them a little briefing on the flak along Broadway - they had finished their tour and were going home on leave. Finally, late in the afternoon, the word came through that it was to be a support mission. The Germans were pulling back on a certain sector of the Normandy front, and it had been decided to

throw everything at them - heavies, mediums and fighter-bombers. I asked Colonel Ted Hankey, who was studying the big maps, if there wasn't some danger that we'd bomb our own troops, what with all the dust and confusion. He grinned and said: "Maybe we should tell the boys just to look for people who are shooting over their shoulder, and when they find them they'll know they're Germans". As a matter of fact, the briefing for the pilots and navigators was done at tremendous speed - but there was no time to change the bomb load. We were to hit a couple of cross-roads - choke points they're called - ~~xxxxfrom~~ not far from the town of Flers.

The briefing officer said: "You will start engines in 26 minutes"; and the scramble was on. It was shirt-sleeve flying weather, with broken blobs of white cumulus cloud up to about seven thousand feet. ~~Whilexwexwerexclimbing~~ As we approached the Channel, Major Dave Dewhurst from San Antonio, Texas, led the 18 Marauders in his box between two towering white clouds - ahead of us the sea and sky seemed to merge into one curving piece of blue velvet. There were black dots all over it, and at first it was difficult to distinguish between the ships on the water and the ships in the air, twenty, thirty, forty miles ahead of us. The freighters and the L.S.T.'s were coming back from France in double file. The P.T.'s and destroyers cutting graceful white patterns on both flanks. The sun was low on the horizon directly behind Cherbourg, and the sky was full of planes heading for the front. We went in over the poor, pulverized town of St. Lo,

just a mound of grey rubble surrounded by green fields. There was a certain amount of haze on the ground, but the visibility was satisfactory. Near Avranches our fighters came boiling up through the haze and flew alongside. A few minutes more, and we had crossed our lines into the flak-suit country.

Major Dewhurst lit a fresh cigar; and the navigator - Lieutenant Carrell from Dallas - crawled up into the nose with the bombardier, Captain Albert Hill from Wichita Falls. They began checking the wind drift, and discussing the small roads that were unrolling beneath us. There was no traffic, in fact we didn't see any movement on the roads after we left that steady stream of our traffic moving south and east from Avranches. The Germans, who have learned to fight well without air cover, were well hidden. We were taking gentle evasive action; it seemed that we were towing the other seventeen ships behind us as though they were gliders. I could see the bombardier in our Number Two ship pick up his hand microphone and say something - probably to his pilot. Another group bombed ahead of us, and the yellow dust drifted down to the south. Someone put a thousand pounder smack on a little bridge and it collapsed. The heavy flak was on us before we started the bomb run. Then when we levelled out it was very accurate indeed. They were shooting at the formation on our right, and as soon as their bombs went away the whole formation began to weave, threading its way through the flak. Major Dewhurst was still smoking his cigar. The flak sounded

exactly like 88 millimetre shells on the ground. There was one burst just beneath us, and another between us and our Number Two ship. Each burst gave us a rather gentle push, but when our bombs went away we were level and straight. They dropped flat out of the rack, seemed to quiver for a few hundred feet, and then put their nose down and started straight for our cross-roads. As I watched them fall the bomb-bay doors began to slide to. And just as they reached the little village with the red-tiled roofs that crowded in on the cross-raods, my view was cut off.

As we swung back out over the Allied lines, we could see long streamers of dust off to the right. We couldn't distinguish the vehicles, but it must have been British or Canadian armour, as it was moving forward and moving fast. A lot of the stuff we dropped was delayed action, and the Germans withdrawing through that area must have had an unpleasant time for many hours.

I crawled back up in the nose with Captain Hill, and his first remark was: "You must be plenty browned off with me. I promised to leave the bomb-bay doors open for you, and I closed them too soon." And then pointing to a hole in the perspex just beside his head he said: "Just as the bombs went away a piece of flak caught us there, and I instinctively did what I always do; I closed the doors." He was really most apologetic. I informed him that I had no complaints, since after he'd closed the doors I couldn't see the flak.

On the way back we sat up in the nose and talked. Captain Hill had hit his target, but he thought maybe the bombs should have been spaced a little wider apart, since maybe the craters would overlap and that would be a waste of good bombs.

As we came back over the Channel we flew through the violet haze of an English summer evening. The moment we reached the English coast, Hill began to twist the knobs on his bombsight and check his map references. With a shy grin he said: "This is the best practise I get - always do it coming back. Now take that bridge....if we were going to bomb that I'd tell Dave to turn 20 degrees left; I'd figure the wind about 5 degrees, and it would be duck soup". And then he said: "See that little town about twenty miles ahead - I'd figure that one this way....".and he added: "I always do this - you can't get too much practise." He had only flown 75 missions, and he was still up there practising. He said: "This is my job - rather do this than anything else in the world - wouldn't be a pilot or a navigator for any money". He told me how the other day they'd gone to bomb some bridges [redacted]. They made one pass at the target, running through heavy flak, but the bridges were obscured by cloud. So they made a three-sixty, went back to have another try, and again there was cloud. But he saw a secondary bridge, so he called up the skipper and said: "Do you want to bomb that one?" The skipper said: "Bomb it"; so Captain Hill and his navigator went through their complicated computations; he set his bombsight and they

started their run. About forty seconds before the indices crossed, he said: "A little bitty cloud drifted right over the bridge". But he had seen there weren't any houses around it so he thought he'd take a chance. He rode right in over the cloud, the bombs went away, and he came home. The reconnaissance pictures showed that they had knocked two spans out of the bridge. I ventured the opinion that that was pretty good bombing, and the Captain replied: "That was my navigator; he sure gave me the right dope. I think I'll take a picture of that bridge home with me". I asked him what he was going to do when the war was over, and he replied: "I think maybe I'll go back to College". It was as startling an answer as I have ever received. Here was a lead bombardier who could do intricate calculations with lightning speed, who was flying his seventy-fifth mission, ~~who confessed that he didn't quite see how Major Dewhurst, the pilot, had got ahead of him because they both came over at the same time, and Dewhurst was on his eighty-fifth~~ - and he hoped to go back to College. I asked him how old he was, and he said 22.

~~That mission of yesterday~~ That's the kind of people who are fighting this air war. There was no time yesterday to ask the crew what they thought of the "Act to prevent pernicious political activities." I don't know how any of them will vote, if they do. But I do know that after a great deal of trouble, a limited supply of British newspapers has been made available for American troops in this country. Now the subscriptions have

been cancelled. Some soldier or flyer might read something that would influence his vote. And this at a time when the British press is leaning over backward in an effort to avoid taking sides in an American political campaign. This army of ours is ~~xx~~ about as non-political as it could be. I have yet to hear of a single case where an officer has attempted to influence the political opinion of his troops.

We have brought to Britain our own law, our own newspapers, our own broadcasting system; and now we deny by Act of Congress, ~~the right of men who are old enough to die~~ the established access to British publications. This is not a case of stupidity by the Army. If Congress should pass a law saying that our troops must march backward, that planes must take off downwind, or that bombardiers must wear a blindfold - the Army would try to adhere to that law. ~~Until this law is changed we are, in effect, denying to our own troops. Congress has attempted to legislate impartiality~~ The British press is on the whole more critical of British than of American policy. For example, today most of the feature writers are asking the question: "Are we ready for Peace?" And most of them are saying that Britain is not ready. They are debating the wisdom of territorial changes imposed by force. From this type of discussion American troops are to be protected by Act of Congress, while they sit around in bare Nissen huts, reading six-months-old magazines. The existing legislation is a denial of the principles for which they have been told they are fighting.

If we were to follow this procedure to its logical and ludicrous conclusion, we would come to regard election time as a period for silent meditation and reflection, and not as a time of fierce controversy and perhaps mass education. This Act, as it stands at present and as it must be administered by the Army, is an attempt to achieve mental isolationism. I know not how many American soldiers will vote, or how they will vote. I have no evidence of mass indignation amongst the armed forces in the face of this ban. They are perhaps more interested in L'il Abner than in the weightiest editorial. But of one thing I am convinced, and that is that those who do not vote now will probably vote in the next Election - at least, those who live. Anything that tends to set the soldier apart from the civilian in matters relating to civilian affairs, is dangerous and breeds resentment.

Europe is now entering, for the third time in 150 years, the crucial hundred days. There was the period after Napoleon's return from Elba; there was the collapse of France four years ago; and there is the next hundred days. And this Act to Prevent Pernicious Political Activities is in some danger of ~~earning~~ earning us the ridicule of our Allies. It reminds one of a passage in a little-known speech by Hitler, where he said: "The great strength of National Socialism is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it."

CBS. LONDON: MURROW: AUGUST 13: 19.45: LEAD:

THIS IS LONDON The news from France is more of impressions than facts. The security ban on the movement of the American armoured spearhead is still in force; ~~but it is stated definitely that the Germans are pulling out of the Falaise salient.~~ They are in a difficult position, and the impression is that the next 72 hours may produce - in fact is bound to produce - good news.

The German defences on the borders of East Prussia and Central Poland are holding up the Russians, but the clearing of the Baltic provinces is proceeding.

2 -

Driving back to London last night the sky was filled with the roar of motors, and the red and green navigation lights of the Lancasters and Halifaxes moved beneath the stars. They were going out ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ on the night shift. ~~From the edge of Epping Forest one could see the doodle-bugs coming in over London~~; the ~~searchlights holding them in their beams. Occasionally~~ there ~~would be a dull~~ red flash ~~when one struck.~~ ~~They were doing damage~~, but it ~~was not affecting the outcome of the war.~~

(1)

When we reached the ground I discovered that the bombardier in our Number Two ship flying just beside us, had got a piece of flak through his foot. When they pulled him back out of the nose they cut off his shoe, and when they were cutting away his sock he remarked: "In just a minute I'll find out whether I've got any toes left". It turned out that he had them all left, and he'll probably be flying again in a few weeks.

CBS. LONDON: MURROW: AUGUST 13: 19.45: INSERT:

The best diplomatic comment of the week is to be found in that sometimes humorous magazine called "Punch". It reads as follows: "The real crux of the Turkish situation seems to be that while some of our diplomats have been tending to count their chickens before they were hatched - Turkey naturally isn't anxious to burn her boats by xxxxxxx crossing her fences before she comes off them".

Printed in England. Sept 1943

(12,600 Pads.)

CABLE (C AND W) WIRE

"Via Imperi

SEMI-PRESS.

1126

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CBS: MURROW: AUGUST 20: 19.45 DBST: LEAD. 1252

Censor

THIS IS LONDON: The Germans say that American armour ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ assisted by airborne troops is across the Seine between Mantes and Vernon. The Allied High Command remains silent. There is no official news of the progress towards Paris. In the South of France more than twelve thousand prisoners have been taken. Allied casualties are light and we are reported halfway to Avignon.

The Russians have made some progress northeast of Warsaw, but there have been no significant developments on either the Russian or the Italian fronts.

At the beginning of the great week that has ended General Eisenhower told his soldiers that he saw a fleeting but definite opportunity of victory. Later in the week the Supreme Commander warned against premature optimism. On Friday one of General Montgomery's staff officers announced that the battle of Normandy had been won, and that the enemy's power to resist effectively in France was gone. And he added: "The Germans are no longer able to conduct anything beyond strong rearguard actions. There will now be a phase of pursuit battles." Anonymous staff officers have been overcome with optimism before; and it would probably be the part of wisdom to remember General Ike's warning. Rommel's retreat from Alamein to Cape Bon involved strong rearguard actions and pursuit battles; and a great many British and American boys were killed in the process. It is true, beyond dispute, that the battle in France has gone better than anyone would have predicted at midweek. But the Germans are fighting furiously, and the ridges in the Falaise gap are littered with the bodies of German soldiers who fought their guns to the end. There has been no great mass surrender. ~~Inx~~ The Germans have not been fighting like men who know they are beaten. It is true that they are short of supply and transport; that they are taking an unprecedented pounding from the air. But they have succeeded in getting a considerable proportion of their armour and guns out of the Falaise pocket; and these, together with some of their best units, are

falling back in considerable confusion towards the Seine. The bridges are all down, and the Americans have reached the river Mantes. But this country along the left bank of the Seine is rolling and wooded - well-suited to a final fanatical defence. There will be a tremendous concentration of ack-ack guns in the area; and some at least of the German formations will get across at night in barges and on pontoon bridges.

The victory in France is assured, but it would be an injustice to the men who must fight for it to create the impression that the only thing that is left is a tour of the country in tanks and armoured cars. There are only about eight weeks of good fighting weather left, and the Germans may be expected to buy time whatever the cost. The best opinion here in London, based upon an appreciation of the political as well as the military situation, is that the Germans will fight their stubborn rearguard actions on the Seine, on the Marne, on the reversed Maginot Line and on the Siegfried Line. The assumption that they will not fight on German soil is certainly not borne out by events on the borders of East Prussia, where they are fighting stubbornly and laying waste their own villages.

The fall of Paris, when it is finally announced, is not likely to cause great celebrations in London. It may well be an effective symbol for the rest of Europe; but for people in this country its main significance will be increased opportunity ~~to cut off~~ Northern France and to ~~capture~~ speed up the capture

of the doodle-bug launching sites. And, as the nights grow longer most people here consider that a worthwhile objective.

The campaign in Southern France has not been attracting a great deal of attention in London. It was known that the area was lightly held, and while there was great satisfaction with the progress and with the co-ordination of a mixed force, even more satisfaction is expressed as a result of the magnificent cooperation of the French Forces of the Interior. The scattered reports coming in from Normandy, Brittany and the South have done a lot to restore confidence in France and the French. It is much too early to reach any final conclusions, but a great deal of the anxiety and doubt about what we should find inside France has evaporated. The Allies, and indeed some of the Frenchmen outside France, had been thinking of a period of tutelage and control in a situation where there would be chaos, starvation and a breakdown of government machinery. But the scattered reports do not indicate great demoralisation or the imminence of civil war. They tell rather of self-restraint, patience and an overwhelming desire to aid in the job of getting rid of the Germans. Four years of Nazi rule have not been sufficient to destroy the civilised conduct of Frenchmen. In vast areas the progress has been so swift that destruction has been reduced to a minimum. There are serious shortages of ~~food, clothing,~~ food, fuel and clothing, particularly shoes. But it seems that

most of the French harvest will be saved, if for no other reason than that the Germans lack the transport to take it away. The distribution, the transportation will be a tremendous problem, due to the bombing of bridges and railways, the destruction of rolling stock and the fact that the Germans take with them nearly everything on wheels. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The whole French economy has been geared to feed the German war industry, and the re-adjustment must be a lengthy process. However, these preliminary reports, incomplete as they are, give some reason to hope that France will again astonish the world with her recuperative powers.

Of course, the post-war health of France depends upon that of the whole Continent, and there the prospect is still obscure. Last week was the anniversary of the Atlantic Charter. You may not have noticed it - most people over here didn't. There was, I think, one mild editorial praising the sentiments expressed in that document. When it was issued the prospect of victory was dim in the distance. Now it is assured. In those days it was easy enough to speak of no territorial aggrandisement. Now it is not so easy, particularly since territorial changes have already been agreed upon. When defeat was possible, and victory distant, the view was clear. Now it is not so clear. For the day of decision is approaching. Early last week General Eisenhower spoke of "a fleeting but definite opportunity of victory". Within a matter of months the same thing may be said of peace. We failed to make a peace at the end of the last war for one reason only. The Allies agreed to certain things which

they were not later prepared to enforce. The League of Nations failed, not because of the small States but because the great powers refused to act. The problem of security after this war xxxx is not how to dismember Germany; it is not how to keep Japan on her islands; it is simply how to create an international order for which great nations will be prepared to fight fifteen, twenty, thirty years from now. Two of the slogans of the last war were: "To make the world safe for Democracy", and "Homes for Heroes". And a disillusioned generation laughed at them. And we are now fighting for substantially the same things.

It will be easy enough to impose a hard peace upon Germany. Not only easy but probably wise; but wise only if it is done with the full understanding that we may be called upon to use force to enforce it in a few years' time. For example, if the Polish frontier in the West is moved to the Oder, we may hear in fifteen years the echo of the 1939 cry: "No war for Danzig"; only then it will be: "No war for the Oder". If we split up Germany it must be done in the knowledge that within a few years we may be called upon to prevent the peaceful union of Saxony and Bavaria, by force.

There does exist an agreement between the United States, Britain and Russia as to the zones that their armies shall occupy in Middle Europe. But that is all. The D-Day of peace is approaching, and there is none of the sense of urgency, none of the

agreement that preceded the military D-Day in the West. Unless that agreement is reached, fatigue and frustration will walk hand in hand across the Continent of Europe, and no one can predict the result. That is the real background for the security meetings at Dumbarton Oaks tomorrow.

Lest I be accused of personal polemics ~~afxkkex~~ here is a single example of the situation as it is today. In response to orders from ~~London~~ the Polish Government in London, the men and women of Warsaw came out to fight the Germans. The Moscow radio had been urging such action, not only in Poland but elsewhere on the Continent. Allied bombers - at least a hundred - flew from Italy to Warsaw with supplies. They went in over the city with full flaps on the edge of their stalling speed, in order to place their supplies in the proper district. One in five failed to return. Yesterday, the Russian newspaper Pravda is quoted as saying that the Polish Government in London "engaged in a perfidious, political manoeuvre in organising the revolt in Warsaw; that it desired to make propaganda to strengthen its prestige in the United States and Britain". Pravda, as quoted by the Associated Press, blamed ~~the~~ Generals Sosnokowski, Anders and their adherents, and declared that they "deserved to be tried by an international courtmartial of representatives of the United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R. in Poland." Pravda further says: "that the people of Warsaw had been fooled by political speculators among the London exiles".

But the boys who went in low over Warsaw - the pilots who called for full flaps - and when the flaps are down you seem to stand still while you smell cordite from the flak bursting round you - they weren't political adventurers; they were merely doing what the Mediterranean Air Command had told them to do.

No progress has been made in solving the Polish-Russian difficulties. XX The dispute about the future government of Poland is unresolved. I am told, on what I believe to be good authority, that the Russians suggested that three members of the government, including the Prime Minister Mr. Mikolajczyk, might be drawn from London; one from the Polish underground and the remainder from the Polish Committee in Moscow. Such a solution is obviously unacceptable ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to the Poles in London and in Moscow. If it should seem that this argument about Poland is remote and unimportant, just remember that this war which has sent American boys to the far corners of the earth, began right there.

~~Thexxwhexxrexxxx~~ And it might be well to remember, too, something that Woodrow Wilson said in St. Louis in 1919, when he was losing his fight for American participation in the Peace. He said that if he lost he would say to American soldiers: "You are betrayed; you fought for something that you did not get." And the glories of the Armies and Navies of the United States is gone like a dream in the night. And there ~~xxxxx~~ ensues upon

it in the suitable darkness of the night, the nightmare of dread which lay upon the nations before this war came. And there will come some time in the vengeful providence of God, another struggle in which not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world."

The prophecy was correct, and the problem remains the same.

Am. Oil?

30th August, 1944

Colonel Elmer Barnes,
Area Petroleum Office,
117, Park Street,
W.1.

Dear Colonel Barnes,

I return you your scripts herewith; please forgive the delay.

Thank you very much for the excellent broadcast last Sunday. New York reported good reception and we all appreciate your willingness to co-operate in this program.

Sincerely yours,

MCA
Artists Ltd. AGENCY
AFFILIATE OF
Music Corporation of America
LONDON NEW YORK CHICAGO BEVERLY HILLS SAN FRANCISCO CLEVELAND DALLAS

745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK
WICKERSHAM 2-8900

September 20, 1944

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
49 Hallam Street
London, W. I.

Dear Ed:

I have had some conversation with Jim Seward in connection with an expression from you to the effect that, in the event the Atlantic Refining Co. wanted to continue on the air that you wanted me to be in communication with you before giving them any information.

As you know, they have already, some weeks ago, renewed you for the second year of your contract, which was originally a two year agreement, for the 52 week period beginning August 20, 1944, and this, as with the first year, is cancellable at the end of any 13 week cycle by Atlantic Refining Company.

A few weeks ago, Zac Becker asked if we would agree to an additional option of one year at the expiration of this current year. After some discussion, I told him that if they would raise the price to $1100., I would recommend that you accept it. Not commitment was made at that time.

From what I gather, you are interested in changing your scene of operation, and I am heartily in accord with what you are contemplating doing. In my opinion, the Atlantic Refining Co. would support anything you did in that direction, and would be willing to pick you up from other points, omitting such broadcasts as you might need for purposes of travel.

I would like to hold everything in abeyance until I get a note back from you, and, naturally, I will be guided by anything that you would like me to do, and will act accordingly.

My very best wishes and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

HERBERT I. ROSENTHAL

B

1605

Coming back from Paris about 24 hours ago, I sat in the plane making some notes - all about impressions and a few facts. It seemed at the time that 48 hours in Paris might add up to a broadcast. There was the absence of transport; the fantastic prices of luxury goods; the fact that the city had suffered practically no physical damage when compared with London; the reports of malnutrition in the working class districts; the problem of what to do with the French Forces of the Interior; there was the memory of those familiar, well-fed but still empty-looking faces around the fashionable bars and restaurants - the last four years seemed to have changed them very little. There was the memory of very well-dressed women in the central part of Paris, and of those who were less well-dressed and certainly less well-fed in the suburbs - There was the fact that most of the Allied bombing, particularly around the airfields, was very accurate indeed. There were French newspapers which reflected a toughness and independence of view which seemed encouraging. There was the memory of conversations about who had collaborated, how much and with whom. None of the impressions, none of the facts were particularly new or startling; but they might have been whipped together into a rather nostalgic, perhaps slightly emotional broadcast about the most civilised city in Europe. But when we came down through the English mist, searched for the airfield and finally found it - ten minutes of conversation made it perfectly clear that no one

could talk from London about Paris. There was, and there still is an atmosphere that reminds one of the days of Dunkirk. No one is interested in Paris, or in Brussels. The newspapers and the radio are not devoting much space to the Presidential Election at home, or to the long-range plans about what to do with Germany. All attention, much hope, and many prayers are centered on the fighting round the Dutch town of Arnhem. This concentration of attention has not been equalled since Dunkirk.

It is true that the eastern half of the Gothic Line has been smashed by the Allied Armies in Italy; equally true that the German front from the Gulf of Finland to Riga is breaking up. People are aware of the blows being struck by the armies of Hodges and Patton. But Arnhem is today taking its place in British folk-lore, and it may in future stand alongside Waterloo and Trafalgar. British imagination has been captured by the daring of this great Allied airborne army which was thrown into Holland a week ago today; and there appears to be a widespread appreciation of what it may achieve. The plan was very simple. Whatever progress our First and Third Armies might make through the natural defences and through the Siegfried Line, they would still have to cross the Rhine. The Germans were depending upon the water barriers in Holland. The airborne army went in to hold crucial crossings at Eindhoven, Nijmegen and Arnhem. The first two were taken and held. The third, the apex of the drive which would have made it possible for Allied armour to burst through into the

great German plain, smash the enemy's right flank and turn the end of the German defensive system, somewhat as the Germans turned the end of the Maginot Line in 1940. The opening of the attack last Sunday went well. The armour of the British second army was soon at Eindhoven and thrusting up the cobbled causeways towards Nijmegen. Some of the American paratroopers who had been dropped there crossed the river, and by hard fighting and excellent co-ordination they took the bridge intact. The British had been dropped about ten to twelve miles further on, around Arnhem. The armour and supply columns could not get through to them. As you know, the success of any airborne operation depends upon ~~the prompt~~ their prompt linking-up with the advancing ground forces. In the landings in Normandy the estimated time for this was about twenty hours. The men at Arnhem have now been fighting for seven days and seven nights. The weather has been consistently bad, and it has not only slowed down re-supply from the air; it has also hindered the work of Allied dive bombers and fighter bombers. The Luftwaffe has been appearing in considerable strength, and strongly opposed yesterday's new airborne landings in the area. Their night bombers have been active over ~~the~~ our supply lines. And the glider landing zones and the paratroop drop zones are now covered with heavy ack-ack concentrations. A week ago German resistance was only moderate, but they have reacted promptly and vigorously, and they now know exactly where the supplies and reinforcements must be dropped. During the last week, in parts

of England you could hear the transport planes roaring out ~~through the overcast,~~ and occasionally catch a glimpse of a glider slipping silently away ~~through the broken clouds.~~ Allied air losses have been mounting, and there are squadrons of the Transport Command who check the operations room to find out who has got back, just the way the bomber crews used to do.

These airborne soldiers are an entirely unique group of fighting men. I sat through six or seven briefings with them before we flew last Sunday. They put them behind barbed wire enclosures - like prisoners - two or three days before the operation is ready to take off; they pitch horseshoes, shoot craps and play touch football in full fighting clothes. They wade through the English mud in the mess-line - I saw one American outfit that had its own jazz band of paratroopers, playing in a muddy company street - there was an Englishman who dropped last Sunday with a darts board slung round his neck; and an American who had a mouth-organ in his hand. All the time a mission is being prepared the tension mounts, until a couple of minutes before the drop it is almost unbearable. These airborne troops might be called "sprint" fighters. They are lightly equipped, trained to fight with great ferocity for a day or two, and then to be relieved by the ground troops with the heavy weapons. The men round Arnhem, what's left of them, have now been there for a week. On Friday the Germans cut the supply line between Eindhoven and Nijmegen, but it was reopened again. There has been patrol contact between

the paratroopers south of Arnhem, and the advancing Second Army. But the men north of the river are still isolated; the weather is still bad; and the position remains critical. Success at Arnhem would not only cut off the German troops in Northern Holland; it would ~~permitxAlliedxarmour~~ make it possible for Allied armour to move through the widest and weakest gateway into Germany.

Every report indicates that the Germans are fighting as well as they have ever fought. They, as well as the Allies, realise what is at stake in terms of time, as well as geography. ~~If the paratroopers have held the bridge, and if the~~ ground forces get up ~~in time,~~ there ~~will be little to~~ stop them beyond Arnhem. ~~They could swing right-handed down into the Rhur, and thereby open the road for the American armies through the Siegfried Line and across the Rhine.~~ It is an epic but anxious situation. And it is probably no exaggeration to say that strategically and psychologically Arnhem is the Stalingrad of the West. Success there may well shorten the war by weeks or months, for it would not only open the way for our advance into Germany; it would shortly ~~providexax~~ give us the use of such ports as Antwerp and Rotterdam, either one of which would be worth more than all the Channel ports put together.

Confidence in the final outcome was reflected in last week's British scheme for demobilisation. It's really a scheme for partial

demobilisation. Men over 50 and all married women will be given priority. After that there will be two classes: Class A will be based on the man's age and his length of service. For example a man of 22 with four years in the Army would be released at the same time as a man of 40 with one year's service. In Class B the men will not really be demobilised, they will simply be transferred from one of the fighting services to an essential civilian occupation. Married men will not be given preference, and there will be no distinction between those who have served overseas and those who have served at home. There will be extra pay - sometimes amounting to a fifty percent increase - for those who are sent out to continue the war against Japan. The cost of that increase alone will be about four hundred million dollars a year. There is to be one year's compulsory military service in Britain after the war.

The whole system of partial demobilisation is based upon the gradual release of men who are required for essential war industries, housing and export. It is an attempt to avoid what happened after the last war, when soldiers were given a handful of cash and told that they were civilians again, but that unfortunately there were no jobs for them. One of the most urgent requirements will be for men who can build and repair houses. There are now about nine hundred thousand houses awaiting repair, and it is estimated that something like one million Londoners alone are without adequate housing.

But the problem of demobilising the men and women in the forces is only part of Britain's postwar problem. There is the question of the location of industry. Are the factories built in farming country, for strategic reasons, to remain there, or should they be moved? Are the bombed-out factories of London and the other large cities to be rebuilt, or moved to the country? How long is the Government control of essential raw materials to continue?(in other words, when shall the individual be free to decide whether a limited amount of steel shall be used to construct a school house, or a saloon?) How are the towns and counties to acquire the land necessary to rebuild bombed-out civic centres and public institutions? The list of problems could be extended indefinitely; and the trend seems to be to attempt their solution by the continuation of a measure of government control. In fact, there appears to be a ~~mexikanxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ certain reluctance to discard controls which have produced in wartime, a greater equality than this country knew in peacetime. It may be that the end of the war against Germany - the accumulated fatigue and irritation with petty and personal restrictions - will produce a reaction against all wartime controls. That is likely to be one of the major issues in the first National Election, which will probably not occur before the Spring. At the moment it seems that the issue will be not so much controls, as who is to do the controlling.

This is Ed Murrow in London
Now back to Warren Lawrence in N.Y.

CBS: MURROW: SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 24: 18.45: LEAD:

1605

THIS IS LONDON: Advance patrolls of the British second army have linked up with the airborne troops near ARNHEIM but the Germans continue to put down heavy fire from the North bank of the River.. From AACHEN to the BELFORT GAP enmy resistance is stubborn.. This Morning they put in a strong conter attack near NANCY..the results of the action,have not yet been received but it is known that thunderbolts drovexxxconsiderablexxzxx coming in low and skip bombing ,drove a considerable part of the enemy armour back into the woods..Today the whole western front from Switzerland to the Sea reports stubborn,and on the whole sucesfull German resistance ..

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25th September 1944

LC ZAC BECKER COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK

WOULD PREFER POSTPONE OPTION RENEWAL TILL EYE RETURN NEWYORK SOMETIME WITHIN NEXT COUPLE MONTHS BUT IF POSTPONEMENT DIFFICULT AM PREPARED RENEW AS OUTLINED YOUR CABLE REGARDS

EDWARD MURROW

Flat 71,
49 Hallam Street,
London, W.1.

7th October 1944

Mr. Herbert I. Rosenthal,
MCA Artists Ltd.,
745 Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

Dear Herb,

Thanks for yours of September 20th. Since it was written I have exchanged a couple of cables with Becker and he obviously had been in touch with you.

You know my fear of long range commitments of any kind, but if you and Zac feel that it is advisable to sign an extension now it's all right with me.

I have vague plans for coming back for a few weeks some time before the beginning of the year, and if I do we can talk about the whole business then.

I have no idea who the Sunday shows have been going, and as a matter of fact am a little too tired to give much of a damn how they sound.

As ever yours,

erm:mh

This is London..There has been quisling weather on the western front again today.(low cloud and fog).The American third army launched an offensive along a twenty mile front between Metz and Nancy ,early this morning..The Germans held a bulging salient there..and our attack would appear to be one with limited objectives...From information available in London it appears that the American attack North of Aachen has made progress but that it is in no sense a complete break thru

PASSED
FOR PUBLICATION
58 INTLO
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

1744

It may be that the German failure to compress General Dempsey's bridgehead between Nijmegen and Arnhem, and their failure to cut the corridor leading to it, is the outstanding military event of the week. The capture of Calais, the advance from Antwerp, and even the American ~~breakthrough~~ advance north of AAchen may be of less importance than the German failure to hold, or throw back the Allied threat to turn the whole German defensive system. Given good weather, and especially fast work on the supply lines, there may yet be time to launch a major offensive. The American ~~breakthrough~~ thrust near Aachen is making all the headlines in London today, but few commentators are inclined to think that ~~xxxxxx~~ our army there has accumulated sufficient material for a sensational breakthrough deep into Germany. People over here appear more and more to be accepting the probability of a winter campaign. If the tenacity of the German defence, plus our own problems of supply, should cause Europe to go through a sixth winter of war, the people who live in German cities will remember it for the rest of their lives. The destruction that will be wrought by Allied heavy bombers will surpass anything known in the history of war. The airfields are now closer to German soil, and that means that in some cases at least, the bomb load can be increased; the area to be bombed has been much reduced; all of the bombs that fell last winter on France, Belgium, Holland and southern Italy will now fall on Germany. As the hours of darkness increase, the R.A.F. night bombers can go deeper into Germany, and the American heavies, have proved their technique of bombing through cloud

The list of targets hit during the last 76 hours reads like a quick tour of Germany from the Baltic to the Alps. No bombing, either by day or by night, can be confined exclusively to military targets. The whole theory of heavy bombardment is to reduce the enemy's ability, and his will to make war. And if the Germans succeed in holding us on the fringes of their country till the winter weather comes, the heavy bombers will leave such a trail of fire and destruction across Germany - so many millions of homeless people, houses without roofs or windows, ruined communications, paralysed transport - they will put such a weight of phosphorous and high explosives down on German cities that it may break the will of the German people to continue the war.

Whatever happens, Europe this winter will suffer terrible torment from the shortage of fuel, food, housing and clothes; and not all of the suffering will be done in Germany. It seems highly probable that a lot of it will occur in Holland. There are some indications that the Germans are pulling out of western and north Holland, and when they leave it is believed here that they will blow the great sea walls and let the salt water in. If they do, something like two-thirds of the country's 13 thousand square miles will be inundated, and the whole country will be faced with flood, famine, cold and darkness. It would mean that the Netherlands for years to come would cease to exist as a going concern. There appears to be no way of stopping this barbarous

undertaking. There are something like seven million souls trapped between the Rhine ~~and~~ on the south, the sea on the west and the burning, looting German armies to the east. There might be one possibility - probably a very slim chance - of preventing the destruction of these people and this land which was won ~~from the seas~~ and guarded from the sea by so many years of toil and sacrifice. A solemn warning by the Allied powers that for every acre of land ruined, an acre of German soil would be given to the Netherlands in perpetuity - might cause the Germans to hesitate before exploding the charges already placed beneath the dykes and sea walls. Such a suggestion is advanced by one or two serious newspapers today. It is absolutely certain that the Netherlands Government will demand compensation for the land it has lost - (nothing, of course, can be done about the people.)

At the other end of Europe a small portion of Greece has been liberated by British forces, but the position in that part of the world, at least as viewed from London, is rather obscure. You will remember that the British and ourselves were negotiating for weeks with a Bulgarian Armistice Commission in Cairo. Then the Russians, giving us three hours' notice, declared war against Bulgaria. In a matter of hours the Government with which we had been negotiating was out, a new one was formed, and Bulgaria was at war with Germany. Mr. Anthony Eden told the House of Commons that the three great Allied powers had agreed that the Bulgars must withdraw their troops from Greek territory before they

would be granted an armistice. But Bulgarian troops are still on Greek soil. Russian forces are in Bulgaria, but Sofia has not yet given the order for Bulgarian troops to leave Greece. The delay is somewhat puzzling to many observers here. So far as one can judge, people in this country are pleased that British forces have returned to Greece. They went there in 1941 as a gallant but futile gesture, (and were flung out.) From the military point of view the operation was of doubtful wisdom. It precipitated a controversy between Field-Marshall Wavell and Mr. Churchill. But now that the British have returned, there is some impatience at the Russian delay in demanding that the Bulgarians withdraw their troops from the soil of Greece. ~~This situation, plus the fact that the Russians~~ Britain's relations with Russia are, in the eyes of the British Government, and people, just about as important as her relations with the United States. But there are a lot of outstanding questions. For example, both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden spent many hours persuading the Polish Government here in London that it should get rid of its notoriously anti-Russian Commander-in-Chief. The Poles did so, and appointed General Bor, who had commanded the People's Army in Warsaw. The Russian reaction was an outburst of indignation against General Bor, and no improvement whatever in the prospects for a compromise with the Polish Government in London. The whole situation is complex and confused, but one thing is obvious: Russian policy

in the Balkans, and in regard to Poland has resulted in a decrease in Russian prestige in Britain. There was a time, back in 1939, when in the eyes of most people in this country Russia was guilty of treachery and double-dealing. Then there was a time during the great defence of Moscow and later Stalingrad, when the achievements of the Red Army seemed to place Russian policy above question. Now the general tenor of comment in most of the daily and weekly press is that Russia is ~~drawing rather~~ pursuing a policy which ~~makes it~~ is difficult for the Western Allies, and particularly Britain to agree to. This may be only a passing phase ~~probably it is~~ but in its present form it reflects the absence of fundamental agreement between the Big Three who are fighting the European war against Germany. ~~This uncertainty has produced renewed comment about a Federation of Western Europe. There is no possibility of federating eastern Europe - the Russians are taking care of that. The political vacuum in Italy; the uncertainty about Spanish policy, pretty well eliminates the Mediterranean area; therefore the talk at the moment is about France, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Denmark.~~

At this moment the ~~policy~~ post-war policy of the Western European powers, including Britain, is in doubt. But there are signs here of increasing impatience at the failure to recognise a French government, (to which there appears to be no alternative.) Decisions are being made, or will soon be made, about the future of Europe. France will be expected to play her part in enforcing

those decisions, but she is not being consulted about the making of them. In the coming rocket age, the countries of Western Europe will be more important to Britain than ever they were before. ~~THEX~~ This war has produced no change in the basis of British policy, which remains, one: the defence of the Realm: two, the preventing of any one power dominating the Continent of Europe; and three, the maintenance of communications between this Island and the rest of the Empire. The desire to prevent the Continent being dominated by one power is why you hear so much talk now of a Federation of Western Europe. The maintenance of communications with the Empire was the reason for the long British battle in North Africa and the Middle East. They had to protect the route through the Mediterranean and Suez at all costs. They took fantastic chances in order to do it. That same desire to protect Britain's long-term interests may be part of the explanation of the return to Greece. There has been no change either in geography or in British policy. The policy remains: defence of the Island - no single power to dominate the Continent of Europe - and the maintenance of communications with the Empire.

Whatever happens, those three things must continue to determine British policy. Those considerations must apply, whether the threat of domination on the Continent comes from Germany, Russia or, as happened in the past, from France. They must also apply in the Mediterranean area, whether the threat comes from the Germans at Alamein, or from a Russia desiring warm water ports.

But while these issues of foreign policy may be the subject of long-range speculation, realities of British politics are always present. The Labour Party has decided to break the coalition as soon as "the War is over". They don't say which war, but the assumption is they mean the German war. That means that this country will have its first national Election in ten years, and already the shadows of it are appearing. Take, for example, the Town and Country Planning Bill. It's a complicated affair in a country where leases run 99 years, and where there may be half-a-dozen agents and landlords between the man who rents a house and the man who ~~loans~~ owns it. The issue briefly was this. A lot of houses and business premises were knocked down by bombs. Various towns, such as Plymouth, Coventry and all the rest want to re-plan construct new housing estates and parks. If they want to take over either buildings or land, how much should the owners be paid? It was proposed that they should get the value as of 1939. Many members of the Tory Party thought that the landowners should get the present market rate, which would mean that they would net a profit as a result of disaster. The whole thing is complex beyond description, but at bottom it is a controversy ~~between~~ ~~people~~ ~~who~~ ~~own~~ ~~land~~ as to whether land owners should benefit at the expense of the State. The issue was so sharp that the Prime Minister had to go to the House of Commons and plead that the basic issue be postponed until a later date. So you will see that in the midst of war and peturbation about the future, the things that really arouse political controversy are those which affect

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how and where people live, and how much it costs them. When the General Election in this country is finally held - and a lot of people are impatient for it - the central issue is likely to be: not who won the war; but who is best prepared to see to it that the equality produced by complete conscription - by heavy taxation, and all the other war measures - who is most willing to guarantee that the equality forced upon the nation by ~~wartime conditions~~ by the imminence of disaster will be continued when the war has been won.

(Warren Sweeney)

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58 INTLD
PRESS SECTION
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

Broadcast by H.E. Prof. Dr. P.S. Gerbrandy, 15th October 1944,
Van Columbia Broadcasting System.

I want to tell you a few plain facts about the desperate plight of my country, Holland. In a country where more and more water creeps over the land on which people used to live, where men and women are crowded together on the regions that still remain dry, starvation reigns and bitter cold and terror, while sickness and epidemics are threatened.

To an airman flying over these flooded areas Holland presents a strange spectacle. He will see wide stretches of water out of which rise the red tops of houses, a reminder that here were once the habitations of men. And this water is partly sea water. When we shall have driven it out, the salt will still be there, ruining the land for five or more years to come.

And there will be other floods. For the allied advance has cut off the coal-mines from the rest of the country. This means

that the mills which steadily for years and indeed for centuries, have pumped out the water that would drown the lands, are now stopping one after another. You may have thought that this necessary work was being done by these famous windmills of ours. But only a very few of the security pumps are driven by wind. No coal means in many parts a secondary flooding, yes with fresh water, it is true, but nevertheless with water.

Gas, electricity, coal. We think these essential for our comfort. But in Amsterdam they run short of electric light on the 9th of October: they will go without gas, it is thought, after the 25th. In Rotterdam they are already without gas and electricity. All this means no heating, no lighting, no cooking.

My country is not standing siege with well-filled cellars, like the German garrisons in Brest, Cherbourg and Calais. In the province of North Brabant there is about one week's bread left. Fate in the

rural provinces of Drenthe will probably be exhausted by the 1st of November. In the big towns the Germans have set up emergency kitchens; but for these you must have food-cards, and to get food-cards you must put yourself in the power of the German officials. Tens of thousands of Dutchmen have gone into hiding rather than serve the Germans: they will get no food-cards. The towns are being cut off from their usual supplies on the pretext of the strike, and, on top of this, food stocks in Amsterdam have been destroyed, with the specious excuse that they belonged to the German army, and that there was no transport for them. It is estimated in fact that in most places the food supplies will last just a few days more. After that there will be starvation.

I cannot bring myself to speak of the horrifying deportations, the wilfull murder of hundreds of hostages and prisoners when the enemy had no time to depart.

Nevertheless, you will tell us, one day liberation will come. Yes, your armies are there. But in three of the eleven provinces almost half of the 9 million Netherlanders are crowded together. The problem of providing harbourage for more than 4 million people on a very small piece of ground could only be solved, as you Americans understand so well, by a highly developed and therefore extremely vulnerable mechanism. The Germans are not in the air above that part of the country; they are right inside it with those demolition troops, highly trained for their work of destruction, already well on their way to annihilate the keystone of our future economic strength. For what they want is weak neighbours, nations too feeble to compete with them, so that they may prepare the more thoroughly for the third world war.

So far I have given you a picture of unrelieved gloom. There is one ray of light, however: the spirit of our people. The

Netherland Government, in agreement with the Supreme Command, appealed to the railway men of Holland to carry out a nation-wide strike in order to assist the allied armies. They responded to a man. It was the chance for which they had been waiting. But what it meant in terms of sacrifice I can leave to your imagination. These men knew what the railways meant to the Germans, and they did not flinch. When in Utrecht the Germans called for 1,000 men to work on the railways, promising double wages, and still more tempting, double food rations, four men only accepted! It is the same everywhere. The Germans are calling up the population, old and young, to work on their fortifications. In the town of Apeldoorn they called up 4,000 men. Only eight appeared. Then the Germans shot thirty-seven Dutchmen in the streets of the little town. The bodies were left where they fell, each with a paper on it marked "Terrorist". It was stated that they would be removed only when the 4,000 men turned

up. The whole male population of this town has gone into hiding rather than comply.

Such is the state of affairs in Holland: such is the resistance. Here is a nation, struggling against death, in courage and in faith, to defend the ideals we in the civilized world hold dear. Though the world be moved to pity, though, under God's Providence, help may come, that will not be enough. Give us the assurance that the horror you now feel will be remembered when the battle is over. Give us the assurance that you, our brothers in arms, will be one with us in saying to the Germans: "Thus far and no farther." Bear in your hearts the memory of the Netherlands engulfed; let it be a symbol to you of the dark night to which, in the name of Christianity, there shall be no return. That is all we ask.

The week has produced no significant change on the Western front. The bitter battle at Aachen may be regarded as a symbol for both the Germans and ourselves. It is a city deeply embedded in German history, and their resistance there ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ foreshadows what, we may encounter in taking other German cities. On the other hand, the methodical and merciless destruction of Aachen ought to demonstrate to the Germans the price they will pay for continued resistance .

The British and Canadian salient stretching up into Holland like a giant thumb has changed only slightly. On the surface it would appear that the Western front has reached stalemate; but stalemate implies that the forces of offence and defence are roughly equal, (and that they will remain so for some time.) The Germans have re-grouped, and in some cases re-equipped their armies, and no one can deny that their defence is skillful and on the whole effective. Their policy of sacrificing sizeable garrisons in order to deny us the use of important ports has delayed the Allied build-up; and the launching of a full-scale offensive in the West now depends upon supply and weather. The outward appearance of stalemate may continue for some time. Meanwhile the greatest battles are being fought in the east, the largest forces being engaged along the east Prussian frontier. But as the Germans shorten their line in the north, they find it lengthening in the south. The Russians have reached the great Hungarian plain

up. The vicious media propaganda of this town has gone into making matters even worse.

Such is the state of affairs in Poland: such is the reality. Here is a nation, struggling against death, in courage and in faith, to defend the ideals we in the civilized world hold dear. Though she would be saved to pity, though, under God's jurisdiction, help may come, that will not be enough. Give us the assurance that the honour you now feel will be remembered when the battle is over. Give us the

Paris — Murray
2 plays return
London Tuesday
for few days
regular routine &
appts x Lorraine,
Smith attending
while away
regds.
Coolidge

and there is no doubt whatever that the Hungarians and the Allies are in communication regarding armistice terms. The collapse of Hungary will affect the whole strategic situation in eastern and central Europe. ~~In~~ Budapest ~~the~~ is the most vital railway centre of eastern Europe; its capture would open the way to Vienna, and, perhaps of greater importance, it would mean easy access to northern Slovakia and the Carpathians. A Russian thrust in this direction would take the German defences around Cracow in the rear. It may well be that for both political and strategic reasons the Russians will make their big bid to enter Germany through the back door.

It is easy to speculate upon such matters, but perhaps more important that we should understand what is going on in Western Europe. A few weeks ago it seemed possible that Holland would be liberated by one daring, brilliant stroke. The effort failed to achieve its main objective, and the result is a slow, cold, muddy campaign across the flat fields, the canals and causeways of Holland. ~~another result has been~~ You can trace the battle line on a map - it hasn't changed much during the last three weeks. But no map will show you the conditions confronting the civilian population. That is why I've asked a friend of mine to tell you about it. He is Professor Pieter S. Gerbrandy, Prime Minister of the Netherlands. In introducing him to you I can only say that ~~my opinion there is no Allied statesman~~ I have met no statesman with greater courage or faith. Prime Minister Gerbrandy.....

This is London....

This is the bombers week end..there has been nothing like it in the history of heavy bombardment...Twelve hundred American heavies hit Cologne and Dusseldorf today...Last night the RAF went back to DUISBERG..that city has now receved nearly ten thousand tons since yesterday morning...and that is more bombs than fell on London during eleven months of bombing.

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PRESS SECTION
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

Thank you, Professor Gerbrandy. Many people in this country and, I suppose, in the rest of the world, are hoping that the present meetings in Moscow will provide some assurance that there will be no return. The issue at Moscow is much broader than ~~Poland and Bulgaria~~ the future of Poland or Bulgaria. The discussions are being held at a time when the Germans are being driven out of Poland, Hungary, Greece, Albania, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Holland. The future of these countries is of concern not only to themselves but to Russia and Britain. Unless the two countries can agree about their policy toward them, there can be no stability in Europe; no security for big nations or little nations. Unless there is agreement there will be a return to the old system of buffer states. Relations between Britain and Russia are supposed to be controlled by the twenty-year treaty signed in 1942. It stated two main principles. Both countries undertook to seek no territorial aggrandisement; and they agreed that they would not interfere with the internal affairs of other states. If these two principles are adhered to there may be real hope for the future. But when the present Moscow Conference opened there was no agreement about Poland; there was confusion about Balkan policy; and even the details of the military occupation of Germany had not yet been fully agreed upon. Russia had recognised General de Gaulle's government, and Britain had not. The whole crucial problem of the

treatment of Germany after her defeat was unsettled. It would be useless and dangerous to deny that there were suspicions of intentions on both sides. We are told that the atmosphere of the Conference has been cordial; and two things that have happened since Mr. Churchill's arrival in Moscow are considered to be encouraging. The first was the Allied demand that Bulgaria withdraw her troops from Greece within fifteen days. The second was the invitation to the Polish Prime Minister to visit Moscow.

~~There are few~~ Today There appears to be less idealism, fewer impassioned dreams, less unquestioning enthusiasm for the future than there was when the last war was nearing its end. Perhaps that is a good thing - but the results of the Moscow Conference will have to be concrete and understandable, if they are to dispel the doubts of the future in this country.

H:E. PROFESSOR DR. P.S. GERBRANDY

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1906

"This is a most grim moment in the war. The present stage of the war is dour and hard." In those two sentences, and with characteristic bluntness, Mr. Churchill summarized the present military position - and at the same time, powerfully influenced, British thinking and writing about the war and its duration. There is no doubt that the Germans have very largely recovered from their stumbling summer retreats on all fronts. They ~~had~~ have re-grouped their battered formations in the east, and in the west; and they are displaying their usual skill in defensive warfare. The Allied armies in Italy have scarcely moved during the last week; and the indications are that the German withdrawal from Greece is being well handled, and that the German command there is carrying out a necessary but at the same time skillful retreat. There has been little action at the southern end of the western front; but a week's bitter fighting in Holland has produced substantial gains, and there is reason to hope that the approaches to Antwerp will be cleared within the week. However, it's well to remember that the British and Canadian armies in south-western Holland are not moving towards Germany; they're moving away from it. Essentially it is an effort to secure access to Antwerp, and to cut off a considerable number of German troops. It looks as though this objective will be achieved, but it will not be decisive. It will be more in the nature of a necessary preliminary to a full-scale offensive in the west.

The Russians are saying little about the fighting in East Prussia. It is their custom to maintain silence until a considerable victory has been won. It is clear that they have not yet won it in East Prussia. It is equally clear that the Germans have staked most of their resources in north-east Europe on this battle. They have been throwing in reserves, both of men and of armour, on a huge scale - and not for any sentimental reason such as protecting the soil of the Fatherland. The positions the Germans hold are more defensible than anything that lies behind them. There is every reason to believe that both sides are seeking a decision, and that ~~thisxbattle~~ the outcome of this battle will determine the whole course of the war on the Eastern front. The German position is one that cannot be turned or outflanked. Any Russian drive south of Warsaw would be immediately threatened from the flank and rear, so long as the Germans remain in East Prussia. The country where the battle is raging is dull, flat and depressing. It's speckled with lakes, swamps and woods. The Germans have strengthened the natural barriers with an elaborate network of defences in depth, and behind the marshes and lakes they have constructed a system of strategic railways which makes it possible for them to switch forces from one point to another with great speed. The great battle of Tannenberg was fought here in August of 1914, and no battle of the last war has received closer study by military strategists.

This time the Russians are attacking with three forces instead of two, and the Germans admit that they have made some progress. This ~~great~~ battle - this Russian drive against one of the strongest and best prepared defensive positions should provide the answer for those who have said that the Russians are pursuing a purely political strategy, strengthening their hold on the Balkans while leaving to the Western allies the job of breaking the German armies and paying the price for the victory. If the Germans lose this position there is not another like it before Berlin. This dreary land has absorbed hundreds of thousands of Germans and Russians during the generations that Teuton and Slav have fought one another, and it is today the scene of the most significant battle in all of Europe.

Mr. Churchill delivered his warning on the grim business that lies ahead -the rest of his speech might be summarized as "all's well except Poland". The British Government have accepted the Russian demand that the Curzon Line should form Poland's eastern frontier. But the Polish Government have not accepted it, in particular they want to retain the city of Lvov and the nearby oilfields. Today most of the British press is urging the Polish Government to grant the Russian demands. And there the matter stands, at least for the time being. Mr. Churchill made it quite clear that anything approaching a final settlement of European affairs must await the meeting of the

three Heads of State. Most people here are hoping that the meeting will take place in London. Some of the papers are doing more than hoping - they are demanding. Mr. Churchill ~~is~~ is the oldest of the three; he has travelled often and far in order to confer with his colleagues; he has twice been seriously ill; and the feeling is very widespread in this country that he ought to be host next time. The location of an international conference may seem unimportant, but this British attitude is not based entirely upon concern for the Prime Minister's health. They just seem to feel, with remarkable unanimity, that it isn't quite dignified or fair that he should continue to traipse around the world as a sort of mobile middleman. Then, too, Mr. Churchill is going to have to keep an eye on his political fences during the next year. On Tuesday he is to introduce a Bill to prolong the life of the present Parliament for another year. He is expected to make another appeal for continued unity; and I think he will also indicate that it may be possible to hold a National Election before this time next year. The political position here is both simple and complicated. Unity between the Parties was achieved because the nation was of one mind about the war. But the nation is not of one mind about Reconstruction and Post-War Policy. Decisions on these matters are now being made, and the lack of unity becomes more apparent. The final result of that is, of course, a National Election, but the issues upon which

it will be fought are not yet clear. But it does appear that the great debate, when it comes, will be about the rate of change rather than the direction of change. And so long as that condition prevails, Democracy continues to function.

And speaking of Elections, the British - at least those that I know - rather like the pre-election news from the States. Their interest is not so much in the fluctuating odds that are said to be offered in Wall Street. It is rather in the fact that both candidates appear from this distance to be ~~xgxxxdxxpxxx~~ roughly in agreement as to the foreign policy the United States should follow after the war. The British press is, on the whole, following a policy of strict neutrality and non-intervention. As a matter of fact, they are leaning over so far backward that they appear at times almost reluctant to report the campaign speeches. There is no disposition to underrate the importance of the outcome; for example, Mr. J.L. Garvin, a distinguished and respected British journalist, informs the readers of today's Sunday Express that the American Elections take place next week. He says: "Never yet did the domestic politics of one great Democracy concern so urgently the whole destiny of the world. For ten days Mankind must hold its breath". You will observe that Mr. Garvin refrains from saying whether we can breathe more easily or freely if Mr. Roosevelt is elected, or if Mr. Dewey is elected. There are many valid criticisms that can be aimed at the

British press, but its handling of our Presidential Campaign might almost be taken as a model for ~~the~~ cautious and restrained reporting of domestic politics in an Allied country.

The news from the waters round the Philippines ~~was~~ has been the main subject of conversation over here. The British are a Navy-minded people, and they did not lose sight of the fact that an Australian cruiser squadron was engaged. But they did appreciate the importance of the victory, and it increased enormously their interest in the Pacific war. ~~For [illegible] been~~ Interest in operations in that theatre ~~[illegible]~~ has increased appreciably, but this may be because people have become accustomed to thinking of war rather than of peace, and its problems. It is possible that Europe's interest in the Far East may be overwhelmed by the problems nearer home. Gradually it becomes clearer that liberation of German-occupied territory brings with it new and difficult considerations. People slowly appreciate that currencies as well as cities can be blitzed. ..The Germans used what they found to feed war..they were guided entirely by military considerations..when they needed money in Greece or in Belgium they just printed it. The result is that the economy - the whole financial structure has been ruined. When the first British convoys arrived in Greece, they were unloaded in record time. Later the Greek longshoremen went on strike, not because they were unpatriotic, but because they and their families wanted food instead of money, which was worthless because

it would buy no food.

The Germans extracted from the countries they occupied food and machinery and fuel. We are engaged in the business of liberating those countries, of continuing to fight a war against a determined enemy, while at the same time making civilian existence possible. Our problem is obviously much greater than was the German problem. It isn't just a matter of ports and shipping. It is something that can be reduced to very simple military arithmetic. When the Germans came into Belgium, for instance, they found a going concern. They proceeded to take from the country what they required in order to wage war. When we came in we found a country whose currency was meaningless, whose mines and non-military factories had been closed; a country that was on the verge of starvation...a condition where continued life for civilians involved ~~xxdrxinx~~ the supply of food and medicine, which in turn meant that fewer men and shells and tanks were arriving for the furtherance of the war against Germany. Every time the British forces in Belgium deliver a hundred tons of food, it means that a hundred tons of war material have not arrived. It is clear that the problems involved in the re-conquest and re-habilitation of Europe are much greater than most people had anticipated. A reasonable degree of stability in Europe after Germany's defeat must be achieved if Europe, including Britain, is to be able to concentrate on the completion of the war against Japan. The prospects of achieving that degree of stability are none too good.

1906

All of this is to say no more than that it is easier to knock a house down than it is to rebuild it, especially when the rebuilding requires the agreement of several architects. The reconstruction is not impossible - it is just going to be more difficult - require more patience and tolerance than most of us had realised. No one has yet invented an easy, quick and inexpensive way of winning a war, or a peace.

Warren Sidney —

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PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

CBS: MURROW: SUNDAY NOVEMBER 5, 1944: 18.45: LEAD:

THIS IS LONDON: Today American heavy bombers were over Germany in great strength. About twelve hundred of them hit Frankfurt, Karlsruhe and Ludwigshafen.

In Holland the British and Canadian forces are slowly pushing the Germans back against the south bank of the Maas.

Most of the fighting going on all around Germany is preparation for what is to come. The Russians are ~~in~~ near the ~~southern~~ suburbs of Budapest, and their heavy guns are said to be ranged on the centre of the city. Hungary, Hitler's last satellite and the most feudal state in Europe, cannot long survive the loss of its capital. Budapest ~~has~~ is the best rail centre in Eastern Europe, but its capture ~~xxxxxxxx~~ will not be an attack upon Germany - merely the necessary preliminary to it. The same thing is true of the British and Canadian battles in south-western Holland. It has required almost two months to clear the approaches to Antwerp. That has now been done, but it will be some weeks before the port is usable, since there will be many mines to be cleared, and it's unlikely that Antwerp can function undisturbed as our main funnel for supplies. It is within easy range of flying bombs, and the Germans may choose to risk what's left of their bomber force against it. It is believed here that the Germans have not curtailed their production of flying bombs - the launching sites are easily constructed, and the conclusion is that during the winter months not only Antwerp but Brussels and Paris will experience repeated attacks.

There has been no change on the Italian front, and none is expected. General Alexander, commanding the Allied Armies in that theatre, has said bluntly that they cannot now reasonably expect to drive the Germans from ~~the~~ Po Valley this winter. The great battle in East Prussia has dropped out of the news, and it is

clear now that the Russian bid to break the formidable defences there has failed - at least for the time being. They got through the first screen of German positions but when they came up against the main fortifications they were stopped.

At Supreme Headquarters in the West there is much optimism. The Germans have been predicting a three-pronged Allied offensive, and the feeling in Paris last week, was that when it comes, it will get through. We have overwhelming superiority in almost everything. The supply job during the last few weeks is one of the great efforts of the war. Rail, road and pipe-lines are controlled by radio, and men and machines seem to be moving up across France like a Spring flood. I spent a night last week in a French town somewhere on the famous "Redball Highway." All day and most of the night the big trucks went thundering through the town square, and the roar of their exhausts filled all the little side streets - their headlights swept across the front of the old Cathedral, just as the drivers shifted gears for the long, straight hill leading out of town. Some of the trucks and trailers were filled with men - standing up - so tight-packed that it was impossible for them to fall down. The drivers were tired; some of the negroes seemed almost pale with fatigue; but they handled those trucks like artists. Not once did I hear a man miss a gear shift, and they drove those narrow, twisting streets with as much unconcern

as though they were on a wide, sweeping parkway. That was Tuesday night. Out near the edge of town, in the window of a bomb-blasted building, there was a strange sight. A huge French pumpkin, beautifully carved as a Jack-o'-Lantern, the mouth turned up in the friendliest of grins. To me, and I suppose to most of the troops, it was the first ~~reminder~~ announcement that it was Halloween. I suspect that it made some of them a little homesick. Incidentally, a pair of very ordinary leather shoes costs, in that town, the equivalent of 70 dollars. There is five times as much money in circulation in France today as there was in 1939. The Government is trying to solve the problem by orthodox methods, but in some places the peasants are refusing to sell their crops for money, which they fear may shortly be worthless.

But the tension in France now is perhaps even more political than economic. The immediate issue is the government's decision to disarm and disband the Patriotic Militia. The government's contention is that there must be a single administration, and that the only armed body should be the Army and the Police. When the patriotic Militia was first formed they were a kind of auxiliary police force with the special job of hunting down collaborators. After the landings in France they took over the work of guarding public utilities and key industrial and transport centres. They did a useful job, but the government now says they are no longer necessary. The Communists particularly are

opposing the dissolution of the Militia. They maintain that the regular police force must be overhauled, the collaborationists weeded out; some of the Communist leaders are using bitter language, hinting that some reactionary quarters would like to provoke a clash in order that a ~~personal regime~~ regime of personal rule might be established. It looks as though the government would win, although much depends upon the final attitude of the National Council of Resistance. It is always possible that the tension in France may increase with the arrival of winter. There is practically no heat, and it doesn't look as there would be any more. Unemployment is increasing. In Paris alone there are said to be about three hundred thousand people receiving relief. The Black Market continues to flourish, and a great deal of Army gasoline is obviously finding its way into private cars. There is a certain restlessness in Paris these days. People seem to want to get out on the streets and walk. The atmosphere is something like what it was in London and in Paris at the time of Munich. All this does not mean that there is imminent danger that the French will attempt to settle their differences by violence. It is just more evidence of the economic ruin and the idealogical controversies created by Germany. * Insert.

There is a continuing political crisis in Belgium. The Greek currency is completely meaningless. And the conditions in Holland are becoming truly desperate. The Dutch Government

expects famine in the larger towns of Western Holland during November. From Rotterdam it is reported that people have been standing in line for six hours for one plate of soup from a communal feeding centre. The strike of the Dutch railwaymen is now in its seventh week, and the people of Holland continue to support it. Once the Dutch fought a war that lasted for eighty years. Their conduct during the last two months certainly shows that they are as staunch as ever they were.

It would seem that France and Belgium and Holland have suffered and sacrificed and achieved enough to warrant their having some voice in what is to be done with Germany. They have not yet been consulted, although France may be later on. It may be inconvenient, but it is at least understandable when the representatives of small nations refuse to believe that all justice, judgment and knowledge are reserved exclusively for the great Powers.

There's another political crisis in a far corner of the world. Russia asked the Persian Government for oil concessions in Northern Persia. The Persian Government replied courteously but firmly, saying that it did not propose to make oil concessions to anybody until the war is over. Thereupon Moscow launched a vigorous radio and press campaign against the Persian Government. Yesterday, Izvestia, an official Russian

newspaper, delivered a three-column blast against the Persian Government. Izvestia points out that Britain and America already have oil concessions in Persia; therefore why must the Soviet Union be refused. Any attempt to interfere with the independence of Persia is disclaimed, but the Russians make it quite clear that they propose to have those oil concessions, even if it means a prolonged ~~mix~~ propaganda campaign designed to oust the present Persian Government. I don't know whether it's a good government or not, but I suspect that there is involved here a very important principle in the relations between nations. If small neighboring states are to be strong and independent only so long as they ~~agreewithxxx~~ do what their powerful neighbour tells them to, then the words "strong and independent" are meaningless.

It would seem that the Rumanians didn't mean all they said when they signed the Armistice with the Allies. The Russian General ~~Vinogrxx~~ Vinogradoff, Vice-President of the Allied Commission of Control, has sent a strong memorandum to the Rumanian Prime Minister. He says the Germans and Hungarians in Rumania have not been interned; that the Rumanians are trying to prevent Soviet citizens from going back to Russia; that the ~~Rumanianxxx~~ Rumanian proposals with regard to compensation for damage done to Russia by Rumania are absolutely unsatisfactory. Technical installations stolen from Russia have not been returned. It all adds up to the charge that the

Rumanian Government has been guilty of delay, evasion and failure to fulfil its promises.

Warren Lemery in N.Y.

CBS: MURROW: SUNDAY NOVEMBER 5, 1944: 18.45: Insert

No one can spend even so little as a week in France without being impressed with the continuing vitality of the country, the curiosity of the people about what has gone on in the rest of the world, and their belief - indeed their demand - that France must return to the position she once held in Europe and the world. Paris today is a ~~pixxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ city of rumours. I encountered one, rather more incredible than most, and it turned out to be true. The story was that even during German occupation one of the great arts of peace - television - had made surprising strides. And while television had more or less stood still in every other belligerent country, it had gone swiftly forward in France. I ~~xx~~ have not myself seen a demonstration of this development, but I have talked with reliable observers who have seen it in Paris, and I have had access to detailed though confidential technical reports. I don't know what the Germans have done with television, nor do I know what may be waiting to emerge from the laboratories in allied countries. ~~Bxtxxtxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxx

THIS IS LONDON: Hitler has tonight issued a proclamation to the German people; he did not read it himself; Only about the first ten pages have been received in London; they contain nothing new. So far it's a "death and glory" appeal; but he has not got beyond 1919.

After four days of hard fighting, American troops have completed two-thirds of the encirclement of Metz. ~~[illegible]~~

CBS. SUNDAY NOVEMBER 12, 1944.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

THIS IS LONDON: In Europe, as in America, it has been a political rather than a military week. But first I shall try to say something about V2, the German rockets that have fallen on several widely scattered points in England. The Germans, as usual, made the first announcement, and used it to blanket the fact that Hitler failed to make his annual appearance at the Munich beer cellar. The German announcement was exaggerated and inaccurate in some details, but not in all. For some weeks those of us who had known what was happening had been referring to these explosions, clearly audible over a distance of fifteen miles, as "those exploding gas-mains". It is impossible to give you any reliable report on the accuracy of this weapon, because we don't know what the Germans have been shooting at. They have scored some lucky and tragic hits but, as Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons, the scale and the effects of the attack have not hitherto been significant. That is, of course, no guarantee that they will not become so. This weapon carries an explosive charge of approximately one ton; it arrives without warning of any kind; ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ the sound of the explosion is not like the crump of the old-fashioned bomb, or the flat crack of the flying bomb. The sound is perhaps heavier and more menacing because it comes without warning. Most people who have experienced war have been saved repeatedly by either seeing or hearing - neither sense provides warning or protection against this new weapon.

These are days when a vivid imagination is a definite liability. There is nothing pleasant in contemplating the possibility, however remote, that a ton of high explosive may come through the roof with absolutely no warning of any kind. The penetration of these rockets is considerably greater than that of the flying bomb, but the lateral blast effect is less. There are good reasons for believing that the Germans are developing a rocket which may contain as much as eight tons of explosives. That would be eight times the size of the present rocket, and in the opinion of most people over here, definitely unpleasant. These rockets have not been arriving in any considerable quantity, and they have not noticeably affected the nerves or the determination of British civilians. But it would be a mistake to make light of this new form of bombardment. Its potentialities are largely unknown. German science has again demonstrated a malignant ingenuity which is not likely to be forgotten when it comes time to establish controls over German scientific and industrial research. For the time being, those of you who may have family or friends in these "widely scattered spots in England", need not be greatly alarmed about the risks to which they are exposed.

The significance of this demonstration of German skill and ingenuity lies in the fact that it makes complete nonsense out of strategic frontiers, mountain and river barriers. And, in the opinion of many able scientists, it means that within a few years

present methods of aerial bombardment will be as obsolete as the Gatling Gun. It serves to make more appalling the prospect or the possibility of another war, and may thereby inject an added note of urgency into the rather casual conversations that have been going on between the Allied nations.

On Wednesday of last week, when the results of our Presidential Election became known, there was an audible sigh of relief - and in many languages. The dark dread that the United States might return to old methods and old policies was lifted from the minds of many people. Most Europeans that I know were as gratified over the results in the House and the Senate, as they were over the Presidential decision. The mere fact that we held an election - that the decision was taken freely and after full debate, did something towards reviving faith in Democratic procedure in vast areas of the world where Democracy has been and still is at a discount. Here in Britain the result will serve to strengthen Mr. Churchill's hold upon the country. For, when a National Election is held here, shortly after the end of the war against Germany, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin will be firmly established and the case will be made that Mr. Churchill must receive a renewed mandate to continue his negotiations with them. Another result of our election will be to eliminate a favourite excuse for delay. For the past six months British Cabinet Ministers have been saying privately that they could not do this or do that until after the Election. On certain major issues

they have been cautious and timid to the pointof silence. You can now expect more frank, direct talk between the two countries, and a clear statement of the British case, particularly regarding Europe and the Middle East. Most people over here are now persuaded that the American people and their Government actively desire to cooperate with other nations in the ~~maintenance~~xxxxx establishment and the maintenance of peace. There remains, however, one great doubt in the minds of many Europeans. You will find it reflected in the conversations and in the serious publications in every country where men are free to write and talk. It is the question of our future role in world economics. It seems likely that we shall be the last great economic unit in the world operating a domestic policy of almost undiluted, uncontrolled Capitalism. Our expanded and undamaged industrial plant, our technological skill, our ability to be first in foreign markets ~~creates apprehension~~x produces the fear of economic conflict, of another series of booms and depressions. It doesn't much matter whether that fear is justified or not. The fact that it exists must powerfully influence America's relations with the rest of the world. We have seen the beginnings of this divergence of economic theory in the Civial Aviation Conference at Chicago, and it seems safe to assume that for years to come economic relations between nations will be the subject of clamour and crooked words and blame.

Still, the desire to cooperate is being expressed on all sides. Marshal Stalin's speech last week was full of goodwill, and, in the

opinion of many people here, good sense. But the slowly increasing suspicion about Russian policy on the Continent, and in the Middle East will be dispelled only by actions. For some reason most of the British press gave prominence to Marshal Stalin's assertion that Japan is an aggressor nation. Although that would seem to have been nothing more than belated recognition of a fact that has been evident for a considerable time.

Mr. Churchill's visit to Paris, and the admission of France to the European Advisory Commissionhave transferred attention to the primary purpose of British foreign policy - relations with France and the Low Countries. Even after the war began, both Holland and Belgium reaffirmed their neutrality, and refused to enter into Staff talks with the British and French. This terrible war did not reach full flood until most of the neutrals, big and small, had been either overrun or forced to enter the conflict. The obvious ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ lesson appears to have been learned. The Governments of Belgium, Holland and Norway are now prepared to enter into a firm post-war alliance with Britain. But this country depends upon France not only for its security but for its prestige and power on the Continent. There is no sentiment about it; it's a matter of geography. The British are determined that France shall be strong again, because without France Britain becomes merely a small island too close to the Continent of Europe.

British and French policy towards Europe and especially Germany, will be as near a joint policy as two nations can achieve. The first definitive statement of French policy in regard to the future of Germany has been made by Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister. In an exclusive interview with a representative of the Sunday Times of London, Monsieur Bidault had this to say: "There must be a Germany. Peace with Germany should not be one of vengeance. It must be just and human. Germany will have to be controlled for years to come, but I am not for trying to make her harmless by dismembering her artificially". The French Foreign Minister then went on to say that: "Germany may fall bit by bit, like the walls of a house, and thus find herself naturally and organically dismembered. But to force it would be ill-advised. On the other hand the early establishment of a Central Authority in Germany may impede the natural desire to disassociate themselves from Prussian influence that may exist today in other parts of Germany." Bidault, one of the leaders of the Resistance Movement, doesn't want to incorporate any German territory into France. He would not object to an international control of the Rhineland, but believes that France ought to be given a privileged position in this control. For, he says: "British and Americans will one day want to go home. We will remain." He doesn't believe Germany should be converted into an ~~agricultural~~ agricultural country, but her industries and laboratories must remain indefinitely under Allied supervision.

The Germans developed an effective system of controlling French industries without making it too obvious to the general public. The Allies may be able to do something of the same thing in Germany. The French Foreign Minister sees no objection to a defensive military alliance between the countries of Western Europe; but he doesn't want France to be bound exclusively to the West, since he feels that his country may have something to contribute by acting as a sort of middleman between Russia and the Western Powers. Monsieur Bidault ended his interview by saying that it didn't improve French confidence when Italy was recognised as a quasi-ally withoutany consultation with France. Others may have forgotten that Italy stabbed France in the back, but obviously the French haven't.

No one has yet produced a formula for ridding the German people of their appetite for war - their recurring desire to shoot people and to take their land and their homes. If the German Home Guard really fights; if it is necessary for the Allies to fight through to Berlin, then it may be that Hitler and Himmler will have been the instruments for eliminating the German will to war. After Napoleon the French fought wars but they didn't want to. The Swedes have had no desire to go out and make wars since Charles XII was defeated at Poltava. It is an appalling prospect, but it may be that the German decision to arm old men and young boys will cause them to conclude that making war on other people does not pay.

THIS IS LONDON: The war probably won't be over this year, but we are going to try. That is the meaning of the full-scale offensive now moving slowly forward on the Western Front. The main point of the offensive is now revealed. It is a three-army threat to Cologne, Dusseldorf and the heart of the Ruhr. Here, against a front of only about 30 miles, General Eisenhower has massed the weight of three armies. The [redacted] From Geilenkirchen to a point south-east of Aachen the British and American forces must number something like four hundred thousand - a force nearly equal to the total German strength in the West. On the entire front from Switzerland to Holland we probably outnumber the Germans by three to one, while the Allied Command enjoys a superiority of at least eight to one in tanks. The Germans have been forced to abandon important areas - Metz is about to fall - the British have cleared their side of the Maas - the French have gained something like 20 miles in three days through terrible country in the Belfort Gap - and Geilenkirchen is surrounded and may by now have been taken. Still the hard fighting has not produced anything that could be called a breakthrough. The Germans are withdrawing under great pressure applied by our ground and air forces, but these withdrawals appear to be orderly, measured and calculated. Nowhere have we taken prisoners in sufficient number to indicate that the German Command has lost control of their formations.

But the Germans have lost enough territory to force them to ~~xxxxx~~ decide the answer to their greatest problem: Are they to wage the great battle in front of the Rhine or behind it? There are strong political reasons for fighting in front of the Rhine, but military considerations would seem to dictate a withdrawal behind the River. If they commit their major force in front of the Rhine, an Allied breakthrough might sweep the whole corridor and cause the Germans such losses as to prevent them from defending the River line. ~~As of today the fighting seems to have assumed the character of the struggle that preceded the Allied breakthrough in Normandy.~~ The Germans have plenty of bridges across the Rhine, but a few days of good weather may alter that, for the American medium bombers have perfected ~~developed~~ the technique of bridge-busting - the proof of their skill can be found in all those broken spans acriss the Seine, from Paris to the sea. This offensive in the West has enough weight behind it to break through and to exploit the opening, but its progress during the next couple of weeks will depend to an almost frightening degree upon the weather.

On the other European fronts there is little to show. The Russians have been stopped in East Prussia and Western Poland, and their bid to take Budapest by head-on assault did not succeed. ~~They xxxxxxxxxx~~ They now appear to be trying to take it from right and left. As one Military commentator here puts it: "Budapest is the cork of the German defensive bottle, and the Russians have now decided not to drive in the cork but to break off the neck of

the bottle.

Some people over here are coming reluctantly to realise that military victory - the liberation of occupied territory - is only the first step in restoring order and security in Europe. And they are beginning to understand that Allied policy may be decisive in determining domestic conditions, whether we want to have anything to do with domestic conditions or not. Events at two ends of Europe illustrate this state of affairs. In Belgium and in Greece the initial enthusiasm and relief produced by liberation has passed. There is domestic crisis in both countries. In Belgium it is a question of disarming the Resistance Movement. It seems that the Belgian Government, strongly and openly supported by the Allies, has carried its point, and the Resistance groups will be disarmed. It is by no means certain - in fact it is very doubtful, whether the Belgian Government could have enforced this decree without the support of Allied forces. We have, in fact, acted as a crutch for Mr. Pierlot's government. The Allied decision was taken on the perfectly sound military grounds that we must have secure lines of communication and transport, and tranquility in the rear areas. But, nevertheless, our action undoubtedly influenced domestic Belgian politics.

The crisis in Greece seems to have been smoothed over, at least for the time being. One branch of the Resistance Movement there, together with the Communist Party, insisted that all Greek

forces raised in Egypt should be disbanded. They claim that these units are nationalistic, monarchistic and desire to set up another Dictatorship in Greece. The situation remains tense, and the carrying of arms has been prohibited except under special permit.

The conditions in Belgium and in Greece are not identical, but the same problem confronts the Allies in both countries. It is briefly this: To what extent are we justified in using force and prestige to support political Parties of the Right or the Left? In most countries the division is so sharp, the difficulties in the way of holding a national election so great, that we may be forced to select and support a governing group. This means that political controversy may not be able to function freely, even in territory that has been entirely cleared of the enemy. It is a matter of determining where legitimate military necessity ends and interference with domestic politics begins. Upon a proper appreciation of that very fine dividing line depends not only the regard in which we will be held in liberated countries, it will also determine the prospects for an early return of order and stability. ~~There is now enough evidence~~ The Allied handling of this situation will require as much skill as we possess. It is clear that in the liberated countries the initial enthusiasm and excitement gradually gives place to the will to continue fighting and to work. But there are few of the tools or materials available. Industrialists cannot reopen their plants, for they

have neither raw materials nor markets; the peasants distrust the currency; and the sense of unity and achievement in the Resistance Movement is a strong and continuing force. The question of who collaborated, and how much; the patriotism of the powerful; the revived confidence of the workers in themselves - all of these things will be potent factors in postwar politics. More and more one is impressed with the amount of time that will be required for Europe to recover from what the Germans have done to her. Somehow the lights of London seem to be a symbol of this gradualness. About six weeks ago it was announced that the lights were to be turned on. For a month the city continued to be dark and dismal. Local politicians and engineers debated and discussed. Finally the lights appeared on a few main streets, but the little side streets reamined dark. Even now you can walk for a few blocks under lights that are at least adequate, but then you come to a kind of black tunnel where there are no lights. From the top of a tall building at night London looks like a dingy patchwork quilt with a few bright threads stitched on it. The light which disappeared so suddenly more than five years ago is just seeping back gradually, without much plan or pattern. Maybe the return of Europe to normal conditions will be equally gradual. No one in London could throw a master-switch and bring the lights on all at once, although it was pretty easy to turn them out. Europe's return to stability, and to anything approaching security may resemble the return of light - and the return of light to London is patchy, unpredictable and is borne with patience. Sometimes the

light fails temporarily, but the total area in which men can see is slowly but steadily ~~expanding~~ expanding.

But there can't be any normality for Europe till the war with Japan is ended. Last week the British Government announced its plans about the control of manpower in the interim between the end of the war with Germany and the end of the war with Japan. The concessions were considerable. No more women will be conscripted for the armed forces. Women over 60 and men over 65 ~~who have been conscripted~~ will then be permitted to leave their jobs in industry. Conscription into the armed services will apply only to men between 18 and 27. People who have been conscripted for industry and who have worked away from home for more than three years will be allowed to seek employment nearer home. But the Minister of Labour will still retain the power to direct any man or woman to work in any part of the United Kingdom at the prescribed wage. The system under which a worker cannot quit his job and cannot be discharged without consent of a government representative is to continue. In the period between the end of the war with Germany and the end of the war with Japan, first priority will be given to the needs of the armed services; after that will come the building industry, and those industries making things to put into the homes - blankets, frying pans, crockery and suchlike. The White Paper outlining this scheme was presented to the House of Commons on Thursday; the Labour Unions have accepted it, and Parliament will undoubtedly do so.

This document is of the greatest importance, because it is the first official statement on what Britain proposes to do with her manpower when the war against Germany is won. And what emerges from the document is this: she proposes, even after Germany has been defeated, to continue a degree of control which exceeds that exercised at any time in the United States. It is a complicated but at the same time a complete answer to those who have asked the question: What will Britain be willing to do to further the war against Japan? Most of the present controls will continue, and with the agreement of the Labour Unions. The available labour will be used in the national rather than in the individual interests. The workers in this country agreed to Conscription, agreed to give up the rights they had won, after years of bitter struggle - not because they were more far-seeing or more patriotic than the workers in other countries. It was simply a matter of their danger being greater. Their immediate danger will be less when the war against Germany is finished. Then there will be no bombs ~~rockets that arrive without warning~~ (and they still arrive); but the workers ~~they~~ are willing to see the existing controls continued, practically unchanged, until Japan is defeated. The rather dull title of the White Paper is: "Re-Allocation of Manpower Between Civilian Employments". And the great thing about it is not that it was produced by a Coalition Government, not that a tired House of Commons accepted it - its true greatness lies in the fact that at the end of nearly five-and-a-half years of war the people who work with their hands - the miners, stevedores,

the transport workers and all the rest are prepared to say to their Government: "All right; you say that the continuation of these controls is necessary in order to defeat Japan in the least possible time - we are tired, tired of war and of controls, but we'll go along with you". Such willingness on the part of labour ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ to support the war against Japan is more impressive than many speeches by many politicians.

Warren Lunny.-

VIA CABLE & WIRELESS

L.C. 5th December, 1944.

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= PLEASE STANDBY MURROW SUNDAY SHOW
STOP ONPUTTING COLLINGWOOD IF HE
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- NOT - BOOK PARIS CIRCUIT =

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ERIC SEVAREID

CBS C. COLLINGWOOD DECEMBER 14 17:45

THIS IS LONDON

Although it is almost sacrilege for anyone except Ed Murrow to say it on this program [redacted] This program which his voice and personality have made the most informative and authoritative and exciting of any man who uses the air.

If Ed Murrow were here he would talk about the great battle in the Ardennes, from which the news is happily getting better. The word today is that the German offensive has been slowed temporarily, at least, almost to a halt. On either flank our pressure is increasing and on the roads up to the front the Belgium peasants stand in lines watching the long columns of men and equipment moving up into position.

For the second straight day the weather has been clear and we have been breaking records in the air all day. We sent out more than 2000 Fortresses and Liberators plus 900 fighters to attack the front line supply centers that are feeding the German advance. It was the greatest daylight raid ever made. When they all were in the air the procession of bombers was 400 miles long and the last plane had not left the ground as the first planes dropped their bombs.... The full scope of the days activity can not yet be seen , but it has been a day of great effect. The fighter-bombers have done tremendous work and there are many reports of smashed German columns and broken convoys. The latest report says that we have shot down in combat 32 German planes.

All the news of the German counter-offensive comes to us some 48 hours late. It has some of the curious suspense of reading a newspaper two days old..... whatever is going to happen already has.

The German offensive which began so spectacularly 8 days ago was no sudden independent stroke... It was, to be quite accurate, a counter offensive, launched in reaction to our own long-sustained attack along the German border. Notoriously, the most vulnerable time of an offensive is when it has reached its high-water mark and the attacking armies are organizing themeselves for a new attack. That was the stage we had reached. The 1st, 9th, and 3rd Armies had been on the offensive for well over a month. The big, continuous and simultaneous attack had ~~almost~~ reached its peak ~~exhausted itself~~ and we were in a stage of spasmodic attacks on one front after another. But we had reached positions from which any further advances would force a decision, perhaps of the whole war. ~~ixxwax~~ and the Germans knew we were preparing those advances... It was then that they struck. They came out of the Eifel Forest, ~~15 divisions of them~~, on Saturday morning. They counted on two things.... Surprise and bad weather.... They got both.... ~~We did not know they were going to attack on that sector~~. We were surprised. They had massed their men and armor in the woods where we could not see them under cover of night and bad weather. We held that part of the front rather thinly, for what had seemed good and sufficient reasons.

So when the Germans struck we were not ready. Our forward positions were overruh -- so were some of our rear positions... And here came the testing time -- the time that shows what an army is made of. The German armor rushed down the roads, cutting the front up into small pockets, isolated, outnumbered, outgunned.... And these small pockets fought on. The whole front did not fold up in the face of the German panzer divisions... In Stavelot, Malmedy, in a hundred places without names small groups of Americans held on. They had no orders, they had no supplies except what were beside them.... for all they knew they had no hope .... but they fought on... A couple of half-tracks on a street corner knocked out 3 German tanks, a company caught in a town with all the roads cut kept the Germans out of the town for days, handfuls of men trapped all over the front stayed where they were and fought, first the giant German tanks, then the Volksgrenadier infnatry coming on foot behind the armor... That is more than good soldiering. It is heroism.... And it had its effect. The Germans were slowed up. The head of the tank columns, like a snakes head, weaved this way and that looking for a way through. They missed objectives. They lost objectives. They didn't go as fast as they hoped they would.... as they had every reason to hope they would.... We picked up parachutists behind our lines who said they were supposed to be joined up by the such-and-such S.S. Panzer divisionx, but the Panzer division didn't get there in time.... And

when we find out what it was that beat the German counter-offensive, we will find that as much as anything it was those brave men who fought on in the fog when everything seemed lost.

For to make matters worse, the fog came down on the 3rd day and enclosed the battlefield in a white mist that blinded everyone except the Germans who knew where they wanted to go. The little groups of American defenders fought on in the fog that made them doubly alone.... On the first 2 days the Air Forces were in there hitting the Germans with everything they had. Then the fog came down and nothing, not a plane came off the ground.... The Germans had counted on that and hidden by the mists the German tanks smashed across Luxembourg and deep into Belgium... Now the fog has lifted and a kind of cold and wintry sunshine filters down over Western Europe. Every plane we can fly is out against the German columns, dark against the frosty ground. The RAF has come down from its own sector in the North, the heavy bombers are out from England, and the fighter-bombers in hundreds are going up and down the roads working great execution.

The German drive is ~~slowing down~~ being slowed down.. It has not yet stopped. Nor has any great pitched battle yet been fought. But that is evidently the intention of the Allied commanders. It has long been their conviction and intention that the final and decisive battle would be fought out West of the Rhine. This may be that chance. As General Eisenhower said on Friday, "By rushing

out from his fixed defences, the enemy may give us the chance to turn his great gamble into his worst defeat."

For their part, the Germans, too, seem to be prepared to make this a decisive battle. Von Rundstedt said as much in his Order of the Day launching the offensive, and the Germans have been doing a number of things which no enemy in his right mind does against American troops if he expects to fight a long, drawn-out campaign. The most gruesome was the wholesale slaughter of at least two large groups of American prisoners in the early stages of the offensive. Up until now the Germans have treated American prisoners with a comparatively strict regard for the international rules for such things... Now they have begun to behave with the calculated brutality they have visited upon the prisoners of other nations. It is neither pretty nor sensible... Americans react in only onw way to that kind of treatment... This reporter has never seen American troops so bitter and determined as those at the front today.... The wilfull German murders of our prisoners has made a deep and angry impression.

The Germans have been doing another thing which is not as clever as it looks. That is the dropping and infiltration of substantial numbers of German soldiers dressed in American uniforms and carrying American identification cards. Everywhere you go now ~~behind~~x in the battle area and behind you are checked and rechecked to make sure you are what you seem to be... Some of these Germans in American uniforms are supposed to sabotage, others are

spying, still others are supposed to organize the Germans who have been hiding out in France and Belgium ever since we chased the German army across those countries into Germany. A ll of them are fighting an outlaw and treacherous form of warfare. Under the appropriate international conventions they are subject to be shot as spies, and indeed, we are shooting them..... after all the formalities of courts martial..... We are fighting the war according to the rules..... but we are very angry.

And this anger bodes no good for the German counter-offensive. We want to fight back..... we want to fight back and we are getting ready to fight back. We were not caught off balance as much as the Germans had hoped. We are getting ready now, moving up troops, equipment, and supplies for what we certainly hope will be one of the decisive battles of the war..... And at the rate things are going now, that battle will not be long in coming.....

This is a strange Christmas Eve at the front.... The good old quartermaster Corps has been breaking its back for weeks getting up the turkey, the chicken, all the special trimmings to make a big Christmas dinner.... A lot of men won't eat that dinner now. A lot more will eat it on the run, and some will eat it to the sound of gunfire, and to those who eat it in quiet it won't seem much like a Christmas dinner because it won't seem much like Christmas.... it never does to Americans when they are away from home... and the Americans in Europe are farther from home than any map can

measure ... They are in alien, unhappy countries, speaking a strange tongue. They are surrounded by death and the possibility of death. They are cold and live in great familiarity with discomfort. In the place where they are there are no christmas trees, no lights, and no laughter.... For Americans at the fronts and behind the fronts and in strange places all over the world, there is not much to remind them of Christmas at home.

About all there is left is the comradeship of soldier for soldier, and his faith in himself, in the men around him, and the things he believes in.... Those things the Americans in far places have .... and perhaps, after all, those too are Christmas things.

This is C.C in London ~~reporting~~ & now back to Warren Sussey in New York

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You come back to London after almost three months on the continent..months in Paris, Brussels, Holland and the front.. you come back to fog-bound England by motor torpedo boat across the channel, after days of fruitless waiting on frosty airfields for planes that never seem to fly...Days of disappointed waiting that make you think that getting over to England during winter weather is almost as difficult as crossing the channel on D-Day... And once again you're impressed by the size of the wind-whipped channel..and that the problems of an England facing a New Year ar far different from a war-ravaged Europe indivisibly bound together by eaily reached land-frontiers..

You find England and the British people quietly drifting in a New Year, after an eventful but anti-climactic 1944...London is a little dowdier, a little dirtier and a bit more bomb-scarred... There will be nothing hysterical or hectic about New Year's celebrations tonight... The British people are not yet ready to let themselves go...They're saddened by the thought that the war failed to end this year after all the bright prospects and the hopes they held...But underlying this curious sense of merely drifting into 1945 is a hard and comforting bedrock...that the coming year will really be the year of final decision and victory...

You find the attitude of the British people far different from that of the liberated continent....These people are tired and weary of the monotony of wartime life, with its restrictions on life and movement...

You've come from proud, sensitive France, where wounded pride is very touchy...From comparitively prosperous little Belgium where the people are still grateful to their big neighbors the British for liberation..and from bleak, ravaged southern Holland where the people are very orderly and very poor, but too proud to complain...And you find that the attitude of the British public toward 1945 etc ~~is far different from that of the liberated continent.~~ These British people are weary. They're tired of the monotony of war, with its restrictions on life and movement...Yes, they're ready to go through another year of war labour..But the fact remains, they're tired..They would like to rest right now..On the other hand, the people of liberated Europe have suffered great hardships...They are not very fit, physically..But their minds are astoundingly active. There is no mental tiredness... Many of the liberated people have a sense of having been asleep during the four years of German occupation. It was patriotic to do as little as possible for the Nazi conqueror...For instance, today in Holland, there has been a certain amount of purging in the factories that worked for the germans..Those employes who worked too well when the factory was run by the germans, are now finding themselves out of jobs...Factory committees are responsible..

But now the liberated people want to work.. They don't want to rest any longer...They want to get going.. But unfortunately, there's not enough left in war-torn Europe for them to work on.. The factories have been bombed.. There is an incredible shortage of all the instruments of labour.

Of course much is being done in manual labor to rebuild the railroads and bridges...But the ordinary European white collar worker in the liberated countries finds time heavy on his hands.. Some of this frustration appears on the surface in disattisfaction with the new governments...Although government problems are really personal problems tremendously amplified...the liberated man feels that his own government is not going ahead fast enough.. In Belgium, for instance, where the government put drastic money regulations into effect, the complaint is not against these powerful measures to reduce inflation, but, strangely enough, because the government has not gone far enough... The monstrous black market still flourishes in Belgium with prices higher than ever...because the government has taken no strong measures to get the food from the farmers And the black marketeer gets to the farmer first... And as you know, in France and in Belgium and in Holland...one of the foremost complaints is that the governments should quicken the purge of collaborators...

So while the people of hardfighting and hardworking Britain are in a rut, tired in mind and body...And I can say the same for Russia...The people of Liberated Europe are facing the New Year surprisingly ambitious and eager to catch up with the victorious powers in every way...And it seems to me that there is every possibility that perhaps not in the coming year, but not long after, we may see liberated Europe rebuilding herself in an unbelievably short time...taking over the new techniques developed during the war...

idead in governmental proc

And trimming away the red tape from pre-war government methods... And with the allies pumping in supplies to the liberated countries the continent is lilely to suprise us with its vigor in 1945..

One of the best ways of jusging the strain upon a people during these war years is wattching the way they stand up under bombing..During the blitz the people of England astounded us with their cheerfulness, courage and composure... But the strain of bombs and V- weapons in this past year has told on them... They can be very cross with each other and with strangers...That far-famed British courtesy is not what it used to be...But the other day I was a Belgian city that is now receiving its share of German bombs... By day and by night... Some British officers and I were deeply impressed by the almost careless attitude of the Belgians as bombs shook the city... The Belgians didn't even stop ta lking when a V-bomb exploded... The war had passed them by for four years..and their nerves are as capable of standing up under bombing as Britains were back in 1940..

I remember standing on an airfield in Holland and sighting the snowy trails of V-2 rockets on the frosty air of Germany to the east...There was about one every half-hour ...Just a thin corkscrew of white vapour against the blue sky...You couldn't see the rockets going up...You suddenly just/see their evil spoor on the horizon... The V-2's are so fast that their ~~sky~~ vapory trail seems to appear ~~all at one to~~ simultaneously the human eye...

Later I sat in the RAF pilots hut..where they sat around a hot stove awaiting the call to take off over the battlefield against german tanks and trucks...And today, on the last day of 1944, I think some of those young RAF pilot's thoughts about the future airpower are worth repeating..

They love their pla es, these young pilots, but they already consider them old-fashioned..They talk now in termans of what they call jet-jobs..and V-2's.... They eaily foresee a time when the heavy slow high altitude bomber will have disappeared. They day that the strategic airforce of the future will consist of rockets and nothing more...They point out that you can't shoot down a rocket and it doesn't take ten or more men in an aircrew to run it over the target and take it home.. They believe that the strategic air force of the future will depend on rocket launching ramps in strategic laces...And that the future of an international Air Force to guard the peace will sooner or later be based on rockets more than on planes...As for the tactical air forces that support the ground troops, these young RAF men , can only visualize the jet-proppelled plane...They pointed out that the development of aircraft in this war was like the evolution of a prehistoric beast...The war began with small motored planes with large graceful wing surface...But now that sppeds are so enormous you find that the german jet-plane has almost no tail at all... Its very spped keeps it in the air...While as for the V-2---it has no wings at all..

And while they were talking, I was watching the RAF pilots..

I couldn't help reflecting on what you might call the evolution of the RAF pilot since this war began...Those who were over here during the Battle of Britain recall those elegant young gentlemen who whipped a superior german air force with their heavily outnumbered spitfires and Hurricanes...It wouldn't be far wrong to say that the Battle of Britain was also won on the playing fields of Eton...But the British air battles of the second front are being won by an almost different race./.stocky little Canadians and the type of/British boy who might have entered a factory in peacetime....Britain and the world have found out that you don't need a public school education to be entrusted with and to guide the power of a thousand racing horses through the skies..

These new men of the RAF and the young officers of the British army are not only fighting these days..They're thinking...About Britain's future and their own...And I don't think any subject has aroused as much discussion in the ranks of the British forces recently as the situation in Greece...British soldiers, sailors and air force may be fighting Greeks, but I didn't meet anyone in the British army who could fully agree with Prime Minister Churchill's policy in Greece.

But the discussion of policy in Greece among the ranks of the British army revolves endlessly around a few bleak facts...As in Britain the men of the British army over seas are puzzled over Britain real interest in the Greecian peninsula. They haven't been told enough... They are certain that

Churchill's intervention in Greece is in the best interests of Britain...but they are not sure of the reasons...If the Greek political situation directly affects British interests in the Mediterranean with its accent on the naval base of Crete and control of the Dardenelles, they would like to have it stated explicitly.q.In the way that the Churchill government made the issues clear in the early part of the war....IK The British army, fighting side-by-side with the Poles in Holland, are also deeply aware of the significance of the Polish frontier question.. They are not happy over it...But they wonder why it has suddenly become imperitive that the Polish frontier question be settled now immediately...TM Like the ~~XXXX~~ British people at home ~~XHEY~~ the British army ~~XXX~~ believed tha t all questions of frontiers could wait until after the war..when the heat of ~~XMGXXXXXXX~~ battle had cooled...Now they are told that the decisions must be made before the ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ last, hardest battle is won...And they no longer want to be kept in the dark over the reasons ~~affecting the economy of the war~~ which have made the settling of the Polish frontier question ~~imperitive~~ so necessary to the allies..

And so Britain drifts into the New Year with great hopes that 1945 will be the year...but in danger of becoming cynical because of super high altitude diplomacy..

Printed in England.

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1.

It has seemed almost like the old days, in england -this weekend. The air war came back to england, briefly and sparingly. Real german airplanes -- not robots -- with real germans inside them, have been over, peering down upon this island, for the first time since June of last year. There were only a handful of planes, they dropped only a few small bombs, and three of the german planes were destroyed.

Over on the continent, it is still going very well for us. Patrols from the American First army have reached the rhine north of Cologne; the ninth army, now firmly in contact with the British, is closing up to the river opposite Duisberg; Patton is gaining north of Treves and the Seventh has taken some hills. All the Way up the Rhine from Wesel to Cologne, the Germans have only a very few bridge-heads left to them.... already, in this battle, they have lost over fifty thousand in prisoners and they are streaming now for their bridges, in order to salvage all they can.

Meanwhile american and british bombers relentless hammer the enemy country; this afternoon we could see some of the fortresses coming back; passing very low, and slowly, over the roofs of London, bringing the people to their windows, from the quiet of their Sunday parlors...

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add war

And so this fight reaches its climax and its conclusion. The fight which will be known in the books of history as the Battle of the Rhine. It has been, a brilliant and crushing blow, but no one can yet cast up the full account and say by how many weeks precisely, it has brought us nearer to the end. It has been a great achievement; the industrial Ruhr is neutralized and will no more feed the Nazi armies; the famous west-wall, the Siegfried Line, has gone the way of all static lines of defense in this war of sudden movement. Its white dragon's teeth will become but the broken dentures of germany's decaying jawbone, grimacing across a wasteland at the hollow and sightless eyes of its fos ter-parent, the Maginot Line.

But we do not yet know how much we have accomplished in this great battle, because it is not yet clear how much of their remaining reserve, the germans had committed west of the Rhine, nor are we sure yet how many of them are succeeding in crossing the immense river back into the inner fortress of the Reich.

Certainly, the germans have been committing new, fresh reserves into this battle in the very last few days. That is why the American First army has not pushed ahead so rapidly as the others; they have had these newcomers to contend with in considerable number. The germans are not using these new men as self-contained units. They are not good enough, not disciplined enough for that. Filtered in among them, and backing them are better german soldiers, paratroopers and men of the armored outfits, soldiers whose will to fight on remains high, men who do not break at the first crashing blow to their nerves.

But because the mass of new infantry must be re-stitched and interwoven in this manner, the german command is forced to split up its elite formations, to distribute them in small battle groups over all the threatened fronts; this is not only a purely defensive policy, which makes serious counterattack next to impossible, but it is also a policy dangerous in a high degree.... dangerous because, when the mass formations of green infantry panic, collapse and surrender the strong men, the tough soldiers are swallowed up with them.... we are rolling into a heap the whole wooly fabric of the ger man western army, and they have no time to pull out those steel threads which were to have given it substance and strength.

And so our men come now to the Rhine itself. There is a military maxim, one which that modern buccaneer of ours, General Patton, is fond of quoting: "Never go to a river unless you are already prepared to cross it." Plans for crossing the Rhine have been preparing for at least the last six months, plans in detail. As Eisenhower said, there is no case of a successful river defense in military history, and there has never been the slightest doubt in the minds of our leaders that we would trave rse the Rhine. Despite Patton's moral there may well be considerable delay, for we have arrived on the banks with unexpected swiftness; if we take weeks to organize the crossing, well, the germans will have weeks to organize their defense against the crossing. Except that we will have this advantage: our planes -- our hundreds and thousands of bombers and fighters, against which all effective defense has long since melted away. If the godsent weather of the last few weeks holds in anyn generous measure, the planes will make all life and work on the far banks a misery and a desperation.

There are ways and ways of holding and crossing rivers. Often, in the last few weeks the germans have claimed that eisenhower is preparing great airborne armies of paratroopers, glider troops, now classic weapons for neutralizing the far shore of a water barrier. But this is the most delicate, the most precarious of all operations, and there must be perfect timing and co-ordination. Men dropped on the far side of the wide flowing rhine would be hostages to german fortune, were not masses of men with the heavy weapons ready to shove across to their support with no danger of a moment's delay.

To cross this water line will be the most difficult enterprise we have attempted, certainly since the landings in normandy and the riviera. But we have the men, the skilled men. Amphibious warfare has become a high art in the american army above all other armies on earth. It is our speciality. If there are combat engineers comparable to ours, in any army, this reporter has never seen them. And we have the machines to do it. We landed in north and south france with hundreds of amphibian "ducks" which move equally well, on rubber tires or by steel screw, and the germans know they have not been consigned to the scrap heap.

The Rhine is formidable and famous. But the men of America are men who understand rivers, better, perhaps than they understand the seas. To them all previous rivers, the Aisne, the Somme, the Moselle -- were streams they referred to as "cricks." For they are men of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Hudson, the great Missouri. To the history of Europe and the minds of Europeans, the Rhine looms large and mighty. A "pyschological barrier" to use a sportsman's term. For the men of America, that does not apply. To them, it is just another river, bigger than most, but still -- just a river, which has to be crossed -- so you go ahead and cross it.

The soldiers struggle ~~on~~, to end the war; the diplomats, the men of politics struggle ~~on~~ to begin the peace. The task of the generals is simple and obvious compared to the task of the statesmen. ~~The~~ We can measure each day ~~by a glance at the map~~ the progress of the first by a glance at the map. Not so, with the second. After Yalta, after the long debates here this last week, the people of britain feel they know the basic principles and the general strategy; and they have given ~~the~~ their approval in overwhelming voice. They wait for word from the American congress and ~~people~~ the american public. Their observers in America are telling them with confidence that the word will be "Yes."

But if people here ~~feel~~ understand and approve the general ~~principl~~ principles for victory and peace, they are still unsure, and therefore uneasy about many ~~of~~ specific measures. They are not clear about the actual process of german surrender, for one thing. Those who think about it understand clearly why the allies will make no promises and appeal to the german people now -- because we do not wish any future Hitler ever to be able to say that germany lost because of "Wilsonian propaganda" or anything like it. They understand that the german general staff is being informed beforehand of its coming liquidation for the same reason -- to make impossible any future claims of a "stab in the back" by ~~any~~ a clique of officers. So, apparently, there will be no general surrender, on some specific day, of all germany's armed forces, by Hitler or by the german chief of staff. We are to accept surrender piece-meal, from the various german commanders in the various sectors. And then the allies will announce, one day, that the fighting is ~~over~~ ended. But there will be fighting going on, far away from germany itself, where german commanders are not beaten. Their armies in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in Norway, their fleets of U-boats on the seas.

Will they accept an allied statement that the war is lost? And if they do not, how much time will elapse before they stop shooting, and how many allied lives and ships will be lost in the meantime? All this is not clear in the minds of ~~many~~ thinking people here.

People are not clear about many things involved in the occupation of the enemy land. Are the Russians giving up their Free German Committee of officers which they appeared to be grooming as a provisional government? Yalta implies there will be no german government, of germans. But there must be some kind of german administration to carry on the rudimentary services of the country. What power will it have and what kind of german will be in it? Who feeds the german people, who will be milling in aimless panic about the country?

The British leaders have carefully avoided any mention of german soldiers being sent to help rebuild russia. Roosevelt casually remarked it might not be a bad idea. People here want to know what the real plan actually is.

They agree with the general principles for Poland's future. They are willing to believe, with churchill, that Stalin's word is his bond. But they will want to know a ll about the deeds which follow the words. That goes, even where their own government is concerned. After all, they were not satisfied with churchill's word that his policy in greece was correct and it was only after knowing the later actions there, did most people here become easy in their minds. It will be the same for Poland. Poland is promised a government of all democratic parties. How is that word defined? What are the guarantees for a free election? Allied troops, or what? Are all these decisions to be made in Moscow and are all detailed reports on Poland's unfolding events to come from Moscow?

MURROW TO CBS..

This is Ed Murrow in Paris.....

The Allies today stand along the west bank of the Rhine from Nijmegen to Coblenz..there may be one or two small ~~Gxxxxxx~~ packets of German troops but for all practical purposes the west bank belongs to us.. The Germans ended their last news broadcast with the "watch on the Rhine" sung by the male choir of Cologne..supported, appropriately enough, by the Breslau Orchestra...

The Rhine Bridgehead at REMEGEN has been slightly ~~expxxxxx~~ expanded...The bridge is still under unobserved artillery fire but so far as we know its still standing....Yesterday eleven German fighter bombers made a pass at it..two Of them were shot down and the others forced to jettison their bombs before they were over the target...The present position in the west represents the end of a chapter...Several days may elapse before the big lunge across the Rhine is ready...The present bridgehead must be regarded as the reward of boldness and daring..but it would be a mistake to assume that the forces the are about to break out on the road to Berlin...German resistance is stiffening and we shall need more than one bridge across the Rhine...The Fighter bombers and the mediums are trying to isolate the battlefield on the far shore while the heavies are trying to isolate the whole Rhur...There is nothing here at headquarters to indicate that the forces across at REMEGEN have been able to do more than improve their position slightly...Certainly the German army has suffered a heavy defeat west of the Rhine but they suceeded in getting much of their material and many of their crack troops back across the river..their regrouping ~~xxxxxx

Coming back to Europe involves the use of modern science, technical skills developed thru the years..in order to reach a society and a civilisation which seems to enjoy few of the advantages provided by scientific progress..It means returning to a place where the individual is uncomfortable..ill clothed and often homeless..because for nearly six years all effort has been directed towards destruction or protection....The speed of transatlantic travel gives the traveller little time for adjustment...You leave a country that has all the appearance of a young fighter, confident, healthy, young and strong...and the next morning you wake up looking at another fighter, tired, past his prime, rather shabby, weary from years of slugging and being slugged..a little punch drunk but confident of winning this one.....When we walked out to the big C 54 in New York a young fighter pilot looked at her and said.."they wont do any quick rolls with that baby!!".We sat on the floor and played bridge all the way to New Foundland...most of the passengers were combat pilots coming back from leave..knew what ~~xxxx~~ they were coming back to...We sat in a shack on th edge of the field in Newfoundland drinking coffee..a bitter wind whipped streamers of snow across the long runway...A bombadier coming over for the first time said.. "Sure hope we arent held here for weather!!"...A young Major who had that "fifty mission" look around the eyes grinned and replied..."Now lets not rush headlong into this thing fellows!!"...We headed for Scotland helped by a stout tail wind. The conversation ranged round the world..the food in Bombay the girls in Johannesburg..the field at Marakesch...Flak over Berlin..Chunking and Karrachi Prestwick and Ploesti...Places from Bermuda to Burma were familiar..This was a new kind of American..still taking it all for granted still refusing to believe that there is anything that cannot be done...The colonel thought propellors on planes were already obsolete..jet propulsion was the stuff of the future...the sargeant opined that within three or four years transatlantic planes would have floor shows and chromium bars..youd scarcely have time to take off your coat between New York and London..

There was a private... e of flight traffic..he handed out the lunch boxes..later I saw him checking them over...He said,"you made this trip many times?" I said a few..He must have been about nineteen...Wanted to know if I thought the lunches had improved..I thought they had..The Private thought that was fine..hed been working on the problem..checking on what people ate and what they didnt eat..After each flight hed write a report..folks werent eating but one ham sandwich..and the hard boiled eggs werent going so well..why not try some more of those marmalade nad peanut butter combinations ... He was improving the quality of the box lunches..I told him that was pretty enterprising of ATC but he said they had nothing to do with it..it was his own idea..and the higher ups just followed his suggestions...He was a soldier and proud of his job..One person called him Steward and was politely corrected..he was a PFC...

London was weary shabby and grey..a friend said,"come to think of it the winter was rather hard".People were talking about the return of the bombers... the kind with real live men in them...The newer models were still coming over and no one pretended to enjoy them...The faces in London were the faces of people who have run a hard race and who have just been told that they must run another....

It was a hard winter here in Paris too....The suffering was acute..One friend remarked that a small child was removed from the apartment next his... frostbite..both hands amputated...A major,who started the war as a private, had just secured a ton of soap and a few hundred pairs of shoes for french workmen who were producing stuff for our army here...The men had been working i the rain,gunny sacks tied round their feet..had no soap for washing..Everyone that I have seen agrees that the French have done what they could to produce goods for the armies here...They are calling up new classes,trying to rebuild their own army ..for they are convinced that much of the policing job in Germany must be done with French troops...they believe that the Americans and the British will want to go home...General DeGaulle has said..It is necessary that we ourselves take steps that this does not happen again..If our allies help us,so much the better,but it is up to us,apart from amy system of general security,to do justice and to prevent the renewal of such crimes

There is a widespread belief that France suffered little physical damage ~~[illegible]~~ But the French Minister of Reconstruction says the country suffered twice as much physical destruction as during the last war...A million and a half homes destroyed..It will probably take ten years to rebuild them even with the assistance of German prisoners ..The Govt. estimates that about five million Frenchmen are homeless.. More than two thousand locomotives were destroyed...There are only about one hundred and fifty thousand motor vehicles left in all of France..before the war there were five hundred thousand...The Germans took some of ~~ixxx~~ them..the rest were destroyed...Two million tons of shipping lost....The Germans took away sixty seven million tons of iron..twenty ~~mixxxxx~~ thousand tons of copper..seven hundred thousand tons of potatoes....And in addition to all this they took in prisoners of war,conscript labour and political deportees almost two and a half million men...Is it zany wonder that Ge Gaulle says..These are curious times..We have to make diplomacy by means which are often not diplomatic,and politics by means which are not always politic...French politics are about as confused as they coud be..The Government has been having a hard time with the consultative Assembly..which begins to feel that it is a rubber stamp divorce from the real business of running the country....Ministers make proposals and the proposals are voted down but the ministers remain in office...At the end of one debate a ~~mixxxxxx~~ member pointed his finger at a minister and said... "I dont know what you would be doing under a dictatorship,but if this were a democracy you would not hold office"..There you have a fairly good descripti of affairs..neither democracy nor dictatorship....There is still dissention between the Govt. and the Resistance movement..progress in eliminating the collaborationists has been slow...some of the resistance movements are saying that the Revolution may be "postponed out of existence"...There is little open criticism of Gen Degaulle but much complaint about the men around him... The communists became a Government party on Jan Twenty first..if they should change their mind and decide to oppose General Degaulle they might be able to bring down the Govt...But in all this wilderness of words and weariness one

PRESS WIRELESS

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thing stands ...rance will not accept willingly the status of a second rate power..She believes that History and Geography demonstrate that she is essential to any system of security in the west...She will resist any effort to establish international controll over the Levant or over Indo China..It will be difficult..indeed impossible to convince the French that the ~~prizzz~~ reward for suffering should be the loss of territory ... And in Looking at this confused continent it would be well to remember that France is in better shape than the other Nations...Belgium,Holland,Italy are in more desprate straits ...The Dutch have already lost one quarter of their ~~xxxx~~ land..its under water..Italy is an economic desert..there are towns in Belgium that are only hip high rubble..~~Onexxxx

Sun. 18th March 1945.

THIS IS LONDON: Once again the Germans have had to face a hard choice, either to sacrifice men or to abandon land. Today they are pulling out of the Saar triangle, being pressed by General Patch from the south and General Patton from the north. Practically all of Coblenz is now in our hands, although it is not likely to be a comfortable stopping place, since it is dominated by German guns on the high ground east of the Rhine. It is likely to be only a matter of days before the Germans must prepare for a great lunge across the Rhine at any one of a dozen places. Our bridgehead opposite Remagen has been growing steadily but slowly all week, and it is significant that the Germans, although served by an excellent network of roads, have failed to launch one major counter-stroke. The centre span of the railway bridge collapsed yesterday afternoon, but spokesmen at headquarters are convinced that this will not seriously interfere with operations in the area, since the bridge has been used only for foot traffic during the past several days. It may be, of course, that the Germans are waiting to see where the major crossing will be made before committing their remaining reserves. When the great effort is made it will succeed. The Allies disposed of strong reserve forces, including the Allied Airborne Army. We now have sufficient fighter strips near the Rhine to permit plenty of close support, constant cover over the bridgeheads wherever they may be, and ceaseless strafing and dive-bombing of enemy movement behind the lines.

The Germans have learned to fight well without air cover, and it is true that they have jet-propelled planes that can outrun anything we have in the air. But they will not be able to move troops and vehicles to any considerable extent. The American Air Corps has developed air-ground cooperation to the point where the hyphen should be removed from the two words. The ground forces now talk to the air just as though they were in the same room. The communications system is vastly better than it was during the Normandy campaign, and the whole thing works with the precision of an adding machine. ~~Sunxdayxlxstxweekx~~ I spent some time last week with a fighter-bomber group operating over the Remagen bridge-head - flew for an hour piggy-back in a Thunderbolt over the battle area. The sky was filled with our planes - fighters and fighter-bombers. Every plane knew exactly where it was; if the pilot was in doubt the ground would tell him. You would hear the ground say: "There are three tanks hiding behind the houses at the end of that village street". A flight leader would say: "Okay, we'll take care of that". And then you'd see four Thunderbolts peel off and start down. Then you'd hear another flight leader, 50 miles inside Germany, say: "Trucks on the road down there - let's go". The men doing the controlling on the ground had all had experience in the air. They waste no words - there isn't even very much drama or excitement about the whole business. The other day Colonel Ray Stecker, who commands the 365th, - a few of you may remember him as an Army All-American in 1931 - was leading a flight when the ground controller pulled him down to bomb a column of tanks. Those

German armoured columns carry plenty of 20-millimetre flak on top. As Colonel Stecker peeled off and started down hx followed by three Thunderbolts each carrying two five-hundred pounders, the man on the ground said: "How're you doin', Colonel Stecker?" The Colonel didn't reply - didn't even know who was talking to him - but he thought probably it was a boy who had flown with his group. Colonel Stecker thought he shouldn't have said what he did because it involved using the radio channel for unessential communication, and somebody else might have wanted to get on there and call"German fighters", or "more movement on the ground". This close support is a methodical, carefully calculated business which leaves no room for sentiment or horseplay. And the courage required to go down through that light flak is if anything greater than that demanded of the bomber boys when they must fly straight and level in the bomb run. The fighter-bombers are briefed in a matter of minutes, and much is left to individual initiative. Often they pick their own targets well behind the lines; sometimes they will fly three missions a day; and always they are looking for German fighters to tangle with. There's a curious kind of discipline in these fighter-bomber groups. At briefing the Commanding Officer will say: "Now, I don't want any of you guys to get so eager that you go down after two tanks or a railway train, and don't give yourselves room enough to pull out, and mush into the ground." There's a set routine for coming into the field, and if it varies the Commanding Officer at interrogation will say to a 21-year-old

pilot: "You came in over the field like a bunch of drunken geese; you peeled off alright, and the rest of your flight scattered all over the sky. You're supposed to be a flight leader, and it's your job to keep your flight together". This sort of thing still happens in an outfit like the 365th, which was flying from strips on the Continent on ~~Exxkxxxfixx~~ D plus five; which has more enemy planes shot down than any other 9th Air Force P-47 group; and which during February blew up 129 German locomotives.

Coming back to England one discovers that the Spring is early; that the papers carry advertisements for men who want jobs with the Technical and Scientific Staff that is to control Germany - engineers, chemists, architects, people who know anything about textiles, leather, rubber, public utilities or anything else. Confidence in early victory seems to be increasing. So does interest in domestic political affairs. Mr. Churchill has made his speech to the Conservative Conference, and has outlined the political procedure. As soon as the war is over, the Labour and Liberal members of the Government will withdraw. There will then be a General Election - the first in ten years - and it will be held under conditions that are entirely unique. Mr. Churchill sought to place the onus for the breaking of the coalition on the other Parties. He expects to form a sort of "Caretaker" government to carry on between the end of the Coalition and the holding of the Election. He may be able to secure the services of such men as Lord Woolton, who made his reputation as Minister of Food, and Lord

Leather, the Minister of War Transport, both men of no Party.

Mr. Churchill has elected to sail under the flag of free enterprise - the elimination of controls and restrictions that are not absolutely indispensable. And almost at the same time he was making this speech, the Minister for Civil Aviation was explaining that there was to be no free enterprise in the field of post-war civil aviation. The Prime Minister spoke of a healthy and well-balanced agriculture which is to flourish rather than diminish after the war. In that statement one can without difficulty discern the hand of Lord Beaverbrook.

Mr. Churchill's speech reminded one of the political polemics of 1926 rather than the realities of 1945. But one thing is clear - the British General Election when it is held will be fought on the proposition that the man who won the war is indispensable for the winning of the peace. And it appears daily that the winning of the peace will be more difficult than many had expected. The Crimea Conference promised a broadening of the basis of the Polish Government, but this has not occurred. There is now ~~dispute~~ disagreement between Russia and the United States regarding conditions in Rumania. General Radescu is, so far as we know, still safe in the British Legation in Bucharest. And everything possible is being done to create the impression that Britain holds to the middle ground on this first test of the professions of joint responsibility that emanated from Yalta.

Britain will attempt to continue to occupy that middle ground in all disputes that affect major Powers. She is now in the middle of a dispute concerning food for the Continent. American authorities have maintained for the last several months that British food reserves are being retained at the same level as they were during the Blitz, and during the submarine threat. The British public does not know the extent of the stocks held in this country. America announces that shipments to Britain will be curtailed. The result is misunderstanding and irritation. There is no lack of willingness in this country to provide food for a hungry Continent. But there is a lamentable lack of information regarding the possible sources of supply. Food seems more important over here than it does at home. Let's look for a moment at the disposition of German forces. There are probably no more than 60 divisions on the Western Front, 25 in Italy, 10 in Yugoslavia, 15 in Norway, probably less than 30 in the various Baltic pockets, and 3 or 4 along the forgotten front on the French Atlantic coast. Incidentally, in the last couple of weeks at least six Spanish ships have been sunk by American air power, while attempting to supply those German garrisons along the Atlantic coast. The important question, however, is why the Germans have left these pockets all over the Continent. Let us admit that they could have brought most of them back for the defence of the German heartland, but they did not do so. Let us also admit that the promises of plenty boomed out by Allied loudspeakers to the Occupied peoples have not been fulfilled. Economically they are worse rather than better off due to our arrival.

The promises of food and relief trumpeted through the Allied radio have not been fulfilled. May it not be that the Germans, conscious of the disillusionment that has followed the advance of Allied Armies, believe that even after their defeat people in Europe will remember the New Order, not because of its oppression, not because of its suppression, but because it at least did represent order? We may as well face the fact, however unpleasant it may be, that aside from the intangibles (free speech, the right of assembly and the other things which fill no man's belly), the liberated territories were better off economically - in terms of what the man who works with his hands had for breakfast or for dinner, than they are now. That may be an unpleasant fact, but it is, nevertheless, a fact.

At the end of all this it might be useful to remember that General Eisenhower last night warned that two German cities are to be subjected to a merciless air bombardment - Frankfurt-on-Maine and Mannheim-Ludwigshafen. These two cities are to be destroyed. Up to now the Supreme Commander has advised all foreign workers in Western Germany to stand pat. He now tells the workers in these two areas that they must stand from under because the areas in which they work will become death-traps. No one who has seen the might of Allied air power can doubt that this warning is based on fact. It is an indication of the strength of Allied air might; it is something that has been advocated here for two years; it means that two great German cities have been condemned to death.

INSERT: Page 7.

There's another footnote on British affairs which should be recorded by one who has recently returned to this country. Ten members of Parliament went to Russia about three months ago. They are now home again. Their impressions are dominating the press and radio. It was a group made up of Conservatives, Labourites and Independents. They conclude that Britain must get on with the Soviet Union; there is more urgency and colour in their appeal than has been ~~found in the~~ displayed by any Member of Parliament who has recently visited the United States.

CBS. LONDON SUNDAY MARCH 25, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST. EDWARD R. MURROW

LEAD:

THIS IS LONDON: The American Ninth and the British Second Army now hold a bridgehead across the Lower Rhine, 30 miles long and in some places 7 miles deep. Two light bridges have been thrown across the ~~Rhine~~ River. The link-up between ~~xxx~~ ground forces and the airborne troops is complete. More than eight thousand prisoners have been taken. The heaviest fighting is on the left flank of the salient.

Mr. Churchill went ~~xxxx~~ cruising along the Rhine in a landing craft, and spent three hours today with the Ninth Army.

Up river the Remagen bridgehead is eleven miles deep and 35 miles wide, and the heaviest fighting is on the right flank. General Pattons forces are now nine miles across the Rhine on a front 12 miles wide. Yesterday they took eighteen thousand prisoners, which brings the total to more than 75 thousand since crossing the Moselle.

The Russians continue their advance in Hungary and Silesia, while on the Baltic they are four miles from Danzig and one mile from Gdynia.

Both American and British heavy bombers have been operating over Germany today.

CBS. LONDON SUNDAY MARCH 25, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: The news from the Lower Rhine remains good, but German resistance is stiffening and here in London there is no disposition to underestimate the bitterness of the battles that lie ahead. This operation was planned with the caution and thoroughness which has become associated with Field-Marshal Montgomery's name; but it did not contain any considerable element of surprise. For weeks past the material has been accumulating on the west bank of the Rhine. Some of the dumps of bridging material reminded one of preparations for the construction of a huge skyscraper. It is clear that the Germans, fearing an airborne landing in their rear, held the far shore but lightly; and there are signs that today, with the weather deteriorating, the Allied Armies are meeting steadily stiffening resistance. We are across the Rhine, and the operation was not as difficult as had been anticipated. But river barriers must be crossed, not once but many times. Staggering quantities of vehicles and stores must be moved across makeshift bridges. In the first two weeks of the Normandy campaign, the Allies landed nearly a hundred and fifty thousand vehicles, half-a-million tons of supplies and about eight hundred thousand men. On paper the Germans have as many men on the lower Rhine as they had in Normandy. Their supply lines are shorter, and they fight on their own soil. We shall probably have to move more stuff across the Rhine than we moved across the Channel before a decisive engagement can be fought.

That will require time. Allied air superiority will make it difficult if not impossible for the Germans to switch formations, but it will not prevent them from fighting with great ferocity where they stand. The best opinion here seems to be that the enemy collapse in the West, when it comes, will be complete, but it is not imminent.

Yesterday, while crossing the Rhine in a tug-plane - observing the craft plying to and fro across the ~~Rhine~~ sunlit Rhine, one was impressed with the tremendous co-ordination and co-operation involved in this operation. There was a considerable Allied Navy operating down there; many of their boats had been transported 200 miles over wrecked roads, and some of them weighed as much as 26 tons and were as high as a three-storey house. They were operating from the shallow, muddy banks of the river, and were contending with fast-moving current. ~~instead of~~ That Rhine Navy is a massive tribute to ~~the~~ ingenuity, ~~and~~ resourcefulness and to courage of the men who man the small boats.

There was some courage - the 4 o'clock in the morning kind - in the air yesterday. The fighter pilots have speed, maneuverability, armour-plating and plenty of fire-power; the bombers do their own job of destruction, and some of them derive their own sense of satisfaction from it. But the boys who fly for Troop Carrier Command are different. They only fly a combat mission two or three times a year. The rest of the time they just haul groceries and

supplies or passengers behind the lines. Their planes have no armour-plating and no self-sealing gas tanks. When they are hit, even with light flak, they burn and explode. ~~They are not easy~~ ~~to bale out~~ And they are not easy to bale out of. There is no possibility of taking evasive action. After the first few gliders have been released, and the first paratroopers go down, the enemy on the ground knows exactly the area over which each ship must pass, and there they concentrate their flak. That's what they did yesterday. I happened to be flying with a stream of British aircraft. The American column of C-47's, each towing two gliders, was off to the right. As we came up to the Rhine, I sat there for long, lingering minutes, watching the troop carrier boys go in over the landing zone and release their gliders. (They were only making about a hundred miles-an-hour.) Some of them were hit, and went down. ~~The~~ A big British Hamilcar glider came apart in the air - a jeep and a dozen men fell out, the men looking like little brown chocolate drops spilling from a burst paper bag. (The men in the gliders wear no parachutes.) During all of the time that we were within sight of the landing zone, I saw no pilot flinch or sheer off. The C-47's - some of them flown by boys you wouldn't have trusted with your automobile a year or two ago - flew as though they were on a peacetime maneuvre. The flak wasn't too heavy; the losses were less than one percent all day. But if you meet a pilot who flew Troop Carrier at Arnhem, Niejmegen, or on the crossing of the Lower Rhine - he'll do to fly with - anywhere.

And so far as this reporter is concerned, that will be true whether the pilot be American or British.

Compared to what is happening along the Rhine, the Oder and in Hungary, political and diplomatic developments appear unimportant. But nevertheless they will powerfully influence the final outcome of all the suffering, the sacrifice and achievement in the field. Here in Britain, the all-Party Coalition is creaking, and plans for the resumption of open political warfare are being made. It is unlikely that the Coalition will break up before the San Francisco Conference. That meeting appears to be arousing very little enthusiasm throughout the country. Certain sections of the Labour Party are mightily displeased that Mr. Eden, and not Mr. Attlee, is to lead the British delegation. Mr. Eden is an experienced negotiator. He has spent much of his life in international conferences; and he is generally believed to be Mr. Churchill's eventual successor. But he is in no sense a competitor, and the opinion prevails that British policy at San Francisco will not be made by either Mr. Eden or by Mr. Attlee. They will merely act upon instructions from Downing Street, and their field of maneuvre will be strictly limited. When it comes to the matter of British Colonial possessions, trade, and bases, there is not likely to be any substantial difference between Mr. Eden and Mr. Attlee. The official Labour Party is no more willing than Mr. Churchill to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.

London's diplomatic correspondents are today predicting that the new Polish Government as outlined at Yalta will be formed in time for Poland to have a seat at San Francisco. But their predictions, for the time being at least, seem to be based more on hope than upon fact.

This week's issue of the Left-Wing magazine "Tribune" is bothered about the United States "strategic bombing survey." The "Tribune" views this as a "high priority" effort by American big business to kill a number of birds with one stone, and points out that the composition of the Committee includes the President of a Life Insurance Company, the Vice-President of a large banking house, and the President of an oil company. "Tribune" implies that this Committee may be interested in more than just the results of strategic bombing in Europe. The economic consequences of victory are already engaging the attention of a considerable number of people over here. But of more immediate importance is the discussion and the speculation about what will emerge from the sea of rubble that was Germany, once the formal shooting stops. There is, in high quarters, a widespread belief that the Nazis will withdraw into their inner bastion and fight to the end. The German news agencies, both radio and press, are quite clearly creating what Hitler called "a far-reaching mood of hysteria". They say that Mr. Isidore Luben has been appointed to the Moscow Reparations Commission to "regulate the slave market by which millions of Germans

will be confined for the rest of their lives in Russian concentration camps". The German radio says the battle cry is: "Kill our enemies like mad dogs". And it threatens that there will be no Jews left in Europe when the war ends. Today there are probably twenty million homeless in Germany, and there will be many more before the war ends. No one can be certain what bombing has done or will do to a people who have been fed on hysteria for twelve years. There is still confusion in Britain about the treatment of war criminals. Last week the Archbishop of York proposed that Hitler, Himmler and the rest should simply be outlawed, to be shot on sight without trial. He viewed the matter as something more than ordinary justice - as a profound distinction between right and wrong.

This concern about the intentions of the hard core of the Nazi Party is not confined to a few intellectuals. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ It is not so much about what happens to Germany as about what is to happen to Europe; and whether the German leaders, having lost all hope of victory, are determined that European civilization shall go down with them. For every military operation there is a code word. For North Africa it was "Torch"; for Normandy it was "Overlord"; and many are wondering whether the Germans are now engaged in operation "Samson". Hitler is fond of quoting that famous German military writer, Klausewitz, particularly where he says: "The stigma of shame incurred by cowardly submission can never be effaced. The drop of poison which thus enters the blood of a nation will be transmitted to posterity. It will

undermine and paralyze the strength of later generations. But even the loss of its liberty, after a sanguinary and honourable struggle, assures the resurgence of the nation, and is the vital nucleus from which, one day, a new tree can draw firm roots". ~~If the Germans are now engaged on operation "Samson"~~ There are serious observers in Europe who believe that the Germans are now engaged on operation "Samson". Kesselring now commands in the West; he is not only a great expert on defensive tactics; he is one of the few remaining non-Party Generals. If he is broken or forced to capitulate, the Nazis may still claim that their so-called "honour" is intact. Operation "Samson" is a possibility.

Warren Kinney.

MURROW TO CBS.....

Some of the Germans are pulling out of Holland but it is too early t o be sure that they are trying to evacuate the entire area....The Germans still hold their escape gap from the Rhur..near Padebourn and they are definitely pulling out of there...General Pattons forces are near EISENACH on the road from Leipsig and the east ...they are only a hund hundred miles from CS....Pattons columns are now being supplied with gasoline from the air..Marshall Montgomerys movements are still blacked out..but he is reported more than sixty five miles beyond the Rhine..and still moving....

The American Tenth Army has as you know gone ashore on OKINAWA half way in the string of Islands from Formosa to Japan..they have taken two airfields and the this largest amphibious operation in the war is going according to plan....

....Vienna can now hear the sound of Russian guns..and the outer defenses of Bratislava are under long range artillery fire....

C.B.S. LONDON SUNDAY APRIL 1, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

For Europe this is the sixth Easter of the war. It is different from those that have gone before. For Europe the time between Good Friday and Easter Sunday has been long - and the day's news is still of death rather than resurrection. It would be possible to tell you many things about this Easter week-end in Britain - that American soldiers sang in Hyde Park at dawn this morning; that the churches are full; the Easter fashions would arouse no envy along Fifth Avenue or anywhere else, unless it be Athens or Amsterdam. They are selling ice cream in Piccadilly Circus - the balloons have gone from the sky - and the air is filled with rumour. On Friday a waiter informed me quite definitely that the war was over. He was certain of it, and there was no more enthusiasm or excitement in his voice than would have accompanied the announcement of the sighting of the first robin. In a London club the members were talking about decorating the premises for victory day. One elderly member announced that there was only one flag available - a Union Jack - and he had no doubt they would hang that upside down as they had in 1918. All week the newspapers and the radio have been shouting: "Complete Collapse in the West" and "Complete Victory is Approaching". There is no doubt that we are witnessing the death of a nation - speculation revolves around the date and the manner in which formal hostilities will cease. But the British public remains strangely unmoved. Part of that is probably due to fatigue, but much of it is also the result of scepticism born of repeated disappointments.

The more thoughtful remember General Eisenhower's warning that there may be bitter battles ahead. The Allied High Command followed the principle laid down by Marshal Foch in the last war - an offensive on the widest possible front. They crowded men and supplies up against the West bank of the Rhine, and pushed more men and supplies in behind them. It was like a giant spring compressed against the river. A little more than a week ago the crossings were made, and the spring is still expanding. But it must at some time reach its limit. As of today the Germans have no coherent front and no unity of command. General Eisenhower is not only controlling civilians by radio, but is also issuing orders to considerable sections of the German Army. The speed of the final decision in the field depends upon two considerations. The first is whether or not the Germans can form another defensive line in the West. They might have done it on the Weser, but that river line has been outflanked from the South. The line of the Elbe is probably too far East, and it is doubtful whether Kesselring has the transport or the men to man it. The second consideration is whether the Germans can get back from the North to their ring of mountains surrounding Munich and Berchtesgarden. But here again the Russians are moving in from the East, and Generals Patton and Patch from the West. It may be that the decisive action will not be the taking of Berlin, but the linking up of the American and Russian armies in South Germany. The 25 German divisions in Northern Italy are for all practical purposes cut off. The Russians

will soon over-run their supply and escape routes to Austria.

According to all precedent the German Government should at this time surrender, but it has not done so, and according to the best opinion here it is incapable of doing so. This means that as the Allied Armies advance they will continue to find German units prepared to surrender; they will find Mayors willing to turn over towns and cities; but they will find no State, no central organisation. Large numbers of the Army and the S.S. will simply put off their uniforms and be absorbed in the civilian population. Those Germans who collaborate with us will walk in perpetual fear of political assassination. Every report reaching London speaks of the docile attitude of German civilians - their relief that the war has passed them by - but so far there has been no single report saying that a single German has been found who has any sense of guilt for the crimes perpetrated by his nation upon neighbour nations. The whole structure of Germany, economic, political and military, is collapsing...melting away. This condition will confront the victorious allies with a problem without precedent. The disintergration of a modern, highly industrialised State, where no group or party is anxious, able, or permitted to assume power.

This weary, withering war is within weeks - probably several weeks - of its end. The Rhine flows unvexed from Switzerland to the sea, except where it touches Holland, and there tens of thousands will probably die or be deformed by starvation during coming weeks.

The German Air Force is no longer an important factor in the battle. The people of Barcelona, Warsaw and ~~Madrid~~ Moscow defended their cities. The Germans, with few exceptions, have shown no disposition to do so. ~~It might seem that this Easter is a time~~ When victory comes it will be complete - it will have been won at the cannon's mouth at great cost....cities that took a thousand years to build will be piles of rubble - the evil things will have been defeated - at least in the field. But we ought now to ~~spare a thought~~ be aware of the signs of the future that are as clearly discernible (as were the signs that pointed towards this war.) The Russians, in their controlled press, are attacking the Vatican tooth and nail. There has been no discernible progress in broadening the base of the Polish Government in accordance with the Yalta agreement. Russia has asked that the Polish Government, formerly in Lublin now in Warsaw, should be invited to the San Francisco Conference. America and Britain have refused. The Soviet Union has denounced its non-aggression treaty with Turkey. There is reason to believe that the Turks, after the Crimean Conference, believed that the three great Powers had agreed upon a joint policy towards Europe. That would appear now to have been a delusion. The Russians say that the Soviet-Turkish Agreement stands in need of serious improvement. They do not say what kind of improvement; in short, they do not say what they want. It is widely assumed that Russia wants special privileges with regard to the Dardanelles.

The Turkish press and radio say nothing, waiting no doubt to

discover what America and Britain think of the whole position.

Russia's claim that the Ukraine and White Russia should have separate representation in the proposed United Nations organisation, has created neither resentment nor surprise in official circles here. But the decision that the Soviet Ambassador in Washington should be the Russian representative at the San Francisco Conference came as something of a shock. It is interpreted as an indication that the Soviet Union does not attach any considerable importance to the 'Frisco meeting. The news of the Russian decision produced rumours that the Conference might be delayed, and that Britain's Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, might not attend. So far as is known these rumours are without foundation. But the whole series of events has served to decrease appreciably the high regard in which Russia was held in this country. # As the military news improves, the political and diplomatic news worsens. Here is another example: It is widely believed here that the American delegation at San Francisco will be inclined to insist upon some sort of international control of Colonies and "dependent areas". The British Government is determined to have none of that, and their view is shared by the French, Belgians and Dutch. All of these Governments are prepared to talk about the control and administration of former enemy territory, such as the Italian colonies in Africa and the Japanese islands. But they are not willing that their own territory, which they either acquired or

had thrust upon them, should be placed in any sort of international pool.

So far as the Continent of Europe is concerned, it is threatened with famine in the eastern and south-eastern countries. Last fall there was little sowing in the Balkans [redacted]. There was even less in Greece, Poland and Hungary. This whole area provided a large proportion of the Continent's food before the war. In Eastern Europe there remains only about 40 percent of pre-war cattle. There is an acute shortage of horses, agricultural machinery is worn out, and large numbers of farm labourers have been deported to Germany. The farms of eastern Europe had for years to support the German Army, and now their products are being requisitioned by the Russians, who are short of food at home. Temporarily, at least, the breaking up of the large estates in Poland, Rumania and Hungary will reduce the total output. Today Britain's Minister of Agriculture asked for two hundred thousand part-time workers to help bring this year's harvest home. He said he'd need that many next year, too.

When the formal shooting ends, fifteen or twenty million foreign workers will be trying to find their way home from Germany. Many of them will find their homes destroyed, their farms ruined, their families scattered. There is a saying - and you'll hear it all over Europe - applied to American movies and novels: "With a happy ending: it is "The American ending". For most of Europe the ending of the

war will present new problems which it may be difficult for us to understand. [It is not, I think, blasphemous to say that the period between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Europe will be more than three days - more than three years.

Warren Sweeny — N.Y —

MURROW TO CBS...19.45.. April Eight... Read Copy 85966

This is Ed Murrow in Paris... NUBR OF 203

Today three more German towns are threatened by the allied advance... The British are ~~seven~~ LESS THAN 10 miles from Bremen and British and American columns are the same distance from Hanover..~~The American~~ The Americans are now only twenty five miles from Brunswick...In Holland the Canadians are meeting stiff opposition, and the Germans still have their escape route open. Allied paratroopers were dropped over a wide area in Northern Holland last night.....The Rhur pocket is gradually being tightened but progress is slow...This morning twelve hundred American heavy bombers operated between Berlin and Nuremburg..~~the Target~~ Medium and light bombers have been ~~operating~~ working against rail targets and airfields well ahead of the fronts..It is announced that allied forces in the west took one hundred and eighty nine thousand prisoners on the western front during the first six days of April..To that figure must be added about twenty five thousand killed and wounded...~~The~~The general position in the west seems to be something like this..There is no full scale break thru attemp in progress..pressure is being maintained all along the front in order that the Germans shall have no time to regroup..meanwhile the allies are moving up their forward dumps,clearing the Rhuhr pocket and preparing for another lunge...

Vienna is now isolated...and probably being destroyed..~~that~~ ~~another~~ I saw the Germans march proudly into that great city..more than seven years ago..It has indeed been a long war for a great many Austrians..they suffered defeat without battle...and not all of them welcomed the arrival of their oppressors...

12:00

57:35

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to 8 APR 45
NAME..... No. 213
SHAEF
FIELD PRESS CENSOR

MURROW TO CBS....19.45. Apr 8.. 1. Read Copy —

It is now nine months since Allied soldiers stormed the Normandy beaches.. Since then great victories have been won...you can see them on the maps.. But what is not so easily seen is the tremendous xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx effort,the unparalled effort that has been made to restore France as a fighting ally.. The allied armies here had to be nourished and supplied..the germans fought hard..and the destruction was great...France was called upon to help and at the same time she had to be helped...She has not received all she had hoped for...French recovery has been remarkable but she has xxxxxxxx had much help from the Allies,especially Amaerica..The armys estimate of the total tonnage that could be shipped to France has been exceeded..For example they thought it possible to import about twenty five thousand tons of clothing soap,lubricants,blankets,seeds,tobacco,newsprint and other miscellanoeos items...But the deliveries have been about five times the original estimate.. Our army trained, equipped and maintains the French army..and that army requires two hundred and forty thousand ship tons of supplies each month..The French First Army has received more than a thousand planes..two hundred and sixty thousand small arms and machine guns..sixty five thousand motor vehicles... clothing for more than three hundred thousand combat troops and more than a million and a half barrells of gasoline and oil..The innitial issue of uniforms to the French was nearly three million...We even furnished about fifty seven thousnad uniforms for the French womens military organisations..

PASSED FOR PUBLICATION
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Date 8 APR 1945
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FIELD PRESS CENSOR
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Thanks to the valour and courage of French flyers and to the supply of allied planes,the French air force today is considerably stronger than it was when the war began..and it takes about sixteen hundred tons per month of food clothing ammunition bombs and all the rest just to keep one fighter or one medium bomber group going...We have contributed greatly to French naval strength...twenty warships modernised at a cost of more than two hundred million dollars..and that doesnt include the battleship RICHELIEU..repaired in America at a cost of something like nine million dollars...We have helped in the feeding of France..to the tune of about two hundred and sixty thousand tons of food..we also supplied trucks and repaired rail and road facilities which made possible the better distribution of domestic products..On one occasion a young American officer who had never been west of Brooklyn ,rounded up three thousand head of cattle and drove them more than a hundred miles to Paris...The American army has not been a great burden on French economy..for the army imports all but two percent of its food...and that two percent comes from items classified as surplus by the French Government...Seed potatoes have come from Canada..milk cans,horse shoe nails farming implements and medical supplies from America..and thousands of tons of coal from Britain...The allies have had to transport and maintain displaced persons in the forward areas... US army groups distributed one hundred and thirty eight thousand blankets to refugees... Some of theses figures are fantastic but they are true and they may serve to give you a little better idea of what is involved in ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ restoring a nation as a going concern...It has been necessary to restore the inland waterways..clear the ports of mines and demolitions...Two hundred and and forty five miles of RR tracks...fifty bridges rebuilt..eighty-one repaired.. Nearly twelve hundred American locomotives have been shipped to France about seven hundred more came from Britain...Twenty one thousand freight cars have arrived...thirty thousand french cars repeired and put back into use...You can gain some impression of the railway chaos that confronted us when I tell you that some forty six hundred RR bridges were destroyed...Already three hundred and sixty highway bridges have been rebuilt...Our army has rebuilt a hundred and fifty miles of high ~~xxxxxxx~~ voltage transmission lines..Power stations have been rebuilt...The French have shared in the labour..it hasnt all been done by the army by any means...But here are a few more figures of work done entirely by the army..

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SEven hundred ~~mikexzmzxx~~ and fifty miles of new telephones lines built... a hundred and forty semen thousand circuit miles of telephone and telegraph lines rehabilitated...~~XXX~~ When the Germans were expelled French industry was paralysed..but raw materials are now being allocated..the production of rubber and of clothing is increasing...It is true that certain raw materials havent arrived in the quantity anticipated but that is due mainly to shipping shortages and the freezing of certain ~~commodixx~~ essentials by the army...It would be a mistake to regard this whole production programme as an act of charity..as a great WPA project..Every ton of material that can be produced here means the freeing of that much shipping space...The army had to rebuild the essential services for its own use but the end result is that French economy has been given a running start...and the French have done their share.... They have co operated willingly and enthusiastically..but what has happened here in France is massive evidence of the American ability to build as well as destroy..proof that the advance up forward is made possible by unremitting and largely unrecognised hard work behind the lines...

There are some signs that many people are coming to realise that its easier to start a war than to stop it..As we slash deeper into Germany the problems of conquest emerge..the scores of thousands,and eventually the millions of slave workers and prisoners of war..the Germans turn them loose and they start walking west..they jam the roads...What is to happen to the Poles who dont want to go back to Poland?and to the Russians who dont want to go back to Russia..And what of the people who may want to leave the countries liberated by the Russians.?//there was a time when the right of asylum was understood and practiced,especially here in France..It begins to look as though something would have to be done about the people in Europe who want to get out of their country.//.There are relieble reports that the young fanatical SS men are pulling back to their mountain stronghold in the south...Hitler has decreed that the party and the state shall no longer be one...Party men are now free to go underground leaving the administration to civil servants...There are no reports that German civilians who remain behind show any sense of remorse or guilt...One reporter just back from several weeks in Germany tells me that school teachers doctors and lawyers asked him when america would pay for the bomb damage in Germany and when

would the american food start to arrive ....It would seem that the Germans are whipped but unrepentatnt..and that the problem of military government will be more difficult than many had thought...Lets examine just one small aspect of it... When we occupy an area evrything stops..all newspapers,radio,movies,schools concerts..everything..The next step is the publication of a newspaper, and the providing of radio broadcasts..this is openly an allied move to provide a means of disseminating military orders and factual news..We are now printing three newspapers..they are turned over to the mayor for distribution..he gets thirty percent..there is no advertising..and the papers are making a profit... The radio broadcasts are controlled and produced by the Psychological warfare division of the supreme command..there is no prohibition against listning to foreign stations...This second phase is purely military...But in the third phase it is proposed to liscense certain germans to publish newspapers under army supervision..a similiar license may be granted to movie distributers and producers..and to book publishers...The local military governor will decide about the schools..and the policy on this ~~point is very~~ important aspect is far from clear..But lets consider just one phase of this whole problem.. The matter of books...are we going to burn them? are we going to try to confiscate the mass of vicious material now on the bookshelves and in the warehouses...are we going to clean out the libraries and conduct a house to house search...Should we print books outside and ship them in to fill the gap? It will be a fairly simple matter to prevent the open publication of new books designed to keep the Nazi spirit alive..but what about the clandestine press? The Germans were never able to ~~do~~ suppress it in France or anywhere else..We are comitted to the proposition of eradicating nazism and militarism.. ~~In the second phase the Germans will receive~~ ...And the original force ..which is supposed to handle the whole programme of information and such entertainment as may be allowed..amounts to about twelve hundred officers and men.(for the whole British and American zones of occupation.)Its true that this is only the beginning but ~~it is certainly~~ in the opinion of those who have been longest in Germany its a very modest one...If we issue orders that can be flouted our military government falls into disrepute...and we fail to practice the principles we profess....It has been stated that we propose to display ~~to the~~ to the german people the unity of purpose towards Germany

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existing among the united nations.....But we have no contact with the Russians onthis whole matter..dont know what they intend doing....The ~~policies in~~ the ~~different zones of occupation are hardly likely to be identical~~..The American policy so far as it has emerged is pretty tough but we suffer from a shortage of qualified personell..we are having trouble finding germans who had no connection with the Nazi party and who are willing to serve under our Military government..It seems likely that the German underground has been well organised and will emerge in due course...After all the Belgians the Dutch and the other nations overrun by Germany had precious little time to organise a resistance movement in advance..(they had to improvise.).and still the Germans were unable to break their spirit or cause them to abandon their traditions...The germans have known what was going to happen to t hem for some time..they have had ample opportunity to prepare their underground resistance movement...Many of their formations continue to fight well ....there are no signs that the German state contemplates surrender...But there are indications in German propaganda that the job of continued resistance is to be the function of the party..XXX There was a time when it seemed that the landingzxzx invasion of the continent was an operation beset with great hazard..almost beyond allied power and ingenuity..It was not as difficult as had been feared,though the price was heavy enough...Then there were those who believed that unconditional surrender would mean the end of the war#.But it now appears that there is to be no unconditional surrender..merely the melting away of one enemy formation after another...with stubborn garrisons holding out in odd corners of Europe..It may be that the resistance to be offered by these garrisons is being over estimated...but every week this war continues probably adds months to the time required for Europe to xxxxxx emerge from the darkness...Europe is tired... almost to death.#And the formal cessation of hostilities will be but the beginning of the test of statesmanship...For millions war has become a way of life...government..education...industry..everything bows before it...The war became total only gradually...there was an effort to compromise with its demands..to hold something back..xzreluxtanxextzzcommitxzxxx The change from total war to total peace may follow a similiar course#.For years before this war began the central problem in Europe was..what to do with Germany...finally it was necessary and inevitable that the evil things for which that nationx

stood should be beaten down with the instruments Germany had chosen..The outward symbols the planes,the tanks,the armies and the factories are being destroyed.. but there is little evidence that the ~~xxxxxxx~~ hate and intolerance..the desire to dominate have disappeared...~~Nexexxxxxxzprovidxzthxzgermanxzwixhxzx prinxiplxsxbutxwxzxanzproclaimxourxownxzxzxxx~~...The weapons are being struck from their hands..but when ~~thxx~~ that is done ~~thxrxzwillxxxxxinxzx~~ it will be only the first terrible installment towards answering the old question of "what to do with Germany.."

This is ERM in Paris....Now back to Warren sweeny in NY..

85915

TRANSCRIBED FROM A TELEDIPHONE RECORDING. WRU 7597

Grade A Minus to B Minus DESPATCH BY ED MURROW CBS
Sunday, 15th April, 1945. 1400 (Misc. Circuit)

During the last week, I have driven more than a few hundred miles through Germany, most of it in the Third Army sector, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Weimar, Jena and beyond. It is impossible to keep up with this war. The traffic flows down the super-highways, trucks with German helmets tied to the radiators, and belts of machine gun ammunition draped from fender to fender. Overhead the C47's carrying supplies go in right down on the deck The tanks on the concrete roads sound like a huge sausage machine, grinding up sheets of corrugated iron.

And when there is a gap between convoys when the noise dies away, there is another small noise that of wooden soled shoes and of small iron tyres grating on the concrete. The power moves forward, while the people, the slaves, walk back, pulling their small belongings on anything that has wheels.

The Germans are well clothed, appear well fed and healthy, in better condition than any other people I have seen in Europe. In the large cities there are many young men of military age in civilian clothes, and in the fields there are few horses, most of the ploughs are pulled by cows, for the ghosts of horses dead in Russia and in Normandy will not draw ploughs. Old men and women work in the fields.

There are cities in Germany that make Coventry and Plymouth appear to be merely damage done by a petulant child, but bombed houses have a way of looking alike, wherever you see them.

But this is no time to talk of the surface of Germany, permit me to tell you what you would have seen and heard had you been with me on Thursday, it will not be pleasant listening. If you are at lunch, or if you have no appetite to hear what Germans have done, now is a good time to switch off the radio, for I propose to tell you of Buchenwald it is on a small hill about four miles outside Weimar, and it was one of the largest concentration camps in Germany, and it was built to last. As we approached it, we saw about a hundred men in civilian clothes with

rifles, advancing in open order across the fields, there were a few shots, we stopped to enquire. We were told that some of the prisoners had a couple of SS men cornered in there, we drove on, reached the main gate. The prisoners crowded up behind the wire, we entered.

And now, let me tell this in the first person, for I was the least important person there, as you shall hear. There surged around me an evil smelling horde, men and boys reached out to touch me, they were in rags and the remnants of uniform.
Death had already marked many of them, but they were smiling with their eyes. I looked out over that mass of men to the green fields beyond where well-fed Germans were ploughing.

A German, Fritz Kersheimer came up and said "May I show you round the camp, I've been here 10 years". An Englishman stood to attention saying:" May I introduce myself, delighted to see you, and can you tell me when some of our blokes will be along". I told him soon, and asked to see one of the barracks, , it happened to be occupied by a Czecho-Slovakian. When I entered men crowded round, tried to lift me to their shoulders, they were too weak, many of them could not get out of bed. I was told that this building had once stabled eighty horses, there were twelve hundred men in it, five to a bunk, the stink was beyond all description.

When I reached the centre of the barracks, a man came up and said "You remember me, I'm Peter Zenkl onetime Mayor of Prague". I remembered him, but did not recognise him. He asked about Benes and Jan Masaryk. I asked how many men had died in that building during the last month, they called the doctor, we inspected his records. There were only names in the little black book, nothing more, nothing of who these men were, what they had done, or hoped. Behind the names of those who had died, there was a cross. I counted them, they totalled two hundred and forty-two. Two hundred and fortytwo out of twelve hundred in one month.

As I walked down to the end of the barracks, there was applause from the men too weak to get out of bed. It sounded like the hand-clapping of babies, they were so weak. The Doctor's name was Paul Heller he had been there since '38.

As we walked out into the courtyard, a man fell dead. Two others, they must have been over sixty, were crawling towards the latrine. I saw it, but will not describe it.

In another part of the camp they showed me the children, hundreds of them, some were only six. One rolled up his sleeve, showed me his number, it was tatooed on his arm. BSix thousand and thirty it was. The others showed me their numbers, they will carry them till they die.

An elderly man standing beside me said: "The children, enemies of the State". I could see their ribs through their thin shirts. The old man said "I am Professor Charles Richer of the Sorbonne, the children clung to my hands and stared, we crossed to the courtyard. Men kept coming up to speak to me and to touch me, Professors from Poland, Doctors from Vienna, men from all Europe. Men from the countries that made America.

We went to the hospital, it was full. The doctor told me that two hundred had died the day before. I asked the cause of death he shrugged and said "Tubercolosis, starvation, fatigue,

and there are many who have no desire to live. It is very difficult. ~~XXX~~ Doctor Heller pulled back the blankets from a man's feet to show me how swollen they were. The man was dead. Most of the patients could not move.

As we left the hospital I drew out a leather bill-fold hoping that I had some money which would help those who lived to get home. Professor Richer from the Sorbonne said: "I should be careful of my wallet if I were you. You know there are criminals in this camp too." A small man tottered up saying: "May I feel the leather, please? You see, I used to make good things of leather in Vienna." Another man said: "My name is Walther Roeder. For many years I lived in Came back to Germany for a visit and Hitler grabbed me."

I asked to see the kitchen; it was clean. The German in charge had been a Communist, had been at Buchenwald for nine years; had a picture of his daughter in Hamburg, - hadn't seen her for almost twelve years, - and if I got to Hamburg would I look her up. He showed me the daily ration, - one piece of brown bread about as thick as your thumb, on top of it a piece of margarine as big as three sticks of chewing gum. That, and a little stew, was what they received every twenty-four hours. He had a chart on the wall, - very complicated it was. There were little red tabs scattered through it. He said that was to indicate each ten men who died. He had to account for the rations, and he added: "We're very efficient here."

We went again into the courtyard, and as we walked we talked. The two doctors, the Frenchman and the Czech, agreed that about 6,000 had died during March. Kirschenheimer, the German, added that back in the Winter of '39 when the Poles began to arrive without Winter clothing, they died at the rate of approximately 900 a day. Five different men asserted that Buchenwald was the best concentration camp in Germany; they had had some experience of the others.

Dr. Heller, the Czech, asked if I would care to see the crematorium. He said it wouldn't be very interesting because the Germans had run out of coke some days ago and had taken to dumping the bodies into a great hole nearby. Professor Richer said: Perhaps I would care to see the small courtyard? I said: "Yes". He turned and told the children to stay behind. As we walked across the square I noticed that the Professor had a hole in his left shoe and a toe sticking out of the right one. He followed my eyes and said: "I regret that I am so little presentable, but what can one do?" At that point another Frenchman came up to announce that three of his fellowcountrymen outside had killed three S.S. men and taken one prisoner. We proceeded to the small courtyard. The wall was about eight feet high; it adjoined what had been a stable, or garage. We entered. It was floored with concrete. There were two rows of bodies stacked up like Cordwood. They were thin and very white. Some of the bodies were terribly bruised, though there seemed to be little flesh to bruise. Some had been shot through the head, but they bled but little. All except two were naked. I tried to count them as best I could, and arrived at the conclusion that all that was mortal of more than 500 men and boys lay there in two neat piles.

There was a German trailer, which must have contained another 50, but it wasn't possible to count them. The clothing was piled in a heap against the wall. It appeared that most of the men and boys had died of starvation; they had not been executed. But the manner of death seemed unimportant. Murder had been done at Buchenwald. God alone knows how many men and boys have died there during the last twelve years. Thursday I was told that there were more than 20,000 in the camp. There had been as many as 60,000. Where are they now?

As I left that camp a Frenchman who used to work for

Havas in Paris came up to me and said: "You will write something about this, perhaps?" And he added: "To write about this you must have been here at least two years, and after that - you don't want to write any more."

I pray you to believe what I have said about Buchenwald. I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it I have no words. Dead men are plentiful in war, but the living dead, more than 20,000 of them in one camp, - and the country round about was pleasing to the eye, and the Germans were well fed and well dressed. American trucks were rolling towards the rear filled with prisoners. Soon they would be eating American rations, as much for a meal as the men at Buchenwald received in four days.

If I've offended you by this rather mild account of Buchenwald I'm not in the least sorry. I was there on Thursday, and many men in many tongues blessed the name of Roosevelt. For long years his name had meant the full measure of their hope. These men, who had kept close company with Death for many years, did not know that Mr. Roosevelt would, within hours, join their comrades who had laid their lives in the scales of Freedom.

Back in '41 Mr. Churchill said to me with tears in his eyes: "One day the world and history will recognise and acknowledge what it owes to your President." I saw and heard the first instalment of that at Buchenwald on Thursday. It came from men from all over Europe. Their faces, with more flesh on them, might have been found anywhere at home. To them the name 'Roosevelt' was a symbol, the code word for a lot of guys named 'Joe' who are somewhere out in the blue with the armour heading East. At Buchenwald they spoke of the President just before he died. If there be a better epitaph, history does not record it.

This is Edward R.Murrow in Germany. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

VC:
VK:

MURROW TO CBS..... This is London.

Some of the Germans are pulling out of Holland but it is too early t o be sure that they are trying to evacuate the entire area....The Germans still hold their escape gap from the Rhur. near Padebourn and they are definitely pulling out of there...General Pattons forces are near EISENACH on the road from Leipsig and the east ...they are only a hundred miles from CS....Pattons columns are now being supplied with gasoline from the air..Marshall Montgomerys movements are still blacked out..but he is reported more than sixty five miles beyond the Rhine..and still moving.....

The American Tenth Army has, as you know, gone ashore on OKINAWA half way in the string of Islands from Formosa to Japan..they have taken two airfields and the this largest amphibious operation in the war is going according to plan.....

....Vienna can now hear the sound of Russian guns..and the outer defenses of Bratislava are under long range artillery fire....

CBS: EDWARD R. MURROW: SUNDAY, 15TH APRIL, 1945:

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A German, Fritz Kersheimer came up and said, "May I show you round the camp? I've been here 10 years". An Englishman

stood to attention, saying, "May I introduce myself, delighted to see you, and can you tell me when some of our blokes will be along?" I told him soon, and asked to see one of the barracks. It happened to be occupied by Czecho-slovakians. When I entered, men crowded round, tried to lift me to their shoulders, they were too weak, many of them could not get out of bed. I was told that this building had once stabled eighty horses. There were twelve hundred men in it, five to a bunk; the stink was beyond all description.

When I reached the centre of the barracks, a man came up and said, "You remember me, I'm Peter Zenkl, one time Mayor of Prague". I remembered him, but did not recognise him. He asked about Benes and Jan Masaryk. I asked how many men had died in that building during the last month. They called the doctor, we inspected his records. There were only names in the little black book, nothing more; nothing of who these men were, what they had done, or hoped. Behind the names of those who had died, there was a cross. I counted them. They totalled two hundred and forty-two. Two hundred and forty-two out of twelve hundred in one month.

As I walked down to the end of the barracks, there was applause from the men too weak to get out of bed. It sounded like the handclapping of babies, they were so weak. The Doctor's name was Paul Heller; he had been there since '38.

As we walked out into the courtyard, a man fell dead. Two others, they must have been over sixty, were crawling towards the latrine. I saw it, but will not describe it.

In another part of the camp, they showed me the children, hundreds of them, some were only six. One rolled up his sleeve, showed me his number, it was tatooed on his arm. Six thousand and thirty it was. The others showed me their numbers; they will carry them till they die.

An elderly man standing beside me said: "The children, enemies of the State". I could see their ribs through their thin shirts. The old man said "I am Professor Charles Richer of the Sorbonne". The children clung to my hands and stared; we crossed to the courtyard. Men kept coming up to speak to me and to touch me - Professors from Poland, Doctors from Vienna, men from all Europe. Men from the countries that made America.

We went to the hospital; it was full. The doctor told me that two hundred had died the day before. I asked the cause of death. He shrugged and said: "Tuberculosis, starvation, fatigue, and there are many who have no desire to live. It is very difficult". Doctor Heller pulled back the blankets from a man's feet to show me how swollen they were. The man was dead. Most of the patients could not move.

As we left the hospital I drew out a leather bill-fold, hoping that I had some money which would help those who lived

to get home. Professor Richer from the Sorbonne said: "I should be careful of my wallet if I were you. You know, there are criminals in this camp too." A small man tottered up saying: "May I feel the leather, please? You see, I used to make good things of leather in Vienna". Another man said: "My name is Walther Roeder. For many years I lived in America. Came back to Germany for a visit and Hitler grabbed me".

I asked to see the kitchen; it was clean. The German in charge had been a Communist, had been at Buchenwald for nine years; had a picture of his daughter in Hamburg - hadn't seen her for almost twelve years - and if I got to Hamburg would I look her up. He showed me the daily ration - one piece of brown bread about as thick as your thumb, on top of it a piece of margarine as big as three sticks of chewing gum. That, and a little stew, was what they received every twenty-four hours. He had a chart on the wall - very complicated it was. There were little red tabs scattered through it. He said that was to indicate each ten men who died. He had to account for the rations, and he added: "We're very efficient here."

We went again into the courtyard, and as we walked we talked. The two doctors, the Frenchman and the Czech, agreed that about 6,000 had died during March. Kirschenheimer, the German, added that back in the winter of '39 when the Poles began to arrive without winter clothing, they died at the rate of

approximately 900 a day. Five different men asserted that Buchenwald was the best concentration camp in Germany; they had had some experience of the others.

Dr. Heller, the Czech, asked if I would care to see the crematorium. He said it wouldn't be very interesting because the Germans had run out of coke some days ago and had taken to dumping the bodies into a great hole nearby. Professor Richer said: Perhaps I would care to see the small courtyard? I said: "Yes". He turned and told the children to stay behind. As we walked across the square I noticed that the Professor had a hole in his left shoe and a toe sticking out of the right one. He followed my eyes and said: "I regret that I am so little presentable, but what can one do?" At that point another Frenchman came up to announce that three of his fellowcountrymen outside had killed three S.S. men and taken one prisoner. We proceeded to the small courtyard. The wall was about eight feet high; it adjoined what had been a stable, or garage. We entered. It was floored with concrete. There were two rows of bodies stacked up like cordwood. They were thin and very white. Some of the bodies were terribly bruised, though there seemed to be little flesh to bruise. Some had been shot through the head, but they bled but little. All except two were naked. I tried to count them as best I could, and arrived at the conclusion that all that was mortal of more than 500 men and boys lay there in two neat piles.

There was a German trailer, which must have contained another 50, but it wasn't possible to count them. The clothing was piled in a heap against the wall. It appeared that most of the men and boys had died of starvation; they had not been executed. But the manner of death seemed unimportant. Murder had been done at Buchenwald. God alone knows how many men and boys have died there during the last twelve years. Thursday I was told that there were more than 20,000 in the camp. There had been as many as 60,000. Where are they now?

As I left that camp a Frenchman who used to work for Havas in Paris came up to me and said: "You will write something about this, perhaps?" And he added: "To write about this you must have been here at least two years, and after that - you don't want to write any more."

I pray you to believe what I have said about Buchenwald. I have reported what I saw and heard, but only part of it. For most of it I have no words. Dead men are plentiful in war, but the living dead, more than 20,000 of them in one camp - and the country round about was pleasing to the eye, and the Germans were well fed and well dressed. American trucks were rolling towards the rear filled with prisoners. Soon they would be eating American rations, as much for a meal as the men at Buchenwald received in four days.

If I've offended you by this rather mild account of Buchenwald I'm not in the least sorry. I was there on Thursday, and many men in many tongues blessed the name of Roosevelt.

For long years his name had meant the full measure of their hope. These men, who had kept close company with Death for many years, did not know that Mr. Roosevelt would, within hours, join their comrades who had laid their lives in the scales of Freedom.

Back in '41 Mr. Churchill said to me with tears in his eyes: "One day the world and history will recognise and acknowledge what it owes to your President." I saw and heard the first instalment of that at Buchenwald on Thursday. It came from men from all over Europe. Their faces, with more flesh on them, might have been found anywhere at home. To them the name 'Roosevelt' was a symbol, the code word for a lot of guys named 'Joe' who are somewhere out in the blue with the armour heading East. At Buchenwald they spoke of the President just before he died. If there be a better epitaph, history does not record it.

This is Edward R. Murrow in Germany. Now back to Warren Sweeney in New York.

Murrow to CBS.... Sunday....22nd...15.45..gmt... 1.

Censored by Auxiliary 1760 244

..."Tell them resistance Was slight"...tats What a GI shouted to us as We entered Leipsig...there Were tWo tankers dead at the corner..somebody had covered them With a blanket..here Was a sniper Working someWhere in the next block...Four boys Went out to deal With him..(and then there Was silence.)....The gestapo headquarters had been evacuated in a great hurry buty they had taken all their files With them...doWn in the air raid shelter the floor Was covered With money..Belgian,Polish,Hungarian...~~WhWxexam xxxzxxx~~ Wherever the germans had been..the money Was ankle deep...and it Was dirty...and it had no meaning... ..The Germans Were fighting for a bridge...they Were doing What they have done for many days...firing off a feW bazookas..killing a feW feW boys.and then surrenderring...There is no despeeration about this German defense..they shoot till they are about to be killed and then they give up.....I have seen them do it ~~it~~ at Leipsig and in Nurenburg..... But let me tell you about the taking of Leipsig..the toWn hall...At sixteen forty five on Wedmesday they lined up the tanks...the boys draped themselves around them..they Were part of the sixty ninth division..It Was about a thousand yards to the city hall ..There Were one hundred and eighty five men on the outside of the tanks..they started doWn the ~~sixxxxxx~~ street...there Were thirteen tanks and five ~~anxx~~ tank destroyers..they Were in column..moving doWn a single street...When they began to roll they Were hit..With bazookas and machine guns...When they ~~xxxxx~~ turned a corner the ~~Wxxxxxxx~~ Wounded slipped off.....the medium tanks Were travelling about thirty miles an hour..and no man turned back...Lt. Ken Wisher started With a total of thirty nine men and When they reached the city hall he had eight...They had a company of infantry riding on the tanks... one hundred and eighty five men...sixty eight reached the city hall.....the tanks Were marked With machine gun fire..and they Were splattered With blood.....An hour after ~~xxxx~~ reaching the city hall those boys Were driving German cars and motorcycles about ~~xxxxxx~~ the ~~xxxxxx~~ streets....~~They had done some looting in the city hall..mostly stuff they could drink or use~~...We Were siting outside...a snipers bullet ~~xxxxxx~~ broke a pane of glass in a WindoW...a doughboy said...my my..somobody done broke a WindoW.... things are getting rough round ~~xxxxx~~ here...folks are destroying things..the germns

had given up. a few had shot themselves. one said he couldnt be taken prisoner by the Americans He must commit suicide...a young Lt.said..heres a gun...and he slipped the clip out of a forty five...the german took it and shot himself...just under the left ear....In the basement of the city hall German civilians were looting food .... the underground rooms were filled with rifles, grenades, bazookas, food and wine....The day we took Leipsig here was a fairly stif wind blowing...and the air was filled with dust..heavy red brick dust that filled the eyes and nostrils...the sheling had caused no fire...there was nothing left to burn... the city had been killed by bombing...it was merely a dusty neven desert. far away..at Leuna..there is anher kind of desert...acres and acres of twisted, rusted pipe...huge tanks ripped open ..steel girders pointing to the sky....Leuna was the greatest petroleum products plant in Germany.

It produced more than a quarter million gallons of gasoline every day. The eight air force hit it with ten tons of bombs and the RAF put down five thousand tons...There were more flack guns round Leuna than were defending Berlin...All together some fifty thousand American boys flew over Leuna...and the losses were not light...thirty five shot down on a single raid..but they did the job...When we arrived a couple of officers had the plant managers in the board room... they were checking production figures...The officers had their charts made up from aerial photographs.....they would ask the managers..'What was your production on this date?' the germans would look at their records...and the answers were consistently within one or two percent of the estimates that had been made in London...The Germans had brought in a force of four thousand men just to carry out repairs... they would get the plant producing forty or fifty percent of

capacity..then would come another bombing and production would cease alltogether...Leunaxixxxandxthexgxsxlinazitxdidxnntxprodnxexrxpxxentx axgxentxzx .....the german officials said it had all been very xixxxxr discouraging...Leuna is an ugly monument to air power..it doesnt xxxxx prove that bombers can win wars..but it does demonstrate that bombers can make it impossible for armies to move or for planes to fly...On Thxxxx Wednesday I went back to visit another monument to German cruelty..the ghastly concentration camp at Buchenwald just outside Weimar...Our military government had taken over..some people had already been evacuated by air...the camp was still without water..but it was being brought in by two and a half ton trucks..driven by grave faced negro boys...A day or two before a representative group of civilians from Weimar had been taken thru the camp...most of them said they didnt know anything about it..but they knew enough not to want to visit it... During the last week the food has improved..thexxr army has installed a medical unit...Only about thirty people died last Wednesday night..compared with the two hundred who died the night before we got there...On Wednesday a lot of GIs were being taken thru the camp...some officer had ordered it...and that officer knew what he was about...I stood at the gate and watched those soldiers come xx out of Buchenwald..most of them had their mouths slightly open.. they looked straight ahead...some were shaking their heads slowly from side to side..the way a man does after being hit with a hard right...they didnt say very much...there was no anger intheir faces..they were bewildered..almost frightened...One pfc kept saying o to hiself.."this beats me..it sure does!"... A sargeant said he wished everyone at home could see the place...About that time a weapons carrier drew up at the gate..Two SS men xxxx in civilian clothes were

flung out..they had been beaten...and badly...but were still able to walk..they were hustled into the solitary cells...The men who had spent years in Buchenwald looked on without any expression of any kind..one had the feeling that there emotions were dead..they were unable to hate the SS men who had beaten bullied and starved them for years.. Gradually Buchenwald is being evacuated but it will take time..the American major in charge is doing his best...But this whole matter of men in concentration camps and workers camps will require much time.. and much patience.#After a couple of weeks travelling in Germany one gets the feeling that ~~Germany~~ for the Germans this is a kind of delayed action war...Their cities have been ruined..and in many cases the destruction is complete..they have lost many dead and wounded.~~xx~~ most of their men will be in allied prison cages when the war is over. and it will be some time before they are home again..But in addition to all this the Germans will have no transport left...they have wrecked their bridges..the war has swallowed up their horses and their hopes. Their factories are in ruins...For the rest of Europe the end of the war will mean some improvement in living conditions...for the Germns things will get worse and worse...there wont be any bombers next wintr ..but there will be less food..~~lxxxx~~ fewer workers...The Germans will gradually realise that they have only started to pay the price..For Germany the end of the war will be the beginning of great suffering and shortages of allkinds....One gets the feeling that here is a nation comitting suicide....A city is completely surrounded and is asked to surrender..the local authority refuses...and our troops start in..there is resistance from a couple of houses...tanks move up and cut the ~~hxx~~ houses down..the Germans pull back..nearer to the center of the city.. but they keep shooting...they did that for three days at Nurenburg...

And that city may be said to be dead...there are a few walls still ~~xx~~a standing..the cathedral spires are still ~~xxxxxxxx~~ there..but Nurenburg has been wiped out ...Most of Beyruth is ~~xxxx~~ gone too...Wagners piano is still there but part of the house has been knocked down..rare books and fine manuscripts are trampled underfoot..there is an empty Champn bottle on top of the piano...the young Lt.in charge of military govt has written a letter to army asking for permission to ~~xxx~~ put a guard on the place...There is no lack of looting in Germany.~~(our army does a part of it...and~~ the foreign workers ~~do some more~~.~~(they~~ are interested in food and clothing...and they will go after it right under the machine gun fire...The other day a Pole found a suit of clothes in a box car.. as he carried it away he said..this is my pay for five years work...In Nurenburg a Russian walked down a street that was under small arms fire ..He carried a huge cheese ....it must have weighed seventy pounds..n he was interested in that cheese ..not in the firing...As a new burp gun opened up around the corner an american corporal said...'say Mack.. know any place round here where I can get some films developed!!...there wasnt a building standing ~~xxx~~ in a radius of a mile..but he was~~xx~~ entirely serious...There are places down near the Chekoslovakian border where you can drive for sixty miles on a superhighway..and meet no traffic..you are never sure where our forward elements are...and when you do find an outfit.they are never sure just where they are in relation to other units....the tired driver of an armoured car said ~~h~~ remembered a town..but that was three days ago..and he couldnt recall its name..but hed had a glass of beer there..and it was a dusty little place....In the larger cities there is occasional firing at night..but not very much...the wh rewolves arent ~~xxxxxx~~ very active..at least not in the areas behind the first and third armies.....The other ~~xxxx~~

night we were caught in a traffic jam..leaving a pontoon bridge..there was a half moon..and the night was mild... a Strauss waltz came from the radio in a command car....the two lines of traffic did not move.. A western voice said..whatxxxxx whats the trouble down there..and xxxo a voice from the deep south answered..theres a one way bridge and the traffic is moving in three directions....We crawled forward a few yards.. There was a jet plane somewhere high overhead...a negro truck driver said..hes a comin oveh..but he didnt....The apple blossoms on the right were golden in the moonlight...there were apple blossoms when some of these boys landed in Normandy.....Someone began to sing..'shell be comin round the mountain.'.. we made another fifty yards...and then paused again..the sound of the motors died away..there was a cowbell down near the river.....And I heard one soldier say to another..Hear about Earnie Pyle?..and the reply was..Yeah..thats rugged...he was a good guy...Earnie would have settled for that.....

Ive just been looking at some dusty notes made in Leipsig... xxxxx the names of some of the boys who were in that thousand yard dash down streets that they named suicide alley..Lt Arch Farrar of Sommerville Ga. was in the lead tank.....He had twenty five left out of thirty..and thought himself lucky....xxxxx

C.B.S. LONDON: SUNDAY APRIL 29, 1945:
19.45-20.00 D.B.S.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

PASSED FOR BROADCAST
DATE 29/4/45 SIGNATURE

THIS IS LONDON: The war continues. Nothing more has been heard of Himmler's peace offer. The Russians are nearing the heart of Berlin. They are now less than a mile from the Tiergarten. There has been no slackening in German resistance. ~~Hitxxx~~ Hitler's whereabouts remain a mystery. The British are across the Elbe south-east of Hamburg. Moscow announces that a provisional government has been formed in Austria. German resistance in northern Italy has collapsed, and it appears certain that Mussolini and seventeen of his henchmen have been executed. (Official circles in London are silent about its composition, since they were not consulted.)

On the southern part of the Western Front American columns are converging on Munich - meeting only slight resistance.

Today British Lancaster bombers have been dropping food for the citizens of Western Holland. For weeks the ration in the cities has been two pieces of black bread and one potato a day. Bakers' carts have had to travel under armed guard. I have it on the best of authority that on Thursday of last week one thousand people lay dead of starvation in a single church in Amsterdam. A single ~~Sumxxfxtxdayxkx~~ Lancasterx dropped enough food to feed three thousand people for one day. (They even dropped salt and pepper.) The operation was carried out in agreement with the Germans, who marked the drop zones. There must have been some happy bomb-aimers on that mission.

C.B.S. LONDON: SUNDAY APRIL 29, 1945.
19.45-20.00 D.B.S.T. EDWARD R. MURROW.

It's a quiet Sunday here in London. Many Cabinet Ministers are spending the week-end in the country. ~~The papers and the radio tell of Himmler's surrender offer; and there is no lack of rumours, but since most of them are made in America there would seem to be no point in repeating them.~~ There are no V-bombs - ~~heavy bombers heading out for the Continent~~ - the Churches are perhaps a little fuller than usual: aside from that today might be almost any Sunday in London during the past five years. The British are in many ways a predictable people. Their behaviour during the past week indicates that they will greet the formal cessation of hostilities, not with a shout, but a sigh. When the announcement comes it will be formal, official and unmistakable. The plans are all made - the pronouncements have been written - but an important thing to remember is that the killing continues. The best opinion here is that it may go on for some time. It is not regarded as certain that Himmler can deliver all of the armed forces of Germany - the communication of terms between the three major Allied powers requires time; and even though some central German authority may agree to the Allied conditions, it will require time for them to make the directed dispositions of their Army, Air Force and remaining Naval units.

The British have waited a long time for the announcement that impends, and they are near enough to the Continent to appreciate that the end of the fighting will not mean the end of the dying and the suffering; that it will not be any insurance against chaos,

confusion and collapse in Europe. It is not customary for people who are told that their entire family has escaped the threat of immediate death, but that there is still a chance of a dangerous relapse, to go out and dance and sing in the streets. // Last week the blackout was officially abolished. We had been told in song and editorial that Londoners would get lit-up; that there would be merry-making and relaxation. Nothing of the sort happened. Everything went on as usual. People continued to draw their blackout curtains from force of habit. There were no wild celebrations. To this reporter the reaction to the lifting of the blackout - to the announcement that after almost six years of darkness in which a nation stumbled and felt numb - light was legal - was one of the most significant indications of the temper of the people. It reflects not only fatigue, not only a reluctance to engage in public demonstrations - it is massive evidence of an unexpressed realisation that the return of light and even the end of the shooting is but the beginning of the testing time which will determine whether or not a new structure can be built upon what is left of European civilization. This reaction to the lifting of the blackout; this almost complete indifference to the return of light and freedom of movement after the sun has set, is almost frightening. ~~Ikxxxxxx~~ It may mean that the ability to rejoice, to react and to believe has been reduced to a dangerously low level. The emotional reserves are near to exhaustion. Maybe that is why there was so little response to the link-up of Allied troops on the Elbe in the heart of

Germany; and why there appears to be so little public confidence that the San Francisco Conference will produce an international organization which will revive men's hopes and merit their allegiance. Most of Europe seems to have reached the point where rhetoric is ridiculous. The final writhings of the Nazi Party and of the German Army may be spectacular, but they are no longer important, except insofar as they may cost lives and delay a full appreciation of conditions in Europe.

Most of the soldier's work is done - although no one should forget that the bullet of a defeated enemy kills you just as dead as any other. The roads from Omaha and Utah beaches are lined with smashed vehicles, K-ration cans, ruined towns and villages, and many small wooden crosses. Germany, a nation that was mighty in battle, rich in military tradition, a place where war and warriors were glorified - has been cut in half. And it has been done by a lot of lawyers, doctors, business men, High School boys, soap salesmen and mechanics - by people who did not seek battle, but who never refused it. No man can distribute credit for this great achievement between the Russians, the British and ourselves, or between the Air ~~Forces~~ Forces, the tankers, the foot soldiers and the men who moved the supplies. There is glory enough for all. What has happened is that two conflicting ideologies, two different ways of life have met in Germany. They have met after bitter battle which has left a Continent exhausted - much of it in ruins. But it is a meeting of Armies, not a meeting of minds.

The imminence of Victory adds terrible urgency to the task of those who are determining what shall be done with it. There has been so much waste and suffering, so much killing and wounding, hunger and heroism, that any further sacrifice that may be required to prevent tanks and guns from disturbing the roadside graves in a few years' time must seem small indeed. Long Before the shooting began this war was a contest for the control of men's minds. That contest may not be decisively ended by military victory. Our tanks, jeeps and weapons carriers may not convince the Germans that their cause was evil and their actions criminal. Principles are not often found in the baggage trains of armies. We have now uncovered enough of Germany to permit some appreciation of the problem that confronts us; some measure of the responsibility that our power has placed upon us. There is no longer a German state. The vast majority of Germans are waiting for orders, willing to be governed, but without any apparent desire to govern themselves. On the whole they are docile and obedient. The civilian population is sometimes sullen, but generally respectful. They are on the whole incredibly ignorant about what has happened in the world during the last six years. They have little or no sense of guilt about the crimes committed by Germany against her neighbours. There is no evidence, either from prisoner-of-war interrogations or from Military Government officials, that defeat has reduced anti-Semitism. The majority of German civilians deny detailed knowledge of conditions in concentration camps, and those who admit to such knowledge say: "What could we do?" This is an attitude which merits consideration.

Had you been living near a German concentration camp, known something of the horrors that went on inside, known that if you raised your voice - you, your wife and children and perhaps your grandparents would quietly disappear into one of those camps, without public knowledge or notification, without even the martyrdom of those who were burned at the stake, without even getting your name in the newspapers - would you, without arms or organisation, have protested?

I do not know, nor does anyone else, the number of Germans who even before the war had the desire but ~~kx~~ not the courage to protest. These concentration camps were not a wartime measure - they were part of the Nazi plan and policy from the very beginning. It is possible at least that the whole evil system came about because a considerable percentage of Germans believed politics to be <u>above</u> them; whereas in certain Democracies many people believe politics to be <u>beneath</u> them. The evidence would seem to be that both attitudes are fraught with danger for the freedom and dignity of the individual.

The immediate problem that we face in Occupied Germany is two-fold: unemployment in the towns, which have been largely destroyed; and a shortage of labour on the farms. The general policy to be pursued in regard to re-education, economic ~~administration~~ administration, boundaries, political activity is not discernible. Our Military Government Officers are not sufficiently experienced or numerous to govern Germany. There exists no agreed policy between the Russians on the one hand and the British and ourselves

on the other, as to methods or procedures. The plans and the personnel for handling the foreign workers who have been working as slaves in Germany, are inadequate. But those engaged in the work of repatriation are performing their duties with patience and energy. It is expected that this problem will increase rather than diminish, for there are already waves of slave workers and civilians lapping against the British and American lines, hoping to gain admission to the Western zone of occupation. I have heard responsible officials estimate that it may be more than two years before all of the slave labourers reach their homes - or where their homes once were.

It is freely acknowledged by American officers and officials that we have no blueprint, no detailed plans for ~~the administration~~ a long-term policy in the American zone of occupation. The policy seems to be to wait and see what the Germans themselves may be able to produce in the way of acceptable administrative agencies. It may be that when the threat of the Gestapo over family and friends in remote areas of Germany is removed, we shall find Germans of character prepared to assume responsibility for administering municipal and regional affairs. Up to now the experience has been discouraging. They are willing to take orders, but there has developed no sizeable or coherent group of people prepared to assume responsibility.

We cannot provide the Germans with principles, but we can proclaim and pursue our own. A lot of young men bought us that

opportunity during the last 327 days, between Omaha Beach and the Elbe. Whatever may be done with the opportunity, it is certain that the nation never bought one at a higher price.

Warren Sinney.

B.B.C
PASSED FOR SECURITY
DATE 29/1/45 SIGNATURE

S U N D A Y B R O A D C A S T S

& Correspondence

Edward R. Murrow

(May 6, 1945 - March 3, 1946)

CBS. LONDON: SUNDAY MAY 6, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: And so far as London knows there is still fighting in Prague. The patriot radio has been silent for the last eight hours. The armour of the American Third Army is about seventy miles to the westward, moving fast against slight opposition; while the Russians ~~are~~ 130 miles east of Prague are meeting stiff ~~opposition~~. Resistance -

Mr. Churchill has announced his intention of broadcasting on Thursday of this week, the fifth anniversary of his becoming Prime Minister. It is confidently expected that he will have announced the cessation of formal hostilities with Germany before that day.

CBS. LONDON: SUNDAY MAY 6, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

A lot of things are happening today. Arrangements are being made for the final, complete, and unconditional surrender of Germany. The arrangements will not be completed before ~~late~~ tomorrow; and it is possible that the formal announcement of the cessation of hostilities may be held up for several hours ~~not be made before Wednesday or Thursday~~. The fact of the matter is that British officials are not today certain just exactly when the announcement will be made. But it May be ~~Late the~~ Tomorrow It is certain that the Germans have agreed to surrender the Channel Islands without a fight. An official announcement of the surrender will ~~probably~~ be made within the next 24 hours. The Russians are still meeting stiff opposition in Czechoslovakia; and the German radio - what is left of it - continues to assert that the fight against Russia must go on.

The postwar German propaganda line is emerging with great clarity. Having suffered the greatest defeat, the most complete collapse in modern military history, they assert that this state of affairs came about as a result of their determination to stem the tide of Bolshevism from the East, even at the price of suffering defeat in the West. The remnants of German radio continue to say that they are fighting Europe's, and indeed America's battle, (only we do not realise it.)

The completeness of the German collapse is only partially appreciated. A powerful, highly centralized and industrial nation

has ceased to exist. German soldiers and civilians are trying to bribe their way into the Allied zones of occupation. Europe has not witnessed such scenes of destruction and desolation since the end of the 30 Years War. But then Europe was primarily an agricultural society, and the problems of reconstruction were less complex. The Western Allies alone have between four and five million prisoners of war. We are obligated to pay them and feed them. There are probably ten million homeless inside Germany; that is, not people who have left their homes, but who simply have no homes left. It is becoming increasingly clear that the problem of governing what was once a nation, divided as it will be into four zones with no common policy agreed upon by the four occupying powers, will be a much greater task than had been expected or planned for. Europe is now in a convulsion greater than any in her history. The Allied Armies in the West are in effect taking a census of German manpower, counting them into the prisoners' cages, knowing not how they are to be used or fed.

~~xxxxxxxx~~ All during the week tremendous news has hit London at the speed of a trip-hammer. It has been impossible to absorb or assess it. Berlin falls, and the Russians search the ruins for bodies of Nazi leaders supposed to be there. The southern Redoubt collapses; nearly a million Germans surrender in Italy; and a few days later another million surrender on the northern end of the front. The fall of Rangoon is announced, which virtually means the end of the campaign in Burma - and few people pay any attention to the announcement. His Majesty's Government

states formally that there will be no more air raid sirens(after nearly six years). Those who have whistles may now blow them. The sound of a rattle will now be just the sound of a rattle, not the alert for a gas attack. A London doorman who stayed at his post all during the blitz, says to this reporter: "These are stirring times through which we are living, sir; and to think that it's only a short while ago when we were happy enough just to live!" So far, British reaction has been steady and restrained. While the killing continues, those who have seen death in their streets will not engage in wild celebrations.

This news that has come cascading from conquest is the result of victory in the field. Somewhere it is written that when Stonewall Jackson lay dying at Chancellorsville 82 years ago, a private of his army said to him: "General, tonight when you meet Ceasar, tell him we still know how to make war". That ~~remark~~ might have been said of the Allied Armies that have broken the military might of Germany. But as the war enters ~~what may well be~~ its last week, it appears from London that only the war is going well. As the armies advance there comes news of the liberation of old men whose names once made headlines.....Blum, Daladier, Reynaud, three former Premiers of France - Schuschnigg, Chancellor of Austria, other statesmen and diplomats, all liberated today. Their names are associated with old pre-war problems, and the old problems like the old men are beginning to emerge. There is Trieste and Gorizia. Field-Marshal Alexander announced that Trieste had been captured

by the New Zealanders/~~yesterday~~ on Thursday, then Marshal Tito claimed that both towns had been captured by Yugoslav troops on the previous Monday. The Italians have been demonstrating in favour of Italy's possession of Trieste. In the last war Italy suffered two million casualties, and that war is still referred to as the "war for Trieste." The Yugoslavs want it; the Italians claim it; it is the most important port on the Adriatic, vital for the movement of supplies into the Danube Valley, Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is important also for the Anglo-American occupation forces in south-eastern Germany and Austria. Again it has become as it was before, not only an important port, but a test of statesmanship..... (and the fighting has not produced a solution.)

In the years between the wars Russia loomed large on the eastern edge of Europe. It was at various times the policy of European powers, including Britain, to keep her there...off on the edge. And now the greatest single fact apparent to all, is the emergence of Russia as the dominant power, the greatest single force on the Continent. The old problem of Poland, ~~which might have been solved in 1942~~ has created a deadlock between Russia and the Western Allies. Conversations on the subject have been suspended. The facts as reported in the House of Commons and in official statements appear to be as follows: More than a month ago either fifteen or sixteen Polish political leaders went to hold conversations with Russian officials. No word was received

from them; repeated enquiries by the British Government made of the Soviet Embassy in London, and of the Russian Government in Moscow, produced no reply whatever. Mr. Eden in San Francisco raised the matter with Mr. Molotov, and the Russians yesterday issued a statement that the group of sixteen Poles did not disappear, but were arrested, and are now in Moscow. They are accused of preparing diversionary acts in the rear of the Red Army, and of operating illegal radio transmitters. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ According to the Russian statement, all of the Poles, or some of them, will be committed for trial. On Tuesday it was alleged in the House of Commons that 24 Poles who had opposed elections on a one-Party basis had been executed, and that there had been other cases ~~XXX~~ where Poles had been shot or hanged without trial. Mr. Richard Law, replying for the British Government, confessed that Britain was without detailed information regarding these incidents, since she was without official representation in Poland, and since the Soviet authorities had refused to grant facilities for British observers. And there the matter stands.

Austria was another European problem that perplexed European statesmen between the wars. It is still with them. British official reaction to the creation of the provisional Austrian government has been cool indeed. It has not taken the form of criticism of the personalities, or of the representative character of the government. Rather it is resentment that the Russians

should have taken singlehanded action in an area where joint responsibility has been agreed upon.

The ~~Russian~~ Moscow claim that Russian prisoners of war have been ill-treated increased the irritation. Many of these Russians were taken in German uniform, with guns in their hands; others were in German labour organisations. Three reliable eyewitnesses have told me that some of the worst atrocities encountered in the campaign in southern France were committed by Russians in German uniform. (Naturally it has required some time to sort out the Russian prisoners,) and some of those in Britain have displayed a distinct unwillingness to return to the Soviet Union. But Several thousand Russian prisoners have already been sent back to Russia - all of them in ships which could ill be spared from the job of supplying the armies. ~~These developments~~ This deterioration in Anglo-Russian relations has moved the London Times to demand editorially that something should be done about the Inter-Allied Commission of Control which was to have been set up in Vienna. The Times then uses this significant sentence: "These most recent incidents are symptoms of a malady which threatens the health of the Alliance, and therefore essentially the course of the peace-making". This is pretty strong language for the Times, but it undoubtedly reflects the majority of informed and official opinion here.

~~The fact that these old problems are emerging as the battle dies away does not mean that they are insoluble~~

The old problems are emerging. Victory will give an opportunity but not a guarantee of solution. // Here is one small instance of the human problem involved. Supreme Headquarters has said that liberated Poles in Germany will have an opportunity to indicate their wishes - whether they wish to return to Poland or no. What happens to them, where do they go, if they decide that they do not wish to return to Poland?

This is Ron in London —

Now back to C.B.S. in N.Y. —

CBS. LONDON: SUNDAY MAY 13, 1945.
19.45-20.)00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

In Britain this is the Sunday of Thanksgiving. In St. Paul's Cathedral, and in small stone churches from the Shetlands to the soft green rolling county of Devon and all the way down to Land's End, Britons are giving thanks for deliverance from great dangers. This first Sunday of peace in Europe is hot; there is enough breeze to move the sailboats on the Thames; the parks are crowded; and right now in the early evening the air is filled with the distant sound of aircraft motors. The Eighth Air Force has about fifteen hundred heavy bombers and fighters up on a great tight formation victory flight over Southern England. The boys will be flying in their shirt sleeves, many of them having their last look at England from the air.

Down here on the ground everyone still seems a little bit dazed after the events of the past week. Almost six years of war, followed by five days of relaxation and celebration seem to leave people with the feeling that they are becalmed after a long, rough and dangerous voyage.....becalmed but not yet safely anchored inside the breakwater.

The celebrations here in London provided some memorable sights....and a great mass demonstration of order and good manners. People who trod on the flower-beds on the way to Buckingham Palace were reprimanded, not by the police but by other people. American soldiers tried to teach elderly ladies the Virginia Reel in the middle of the street. They were all perfectly sober. There was

very little destruction - practically no windows broken. Men and women of all ages, soldiers and sailors acted like joyous but well-behaved children. ~~London~~ Many thousands of lucky Londoners were fortunate enough to see the King's first Minister - the indestructible juvenile, Mr. Winston Churchill - riding down Whitehall on top of a car, holding on firmly with one hand and waving his hat vigorously with the other. He is the only living Statesman ever to participate in an old-fashioned cavalry charge. The Prime Minister's progress down Whitehall was slow, but his balance was excellent, and one had the impression that he would have welcomed more speed.

Most of the public buildings have been floodlit, and the lighting was very well done. But to this reporter London has appeared more beautiful and more permanent when there was no light except that provided by a Bombers' Moon.

On Wednesday the King and Queen visited the East End....that's where the poor people live. The streets are narrow and mean - most of the houses are only one brick thick - many of the people have never had more than two dollars ahead of the rent. The East End was hardest hit by the Blitz and by the buzz bombs; thousands died in the ruins of their homes, but they did not flinch. In the cold winter dawns they crawled out of their miserable air raid shelters and went back to work. Had they not done so the whole course of this war might have been changed. On Wednesday

the children were well-scrubbed, and the people lining the streets were wearing their Sunday best. In this country the King and Queen are symbols of the State. They are without political power, ~~but they must never make a mistake~~ On Wednesday their visit to the East End was in effect ~~the~~ a salute ~~of the~~ by the State and the Empire to the gallant people of the East End who bore their hardships with considerably more fortitude than was displayed by some of His Majesty's subjects who were in more fortunate economic circumstances. Everyone here seemed to think the gesture was altogether fitting.

Perhaps this first Sunday of peace is a good time to try to determine the most important thing that has happened in Britain during the last six years. It was not, I think, the demonstration of physical courage, for after all ~~Spaniards, Poles and even Germans~~ Spanish, Polish and even German civilians were very brave under the bombs....physical courage has been a cheap commodity in this war. I do not believe that the most important thing was Dunkirk or the Battle of Britain, El Alamein or Stalingrad; not even the landings in Normandy, or the great blows struck by British and American bombers. Historians may decide that ~~any~~ one of these events was decisive so far as the grand strategy was concerned. They may choose any one of a number of actions as the decisive one of the war. But I am persuaded that the most important thing that happened in Britain was that this nation chose to win or lose this war under the established rules of Parliamentary procedure.

It feared Naziism, but did not choose to imitate it. The Government was given dictatorial powers but it was used with restraint; and the House of Commons was ever vigilant to see that the power it had voted into the hands of the Cabinet was not abused. Mr. Churchill remained the servant of a duly elected House of Commons. There was never a time when he could not have been dismissed, his policies reversed by the vote of the people's representatives. While London was being bombed in the daylight - the House of Commons devoted two days to discussing conditions under which enemy aliens were detained on the Isle of Man. Though Britain fell there were to be no concentration camps here. Two days after Italy declared war, an Italian citizen convicted of murder in the lower Courts appealed successfully to the highest Court in the land, and the original verdict was set aside. There was still Law in the land, regardless of race, nationality or hatred. There were isolated cases where executive power was abused, but they were few, and the people's representatives in Parliament were always able to raise their voices in protest. And the proceedings of Parliament were never censored, not even at the time when Britain was most closely threatened. There are aspects of British social, political, educational and economic life that are repugnant to those of us who were raised and educated in ~~the freer, easier~~ the New World. But that is no reason to withhold recognition of an obvious fact; that representative government, ~~the rights of the individual~~ equality before the law, have survived. That seems to me the most important thing that has

happened in Britain during the last six years. Future generations who bother to read the official record of proceedings in the House of Commons will discover that British Armies retreated from many places; but that the retreat from Magna Carta was not considerable.

In Europe the war with Germany has been won. That nation has been crushed. But the defeat of Germany was only a means to an end. You will find that stated in almost every speech by Allied statesmen. The object of the war was to preserve our own freedom, and to restore freedom to Europe and the world. The surrender of the remnants of the German armed forces brought the war to an end. And in the midst of all the rejoicing here in London one word has been heard like an echo - the word is Poland. The Russian action in arresting the fifteen Polish leaders is variously characterized as "abrupt", "unmannerly" and "secretive". British officials appear almost anxious to emphasize the gravity of the situation that has arisen as a result of the suspension of negotiations. Serious publications are discussing whether continued concessions or hard bargaining are most likely to produce an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. One difficulty arises from the difference in the definition of the word Democracy, which you will remember appears repeatedly in the Yalta statement. In America and Britain Democracy is taken to mean a government chosen by the people, responsible to the people; where the people are free to oppose, criticise and form as many Parties as they like. For Russia Democracy means a system where economic security and the right to education, especially

technical education, are guaranteed by the State. Political activity is considered unimportant, and criticism must be confined to the mechanics of government.

We have now reached the position where there is one major frontier in Europe, and that is the Elbe. How much freedom there exists east of that line, or west of it, depends upon your definition of Democracy. There are stories circulating in London of mass arrests and deportations east of the Elbe. It is impossible to assess the accuracy of these reports, since the Russians continue to deny correspondents other than their own access to these areas. The reports, however, are believed in responsible circles here. The fact remains that the Polish question is a deadlock, and it appears that the Western Allies' protests and enquiries have done nothing to alter the situation. In Austria the complete blockade of news continues, and the confusion increases. Radio Austria on the Vienna wavelength appears to base its news entirely on the Soviet-controlled Tass Agency. At the beginning of last week there were broadcasts from Klagenfurt announcing that a provisional government had been formed. Marshal Tito announced that Yugoslav troops were fighting in Klagenfurt; the Vienna Radio denounced the provisional government there. On Wednesday ~~xxxx~~ British units entered Klagenfurt. Since then nothing has been heard either of Tito's troops or of the provisional government. Then came an even more curious development at Graz, the second city in Austria. A radio station located near there

announced the formation of a provisional government. The Vienna Radio gave this government its blessing; and last Thursday the Russians moved into Graz, which was originally to have been in the British zone of occupation. Russian Town Majors took over; the population was ordered to give up its radio sets, although only Allied stations could be received. The whole situation is about as confused as it could be, and the same thing appears to be true regarding the important port of Trieste. The Yugoslavs claim they captured it; the New Zealanders claim to have taken it; General Alexander has seen Marshal Tito; there was no decision and the matter has been referred back to London. The Italians, of course, claim Trieste, too.

But the major problem continues to be Germany. It is known here that there does not exist any agreement between Russia and the Western Allies regarding the administration of the zones of occupation. It is also known that there is no agreed machinery or courts for the trial and punishment of major war criminals. There is, for example, no body of British or International Law under which Goering could be tried and punished. No one is sure of the position of Admiral Doenitz, although the Flensburg radio is continuing to operate today apparently under German control. Here in London, particularly in Parliamentary circles, feeling is growing that an early meeting of the Big Three is imperative, because the Yalta agreement is obviously not being carried out in accordance with the understandings of any of the contracting parties.

This afternoon in St. Paul's the Archbishop of Canterbury warned that the testing days had not passed. He said: "Ahead of us lie rocks, boulders, fires and danger". ~~Nextxpeaplexinxthisx countryxxxxxxxxxxderxnexillusionxthatxthexpeacex~~ It seems that the British are practising less self-delusion about the future now than they did six years ago.

The principal subject of conversation in Whitehall is the time of the next National Election. Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Brendan Bracken, the Minister of Information, are urging the Prime Minister to hold it within the next two months. They believe that the nation will give the Prime Minister and his Party one vote of thanks. But the best opinion is that Britain's first election in ten years will not be held before the early Fall. Mr. Churchill may give some indication of his plans when he broadcasts an hour from now.

CBS. LONDON: SUNDAY MAY 27, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The British have resumed one of their favourite peacetime occupations. So far there is no indication that the return to Party politics has aroused any widespread enthusiasm among the electorate; but well-modulated cries of "Foul" are already to be heard from the politicians. The political manoeuvering that preceded the dissolution of the Coalition Government had one objective - Party advantage. Both Parties - Labour and Conservative - wanted to manoeuvre the Opposition into a position where it would be responsible in the public mind for the break-up. Mr. Churchill suggested that the Coalition continue till the end of the war with Japan. He knew in advance that the Labour Party would not agree. Labour countered by suggesting that the Election be held in the Fall. Their stated reasons were that this would give more time to bring the voting lists up to date, and would also enable the electorate - especially the fighting services - to know what they were voting for or against. But there was another reason which was not openly stated. Labour, realising the lustre that attaches to Mr. Churchill's name as the principal architect of victory, wanted to fight him at the polls not as the great wartime leader but as the peacetime Premier. They recognise that Europe and Britain are confronted with peace without plenty. They believed that the months between now and the Fall will bring great difficulties and present Mr. Churchill with the possibility of making mistakes which would serve to diminish his power at the polls in the Autumn. The Conservative High Command, led by Lord

Beaverbrook and Mr. Brendan Bracken, wanted an early election. Their theory was that Mr. Churchill would receive one vote of "thanks" from a grateful people, and that that vote would carry the Conservative Party into office with a clearcut majority. They also believe that British influence in European affairs would be more decisive if a new government with a fresh mandate from the people was in power. So, at the decision of the Conservative Party, the Election will be held on July 5th. As I said, the cry of "foul", and "sharp practice" has been raised by both sides. But, as the British are fond of saying, there's not much in it. It was just politics.

Some have expressed a fear that this manoeuvre may reduce Mr. Churchill's stature in the eyes of history. But Mr. Churchill is a politician as well as an historian, and he used his position as head of the majority Party in the House of Commons to secure an advantage for his Party - an action which is not without precedent amongst politicians. Incidentally, some of the participants in this campaign are deriving a certain degree of ironic satisfaction from American despatches quoting certain newspapers as deploring the election - the same newspapers which a few months ago were pointing to the absence of an election as an indication that Democracy had departed from Britain.

Mr. Churchill ~~xxxxxx~~ has now formed his new government. It contains few surprises. At first glance it may seem strange that the former Minister of Education becomes Minister of Labour -

that Mr. Bracken moves from the Ministry of Information to the Admiralty, and Mr. Richard Law from the Foreign Office to the Ministry of Education. ~~These changes, however,~~ These changes should not be taken to indicate any alteration in policy. They are part of what has been called the "game of musical chairs" which occurs whenever there is a reorganisation of the Cabinet. The permanent civil servants will in most cases continue to run the department concerned.

Mr. Churchill's list of Junior Ministers is more indicative of Tory tactics. There are many young men, including the leaders of the so-called Tory Reform Committee. He has also brought in a number of young officers with brilliant war records and plenty of decorations. The general opinion seems to be that it is a campaigning Cabinet, and a pretty good one.

It is unlikely that recrimination about the immediate past will play much of a part in this election. The leaders of the Labour Party who have been members of the Coalition Government are in a real sense the prisoners of their own success. They cannot very well attack wartime controls, social legislation, health and educational measures because they were part of the government that enacted the legislation. The result will probably be that Labour will concentrate upon domestic matters, claiming that their ability to turn pledges into performance is greater than that of the Conservatives. The Labour Party is pledged to bring about the public ownership of fuel and power industries, inland transport

and the iron and steel industries. They have also promised to continue for some time the control of raw materials, and the close supervision of international cartels. Empire preference, a system under which the various units of the British Empire receive preferential trade treatment would be continued by Labour, unless other nations agree to lower their tariff barriers. On India the Labour Party appears to be somewhat vague, merely promising a gradual increase in self-government.

In the course of this campaign the Conservative Party will enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the British press. The British radio, a monopoly corporation, will remain neutral. A certain amount of air time will be made available, and it will be divided by agreement between the various parties. The total amount of time allotted for this great national debate will be considerably less than that devoted to political controversy during an American Presidential Election.

While it is clear that the major issues will be of a domestic character, foreign policy will at all times be fundamental. All promises of food and work and houses, whether made by Conservatives or Labour, must depend in the end upon Britain's relations with the rest of the world, and particularly with Europe. The Labour Party's policy on this point has already emerged. They have no violent quarrel with British foreign policy to date; but they maintain that all Europe is moving to the Left, and that only a

government of the Left in England can understand and work with these new governments that are emerging on the Continent. The Conservative reply to this will be that they have the two men who are indispensable to the continuity of British foreign policy - the two men who have the experience - the first-hand knowledge of personalities and of issues. The two being, of course, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden. It is also certain that the Conservatives will emphasize the necessity for financial stability. They have retained Sir John Anderson as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and they will also enjoy the support of Lord Woolton, an Independent who did a first-class job of administering the food ration in this country. In the past, continuity and financial stability have made a strong appeal to the British electorate. But there has never been a British election involving so many unattached voters; for any one under 31 their vote on July 5th will be the first cast in a national election. During these last ten years a formal Party allegiance has not developed to the degree that it would have in normal times. The great shifts in population have further complicated matters. Some Members of Parliament who began the war representing an agricultural constituency now find that the majority of their constituents are factory workers, due to the dispersal of industry throughout the country.

Particular interest attaches to the position of the Liberal Party. Its titular head is Sir Archibald Sinclair, Air Minister

in the Coalition Government. But the man who will probably dominate the Liberal campaign is Sir William Beveridge, the elderly professor who produced the Beveridge Plan. His name will be worth many votes. The list of Liberal candidates is not yet complete, but they have lined up an impressive group of ex-servicemen who may be expected to collect many votes from those who feel no allegiance to the two major parties. At the present time the Liberal Party has only 17 Members in the House of Commons, but if they should double or treble their representation they might possibly hold the balance of power.

The Labour Party would have to more than double its present representation in order to win a clearcut majority. Labour is pledged not to enter a Coalition with the Conservatives after the Election, but there is nothing to prevent them from joining with the Liberals, other Left Wing Parties and the Independents to form a government.

Experienced political observers in Britain are reluctant to prophesy the results of the Election. They say that it has never been more difficult to judge the political climate of the country. The fear in impartial circles, if there be such, is that the result may be inconclusive; that the balance between Parties in the House of Commons may be so delicate that ~~Britain will~~ the British Government may be unable to participate with assurance in the manifold problems that will confront Europe during the coming years.

On Tuesday the House of Commons will reassemble. Men who sat side by side on the leather-covered bench representing the British Government for five dangerous years, will be facing each other across the floor of the House. There will be debate, interruption, conducted in tones of formal conversation. During the dark days they sat shoulder to shoulder, and none but the Germans opposed them. On Tuesday about twelve feet of green carpet will separate Churchill and Bevin, Eden and Morrison, and all the other politicians who in time of dire peril placed the State above the Party. They have now disagreed about who should conduct the nation's business in the future. They have determined to place the matter in the hands of the electorate and to abide by their decision. There may be involved, as undoubtedly there is, personal pride, desire for power and profit and prestige. But there has developed a fundamental difference of opinion as to the ~~course Britain should follow~~ relationship between the State and the individual. It involves education as well as economics. The outcome will affect privilege as well as profits. But it is proposed by all Parties that these decisions should be made by the people, no matter how ill-informed or intelligent they may be. This election is unlikely to interfere with the prosecution of the war against Japan. It will not prevent a meeting of the Big Three if one should be called before the date of the Election. But It will ~~not even provide conclusive evidence~~ be powerful proof that all of this talk about Democracy - the right of the individual to speak

his mind and register his vote - ~~xxxxxxxx~~ was one of the things about which this war was fought. This political campaign may ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ have been ill-timed; it may uncover mean motives; but it will demonstrate Democracy in action, even though it be only in a small Island.off the coast of Europe. // Whatever the result may be - and I should prefer to leave prophecy to those who are more distant from the scene - it is encouraging and indeed exciting to see the one belligerent Democracy in Europe decide to return so soon to the people, and to be willing to abide by their decision.

C.B.S.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY JUNE 3, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Mr. Eden, Britain's Foreign Secretary, has a duodenal ulcer. This is no diplomatic illness. Mr. Eden is to take two weeks off, during which time Mr. Churchill will handle the affairs of the Foreign Office. // The spokesmen for Syria and the Lebanon are demanding the complete withdrawal of French troops.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY JUNE 3, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The shooting in Syria has stopped. That is good news, but it is not a solution. The crisis in the Levant is the result of Anglo-French tension that has been accumulating during the past year, and no one here expects that it will be easily or quickly settled. There is no doubt that the British press and public support Mr. Churchill's action. He employed strong language; — in fact, his message to General de Gaulle was in effect an ultimatum. There have been a few attempts here to label the British intervention as "disinterested" or at least ~~xxxx~~ dictated by the necessity of maintaining stability on the long supply line to the Indian Ocean and beyond. The fact is, of course, that Britain acted in her own self interest, and in this case she had a moral reason for doing so. Britain is co-guarantor of the independence of the ~~Lebanon~~ Levant states, and a solemn pledge of that nature is not taken lightly here - not more lightly than the pledge to Poland, which caused Britain to enter the war in 1939.

On the surface it might appear that Britain was faced with a choice between the friendship of the Arab states, and the friendship of metropolitan France. That would indeed be a grave dilemma for the people of this Island;for all who have heard bombers, buzz-bombs and rockets know that British security in the future depends more than ever upon close collaboration with France. For hundreds of years British foreign policy has aimed at preventing the Channel ports from coming under the control of an unfriendly power. With

the development of long-range weapons her concern must now stretch further inland, not just to the Rhine but beyond it. A second cardinal point in British foreign policy has been, and still is, the protection of the so-called lifeline to the Empire, through the Mediterranean and Suez. Anything that threatens that, whether it be a potentially unfriendly government in Greece, or unrest in the Arab world, must be a matter of concern and action by the British Government, whether it be Conservative or Radical.

At the present time Britain has a twenty-year treaty with Russia; and France has signed a similar treaty. But between Britain and France there is no long-term agreement. Last Armistice Day, General de Gaulle decided to sign up with the Russians, but not with the British. Since then there has occurred a series of small incidents calculated to further complicate Anglo-French relations. - division of opinion over the French zone of occupation in Germany - the French refusal to evacuate Stuttgart - their occupation without consultation of the Aosta Valley in North Italy - and now Syria. The French claim that the trouble arose as result of the action of British agents. Its origins are obscure. But the manoeuvers that have taken place in the last three or four days are reasonably clear. Mr. Churchill wanted to settle the matter by a tri-partite meeting here in London. General de Gaulle has countered by saying that he wants a larger meeting to discuss the whole situation in the Middle East. That is just another way of saying that he wants Russia to participate. The British hadn't

counted on that, and the nature of their reply has not yet been made known. There is probably more possibility of friction between Russia and Britain in the Middle East than anywhere else. Right now they both have troops in Persia under a treaty signed in 1942. The Russians are in the North, the British in the South. They are both due to get out within six months of the end of hostilities with Germany and her associates. That word "associates" obviously includes Japan. But the Persian Government is understandably impatient and has requested the Red Army and the British troops to withdraw. Russia is not at war with Japan, but is interested in the oil of the North. While the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in the South operates some of the world's largest refineries. It is not going to be an easy problem to solve. The British are in Egypt under a twenty-year treaty which was signed in 1936. No one can be sure what will happen when that comes up for renewal. The future of the ~~French~~ Italian colonies in Africa has not yet been decided.

There is no lack of serious problems around the Mediterranean, and there are serious and experienced diplomatic observers here who predict in private, that nations other than France will lose their privileged positions in the Arab world before so very long.

The French bargaining position, so far as Britain is concerned, is not to be found in the Levant, but in France. For British security in any long-term view is impossible without a close working agreement with France. And the French who have lived history and can read maps, and who appear to be moving to the Left politically, know that.

Anglo-French relations have been deteriorating for months, but a serious collision is improbable, simply because it is of vital importance to both countries to prevent it.

What is happening in Europe today is a scramble for power, influence and, in some cases, territory. That should surprise no one. It has happened after wars less destructive, less shattering than this one. A year after the last war ended there were more than half-a-dozen separate wars in progress. Today there is none, in Europe. The absence of violence may be due only to exhaustion, but at least it produces an atmosphere where negotiation is possible. Probably the most important ~~diplomatic~~ element to be found in the confusion of European diplomacy today is this: American and British policy while not always joint, appears to be following parallel lines. There are healthy, and at times heated, discussions about ~~the~~ procedure and policy; but on most of the important issues American and British policy has not diverged. We appear to be in agreement with the British about Trieste, Austria, the Levant, Poland and Tangier; and about the urgency of the early establishment of an Allied Control Commission for Germany. That's a pretty impressive list. If the General Election here should result in a change in government, it would not mean a reversal of British foreign policy. A Labour Government would probably be less tender towards the regal remnants on the Continent, but the broad lines of British policy are dictated by self-interest, geography and tradition, and those will not change.

There was a time when many people here thought that the problem of Germany could be solved by bombing and beating that country into unconditional surrender. But now an increasing number are becoming aware that the problem has not been solved. The German armies have been broken; their cities have been pounded into great mounds of rubble; their transportation system wrecked; probably twenty million of them made homeless; but the Germans -healthy, docile, hard-working- are still there. A great mass of people in the middle of Europe, most of them unrepentant, in the midst of an economic and intellectual desert - and the problem remains: What to do with them? The Russians in their zone appear, from such scanty information as is available, to be treating them with a mixture of brutality and fatherly kindliness. / They have promised to shoot fifty Nazis for every Red soldier who is murdered. At the same time they announce that they will play a football game with a German team selected from a working-class district in Berlin - music to be furnished by a Red Army band. In the British and American zones there is a ban against fraternising; the Germans are offered practically no entertainment; the Western Allies are acting as conquerors who want nothing whatever to do with the German people. But these differences in procedure are, I think, superficial. To concentrate on them is to miss the essential problem. The real question is whether or not any Allied Control Commission - any meeting of the Big Three - can possibly arrive at a common program for Germany. The answer to this depends not upon the personality or the prejudices of the members of the Control Commission or of the Big Three. Marshal Stalin, no less than

Mr. Churchill or Mr. Truman, cannot reverse the principles upon which the nation he represents was constructed and functions. We cannot apply Soviet methods in the American zone, any more than the Russians can demonstrate Democracy (as we understand it) in their zone. The control of information, whether by press or radio, the kind and character of education permitted, must conflict - it cannot be otherwise. They are doing so already.

In order to understand the magnitude of this problem, you must appreciate that over vast areas of Europe, especially Germany, the problem of mere existence - work, food, clothing, houses - will be paramount. Millions of Germans - the best estimate is twenty million - have become proletarians...they have lost everything, their homes, their clothes, their business. That may give them no claim upon world sympathy, but it does create a condition which the world must recognise. They have nothing more to lose.

The Russian zone of occupation has in the past produced more food than it could consume. It exported food to the rest of Germany, to the parts we now occupy. If the Germans in the Russian zone are better fed than those in ours that fact will become known to most Germans.

We and the British control a large proportion of the German industrial plant. If those industries are rehabilitated, their products would enter into competition with our own. On the other hand, the Russians have an almost inexhaustible capacity to absorb

finished products. Therefore there is no ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ economic reason why the factories in the Russian zone cannot be put back to work just as soon as the raw materials can be supplied. Sewing machines made in Germany and sent to Russia will not represent serious competition with the Russian product. Sewing machines made in Germany and sent to Britain or to the United States would compete with our own production.

Something of the same thing is true regarding the Russian satellites. Before the war the standard of living in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania was considerably higher than it was in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union can absorb all of their products. It is unlikely that a major power will permit its satellites to enjoy a higher standard of living than it itself possesses. If that is true then a lowered standard of living for Russia's border states would seem to be inevitable. But we are concerned primarily with this four-way division of Germany. If poverty marches westward - if it becomes easier to secure the bare necessities of existence in the Russian zone - then in the Anglo-American-French zones what will be the result? There might develop a competition in kindness between the Russians and ourselves. And that could easily lead to a more serious competition - whether East or West would be the first to reconstruct and rehabilitate their section of Germany as the major make-weight in the middle of Europe... a development from which only Germany could gain.

This is not idle speculation. It is a matter which engages the attention of everyone who is seriously concerned with the future of Europe. It is a problem which extends from Lubeck to Trieste. And there is no easy, readymade solution. But at the moment there is no shooting going on in Europe, and that condition compared to those that obtained at the end of the last war represents some cause for encouragement.

CBS: LONDON SUNDAY JUNE 10, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Some of you may have had the impression that there are three major Parties engaged in Britain's election campaign, Conservative, Labour and Liberal. That is not the case. The Conservative, or Tory Party has abandoned the traditional name and is conducting its campaign under the name of "National". The posters and the campaign literature say nothing at all about the Conservative Party. The reason for this is that Mr. Churchill's present government contains two outstanding non-Party men - Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Woolton who made his reputation as a first-class Food Minister. The National Liberals have also remained with the Government. So far the campaign is moving rather slowly, ~~and there is no evidence that~~ - most of the talking has been done on the radio, the various Parties being given half-an-hour immediately following the 9 o'clock news. To a neutral observer it would seem that all speakers have demonstrate that half-an-hour is too long for a broadcast political talk. The issues in this campaign are fundamental, but as the argument warms up they will become exaggerated. Put in its simplest form, one of the main points of debate is controls versus no controls. The Labour Party maintains that a considerable measure of control must be continued in order that the nation's resources shall be used in the interests of all. The Right Wing Conservatives, especially Lord Beaverbrook who is master-minding their campaign, say: "Away with all controls - let us return to our traditional freedoms".

But Mr. Churchill, in his Party manifesto issued this morning, promises homes, security, work and food - and the promise of lighter taxes. But he is careful to say in speaking of homes, that prices of materials must be controlled as long as supplies are short. (And they will be short for a long time). So long as there is a shortage of houses, rent control must continue. The Prime Minister proposes a comprehensive health service, but says nothing will be done to destroy the close personal relationship between doctor and patient. The Prime Minister says his Party stands for the removal of controls as quickly as the need for them disappears. But the point is that the need is not going to disappear for some considerable time. Mr. Churchill says the Conservatives will not permit any monkeying with the people's savings; and the Labour leaders reply that the people's savings and their future will be safer in their hands. The Labour Party advocates the nationalisation of certain basic industries, including fuel and power. The Conservatives reply that they don't propose to nationalise anything, but rather to rely upon free enterprise and private initiative. There is no fundamental difference over foreign policy. The best evidence of that is that the Labour Party has not chosen to attack the Government's policy over Syria and the Lebanon. The Conservatives are naturally relying upon Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, their long experience and intimate acquaintance with personalities and problems; while the Labour leaders maintain that Europe is

moving to the Left, and only a Left-Wing British Government can deal with these new forces that are arising on the Continent.

As you will see, the Party differences are fundamental, but the decision at the polls will not be followed by immediate action. This national debate is about an election, not a revolution. The British, whatever their Party, believe in gradualness. If the Conservatives win, they will not be able immediately to abolish all controls, reduce taxes or produce the necessary homes and jobs. On the other hand, if Labour should win they cannot overnight nationalise the coal mines, the power companies and the railroads. Such matters require legislation and Parliamentary debate. And under normal conditions only one major Bill is likely to be passed during any given session of Parliament.

This is not an effort to minimise the importance of the Election. There is a great gap between the social and economic philosophies of the two major Parties.... ~~But I think it is fair to say~~ greater than there is at home. But victory at the polls for either Party will not be followed by immediate, drastic or revolutionary changes in either domestic or foreign policy. Moreover, under the British system the Party that is elected on July 5th is not given power for one year, two years or any other specified length of time. It might very well be turned out of office in a matter of months. And that fact alone makes for caution and gradualness. The fact of the matter is that Britain will be confronted with such a host of domestic and foreign problems that it would be surprising if whatever Party is elected

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~~Thexxxxkixxxxxxxx~~ Britain has more to lose from chaos and uncertainty on the Continent than either the United States or Russia. She lacks the strength for wholly independent action - the Island is too close to the Continent for her to remain aloof from developments there. The happenings of the last week are viewed here without any great enthusiasm. The brief meeting of the four Allied Commanders in Berlin served to emphasize rather than eliminate uncertainty about the future control of Germany. No one is disposed to question the accuracy of the map of the zones of occupation published in Moscow; but the general feeling is that the Russians shouldn't have done it on their own. The zoning of Germany was based upon the assumption that the country would be governed as a unit by the Joint Allied Mission sitting in Berlin. If that is not to happen, then the extension of the Russian zone beyond the Elbe will be viewed here with considerable concern. The difficulty of dealing with the Russians arises not only from mutual suspicion,

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dark, green and strong tea. That and an example was all they had to offer back in the winter of '40-'41. The King saluted them today, and well he might have, for they saved his Crown and Empire.

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19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

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Gone in London - now Back to CBS in NY

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY JUNE 17, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Eighteen days till Britain's General Election - the first in ten years - when the people of this country will choose 640 Members of Parliament. The ancient ceremony ~~by which the dissolution of the House of Commons~~ dissolving the House of Commons has been completed. Already there are cars equipped with loudspeakers summoning the citizens to the various Town Halls and street corners to listen to the candidates. The posters are going up on the sides of blitzed houses, and candidates and their friends are going about from door to door seeking votes. Any candidate who offers a voter so much as a glass of beer, in the hope of securing his vote, is liable to prosecution. That is the law. Every night except Sunday, listeners can hear a twenty or thirty-minute political speech on the radio. Most of the London press has declared its allegiance to one party or the other, with the Conservatives having the majority of the press support. The radio is impartial, but the newspapers are doing more editorialising in their news columns than I can remember in an American Presidential Election. Campaigning in this country is a rather more lively affair than it is at home, for the British retain their fondness for heckling. They are unwilling to sit quietly and listen to a long speech. They will happily interrupt the speaker, no matter how distinguished he may be, and at times a meeting resembles not so much a speech as a fast-moving debate between the speaker and various members of his audience. That happens to Cabinet

Ministers as well as to the youngest candidate. When Lord Beaverbrook says Mr. Brendan Bracken is the greatest First Lord of the Admiralty this country ever had, a sailor in the back of the room shouts: "Does that include Noah?" And when His Lordship asserts that there will be plenty of material for the building of houses, a working man wants to know how much it will cost and where it is coming from. It all serves to relieve the monotony of political speeches, and places a premium on the candidate's ability to think on his feet, and to be ready with the quick, and he hopes crushing retort.

The London Boroughs send sixty members to the House of Commons. But so far here in London there are few indications of Election fever. Most people back from the Continent - its problems and tensions - still find London a quiet, steady, stable place. It seems to me that a lot of the talking done so far has been rather irrelevant, although much of it has dealt with fundamental domestic issues. But everyone here knows that most of what any Party can do at home depends upon conditions abroad. And the news from Europe tells of one crisis after another.....crises in which British policy may not be decisive, but where it is bound to be important. Many people are only gradually coming to realise the material and moral destruction done by the war. It had been assumed that foreign policy would not play any considerable part in this Election. But something happened last week to alter all that.

It is important for us to understand exactly what did happen, because American representatives will soon be sitting with those of Britain and Russia in delicate and perhaps decisive negotiations. This is what happened. Mr. Churchill invited Mr. Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour Party, to go with him to the meeting of the Big Three, which is to be held next month somewhere in the vicinity of Berlin. Professor Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labour Party, said that if Mr. Attlee went he ought to go in the role of an observer only; that the Labour Party could not be committed to any decisions arrived at, because Labour's foreign policy in many respects will not be continuous with that of the Conservatives. In other words, Mr. Laski said that Labour could not accept responsibility for decisions taken by Mr. Churchill at the Three Power meeting.

Now, Mr. Churchill, in his letter inviting Mr. Attlee to go along, said that his government must of course bear the responsibility for all decisions. He wanted Mr. Attlee as a friend and counsellor, and agreed that he would have no official responsibility. Mr. Attlee replied that he had consulted his principal colleagues in the House of Commons, and that he'd be glad to go. And he said that there was never any suggestion that he should go as a mere observer. And he added that he didn't think there would be any serious difference between Mr. Churchill and himself as to the broad lines of British policy. Professor Laski then said that was all right with him. He just wanted to be sure that the responsibility was Mr. Churchill's responsibility; and he also wanted to be sure that if Labour won

this Election it wouldn't be saddled with any commitments Mr. Churchill may make that supports either a body of decaying monarchies on the one hand, or a body of dubious privileges on the other.

It is clear that under British Constitutional procedure Mr. Churchill, as Prime Minister and head of the Government, must accept the responsibility; he cannot share it with Mr. Attlee. It is also clear that Mr. Attlee cannot make binding commitments on behalf of a ~~Party~~ Labour government which does not yet exist. He can, however, counsel with Mr. Churchill and advise him regarding points which might be rejected if the Labour Party wins this Election. That is exactly what is going to happen. The real question is whether the Labour Party, if elected, might be expected to repudiate agreements reached. That is unlikely to happen. As a matter of fact, the broad lines of British foreign policy are largely determined by geography and self-interest; although it would be a mistake to assume that ~~Labour, if elected~~ a Labour victory would bring no change in British foreign policy. More and more Britain will be called upon, or perhaps I should say tempted, to use her influence in support of the Right or the Left in half-a-dozen European countries. The outcome of this Election will determine whether ~~the Left Wing element~~ British influence in Western Europe can be regarded as an asset to the Right or the Left. Last night Labour began attacking the Conservative record in the ~~foreign field~~ field of foreign affairs. They will find it an attractive target. They will go back to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Munich and especially the

failure of Mr. Chamberlain's government to reach an agreement with Russia. But the real basis of Labour's case in the field of foreign policy was summed up by Mr. Ernest Bevin, when he said that Europe was moving to the Left, that Left understood Left, and that therefore Britain needed a Left Wing government.

There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Churchill is carrying the load for the Conservatives, maintaining that he is indispensible. Labour replies, perhaps he was, but is no longer. And they are also asking why, if he is such a great man, did the Conservative Party allow him to wander in the political wilderness for ten years until disaster threatened?

A great deal can happen between now and July 5th, but the best estimate I can obtain at this stage of the campaign is that the Conservatives will be returned to office with a greatly reduced but workable majority. And I ought to add that those estimates, because of the peculiar circumstances surrounding this campaign, should not be taken too seriously. Even the old-timers who have spent a lifetime in British politics confess that this is an Election where it is almost impossible to forecast the outcome. There is, however, widespread agreement that whichever Party wins it is unlikely to remain in office for more than two years. That assumption is certainly an admission of the political and economic uncertainties that exist in Britain and on the Continent.

As viewed from London those difficulties are formidable enough right now. The Anglo-French ~~xxxx~~ crisis over the Levant becomes more awkward and acute. Britain has rejected General de Gaulle's proposal for a Five-Power Conference - the deadlock continues, while the irritation increases on both sides. The British have no desire to see Russia associated with the solution of Middle Eastern problems.

In the economic desert that was Italy, the search for a leader and a government continues.

The crisis in Belgium has become acute. The Cabinet has resigned; and it is feared that if King Leopold returns the result may be serious disorder. The Belgian Socialists, Communists and Labour Unions all passed resolutions urging the King to abdicate. The Liberals were divided, and the Catholics - except for the Left Wing minority - favoured King Leopold's return.

According to information reaching London there is disagreement in the Czechoslovak Government about the expulsion of some two million Germans from the Sudetenland. President Benes has asked for caution and calm, but some of his more radical ministers have been urging the immediate deportation of all Germans~~, and Hungarians~~ and the expropriation of property held by Hungarians and collaborationists. President Benes has said that the German question will be solved in agreement with the Big Three; ~~but the Czech Prime Minister~~ but members of his government have said that they have the support of the Russians in flinging the Germans out of the Sudetenland.

London's attitude is that no agreement has been reached about mass deportations on such a scale, and that it is a matter to be decided by the Big Three. Meanwhile the Germans are moving out with what they can carry with them.

The Polish situation has improved slightly, or at least it has gone back to where it was immediately after the Yalta agreement. ~~Mr.xMikolaicyk~~ Mr. Mikolaicyk, leader of the moderate group of Poles in London, has arrived in Moscow. He is accompanied only by Mr. Stanczyk, formerly President of the Polish Miners' Union, who disagrees with the Polish Government in London. The Lublin Poles and the representatives of the Polish underground were already in Moscow. It is not clear whether the conference aims at reaching agreement on principles or on personalities. No one knows who in Poland has the authority to appoint a new government. The conference opens at the same time as the beginning of the trial on the sixteen Poles who were arrested in March. Some of the men to be tried were originally nominated by the Western Allies as members of ~~the~~ a representative Polish government. Broadcasts from Lublin are asking Poles in the West to come home, while broadcasts arranged by the London Polish government tell them to stay where they are. It is much too early to assume that anything approaching a solution of the Polish question has been reached. The only thing that has happened is that a fairly representative group has agreed to sit down and, in an atmosphere charged with mutual suspicion, discuss the possibility of reaching some solution.

But in the centre of all these problems and crises lies the big one - Germany. There has been no published agreement regarding a unified policy for transport, food, manpower, or information. Is Germany to be destroyed as a single, centralized state? Is it to be split up into zones of influence? What is to happen to Germany's industrial plant? Is it to be destroyed, removed or controlled? The ban on politics remains in the Western zones but not in the Russian. The Russian-controlled radio holds out hope that the Germans, with the Nazis eliminated, may one day with the help of the Soviet Union return to the World of Nations. In the British and American zones nothing is said about the future.

If to these problems you add India, Burma and the Malay archipelago, plus the need for houses, food and work in Britain, you may be able the better to understand why opinion here is inclined to give whatever government is elected two years before it makes sufficient mistakes to cause it to be turned out of office.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY JUNE 24, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: I suppose there are more barometers in Britain than in any other country in the world. You will find them in city apartments, clubs and country houses. They are an essential instrument, for they are supposed to indicate with some accuracy, the trend of the weather. Elderly gentlemen particularly are fond of tapping the glass and making wise remarks - but in recent years most people have come to rely upon the radio and the weather forecasts prepared by the Air Ministry. Since the end of the war something seems to have gone wrong. We are promised rain in the morning and sun in the afternoon, and what we get is just the reverse. The barometer may rise steadily, and still it rains. The weather forecasters are under fire; there are letters in the papers asking if the ~~meteorologists~~ meteorologists learned nothing during the war. But for the last three days we have had clear, warm weather, and the barometer is rising in more ways than one.

The temperature of domestic politics is mounting too, but we will come to that in a minute. It's the indications of fairer weather in the field of foreign relations ~~from which Londoners~~ which please Londoners on this quiet, sunny Sunday. The general impression created by the incomplete reports of the Moscow trials is that the Polish leaders had full opportunity to defend themselves, and that the trials were conducted in the full light of world opinion. The accused Poles were suspicious of Russian intentions regarding Poland. That suspicion was shared by a

considerable number of people here. The fact that the Polish defendants asserted that some of their suspicions were unfounded has naturally served to dissipate some of the apprehension that had been felt in British circles. The British press and radio has been restrained in its comment regarding the trials, but there has been no criticism.

As you know the British government has welcomed the formation of the new Polish Government. Particular emphasis is placed here upon the fact that it resulted from agreement amongst the Poles, and not from pressure by any of the Allies. As soon as the new government pledges itself to free and unfettered elections conducted by secret ballot, it will be recognised by Great Britain. This will be something more than the usual formal diplomatic recognition. It will influence the lives and futures of well over a million Poles who are outside Poland. For when the new government is recognised, the London government will no longer have any legal existence. None of the Polish leaders who went from London to Moscow represented in any sense the London government. They were invited as individuals, and as such they decided to join the Lublin government. When the London government ceases to exist, as it will shortly, there will arise many problems. There are between seven and nine hundred thousand Polish civilians in Western Europe, most of them displaced persons or slave labour. Most of them - some estimates put it as high as 90 percent - do not wish to return to a Poland which they fear will be dominated

by Russia. The London Polish government has under its command well over two hundred thousand troops and a considerable air force. There are still a small number of Polish warships under the orders of the London government. There are merchant ships, too, and in addition to that there is the question of the disposition of the Polish gold reserve. Those Polish service men who do not desire to return to Poland will probably be given British citizenship, if they want it. No one knows what is to happen to the civilians. Most of them have been subjected to anti-Russian propaganda for many years, by their own government before the war began, then by the Germans, and then to a considerable extent by their government in exile here in London. Their willingness to return to Poland will probably depend upon how many of them can be persuaded that this new government is in fact free and independent, and that Poland will be allowed to run her own show. British opinion is unlikely to tolerate the forceful repatriation of Poles who don't want to go home. The end of the Polish government in London will conclude a process which had been predicted by most political observers for the last four years, namely that no government in exile would long survive the liberation of its country. In Norway, Holland, Belgium and France you will find only one or two London Cabinet Ministers remaining in office.

There are other signs which cause the British to believe that the international weather is improving. There is no excitement about the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference, but the fact

that it didn't break down is in itself considered a minor achievement. The forthcoming meeting of the Big Three is anxiously awaited, but the experience of similar meetings causes people to remember that not all of Europe's problems can be settled by three men sitting round a table. There is one encouraging and, so far as I know, unpublished fact. The European Advisory Commission here in London has agreed that so far as food and transport are concerned, Germany will be treated as a single unit. This means that the movement of food and raw materials between the three zones will be possible - that such industries as are permitted to operate in one zone will not be starved for raw material, and the people who live in industrial areas can receive food from the agricultural districts. This agreement may not be announced until the meeting of the Big Three; it might be amended or even cancelled. But the fact that it has been reached is of the utmost importance, because it means that Germany will not be administered in three economic, watertight compartments. If it should become possible for us to move correspondents with some freedom in Eastern Europe, that might do something to promote a mutual understanding of existing problems. It would be pleasant to contemplate covering the first national election in Poland, for instance. Such reporting by impartial observers might even supply the Poles outside the country with some information upon which they could base their decision about going home.

There is certainly no difficulty about covering this election here in Britain. It's easy enough to get access to information

and people. Reaching conclusions about the political trend is not so easy. As the campaign progresses both major Parties become more extreme. The thing began with a sort of "Who killed Cock Robin?" argument, or "Who is responsible for forcing the election at this time - when there was no apparent public demand for it?" That stage is now past, the honours in the argument being about even. The things which this election is not about have now become reasonably clear. It is not about the continuation, with all vigour, of the war against Japan. It is not about the Beveridge Plan or Social Insurance. It is not about the major lines of foreign policy.... good relations with America, with Russia, collective security, keeping Germany disarmed. On all of these things the major Parties agree. But the election is about controls, although this issue has been exaggrrated by both sides. The Conservatives say: "Elect us, and we will eliminate all controls as soon as they become unnecessary". But they don't say when that is likely to be. Some of the more reactionary Conservatives content themselves with just saying "eliminate all controls". That, of course, if done immediately, would mean economic anarchy. Labour says: "We must continue controls in order to build houses, provide jobs and arrange the fair distribution of raw materials."

This election is also about nationalisation. Labout says: "We will nationalise the mines, transportation, power and steel". The Tories reply: "We believe in free enterprise - will nationalise nothing - and if you elect these Labour chaps they'll nationalise everything, and order you about". Of course, it's clear that

Labour can't nationalise everything, any more than the Tories can eliminate controls, all at once. No one has yet said anything about grass growing in the streets. But the workers have been warned by Labour that they will be back on the dole if they vote Conservative, while the Conservatives paint a gloomy picture of savings withering away and personal freedom lost if Labour is elected.

It seems to this reporter that the electorate is evidencing considerable apathy; but it's very difficult to tell about that, for these people showed no signs of excitement at the outbreak of war or during the Blitz. They realised the seriousness of the situation all right, but didn't show it. Maybe the same thing is true now.

It seemes to me that the Conservatives are in some danger of waging a negative battle. The Conservative press, led by Lord Beaverbrook's publications, ~~xxx~~ have discovered Professor Harold Laski, and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. They are trying to create the impression that Laski is lurking behind the whole Party - is in fact the Dictator, determined to employ violence if persuasion fails. (That is nonsense) Certain Conservative newspapers are predicting that the Income Tax, Sales Tax and the Excess Profits Tax may be reduced, if Mr. Churchill's government is returned to power. The Prime Minister has already made three broadcasts, and will do one more before the campaign ends. Starting tomorrow he is undertaking a thousand-mile speaking tour, which is a strenuous effort for a man of seventy, and may be an indication that his broadcasts have not been as

successful as the Party managers had hoped.

There is no doubt that the Conservative Party enjoys one great advantage in this battle. It is better disciplined than Labour. It is also more experienced and no better financed. The divisions inside the Labour Party, for example between Laski and Mr. Attlee, the Leader of the Party, are real and a matter of public knowledge. There are also divisions in the Conservative Party, as between Lord Beaverbrook and some of the more reserved and restrained members of the Party. But these ~~differences~~ Conservative differences are strictly inside the Party.

Campaigning over here is more strenuous than it is at home. Constituencies are small, particularly in London. I know one candidate who has already knocked on the door of more than three thousand houses. His local Party manager lost the skin off his knuckles, not from fighting but from pushing campaign literature through letter-boxes.

Over here there is no direct vote for Prime Minister. You can vote only for the man who is to represent you in the House of Commons. It's as though an elector in Oregon could cast just one vote for a Senator, Representative, President and Vice-President. There is no such thing as splitting a ticket, and the result is that each vote is a vote for a Party in the House of Commons. In some constituencies there are four or five candidates - Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Commonwealth, Communist and Independent. For

example, Mr. Churchill, who is contesting a constituency called Woodford, is bound to be re-elected as a Member of Parliament because nobody is opposing him. But unless his Party gets a majority he won't be Prime Minister. As contrasted with the complex election there is one in Bristol where Sir Stafford Cripps, Left-wing Labour - so Left-wing that he was once thrown out of the Party - is opposing a Conservative lawyer whose reputation is to a considerable extent based upon his ability at riding to hounds - the hounds of course chasing a fox! But most of the contests aren't that simple. The informed betting - if there is such a thing - continues to favour a Conservative majority, although not as large as the one they now have. It seems to me that this British election doesn't vary much in ethics or oratory from an American election. It is essentially a demonstration ~~of the citizen's right to be wrong~~ that the citizen has a right to be wrong. —

The character is rising but there are stone warings too - The Quart. — Frontier not settled but footsoldiers - Forecast - Unsettled but promising — Predictions wrong. —

This is London.....Allied troopss are now repairing certain buildings in Potsdam for the big three conference. The British delegation including Mr Churchill and Mr Atlee will leave London for Potsdam about the middle of July.

...Field Marshall Smuts has reached England and iss spending the week end with Mr Churchill in the country.

CBS: LONDON, SUNDAY JULY 1, 1945.
19.45-20.00 DBST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS [redacted]: One of Mr. Churchill's favourite stories of the Blitz is of the old lady who said to him: "There is one thing about these 'ere bombs - they do help to take your mind off the war!" Something of the same thing might be said of the bombardment of words to which the British electorate has been subjected during the last few weeks. The barrage of broadcasts, speeches and pamphlets have done something to take the elector's mind off the fundamental issues. Thursday of this week is polling day, but the votes will not be counted until July 26th. The delay is occasioned by the time required to receive and count the votes of the troops serving overseas. It looks like being a heavy poll, probably as much as 80 percent of those registered. The radio campaign is finished. Mr. Churchill had the last word for the Conservatives last night. The broadcasts were all twenty to thirty minutes in length - no songs, poems, dramatizations or tricks were used. It was straight talk by the well-known Party leaders - all professional politicians - no young man or woman back from the wars was selected as a Party spokesman. These political broadcasts were given at a peak listening period, 9.15 in the evening - that was the time when the B.B.C. used to broadcast its reports from the battlefront, and eye-witness accounts of the days events. Almost as many people have listened to the political speeches as listened to the war reports. That is eloquent testimony to the interest in the election.

You will have heard that the British have lost some of their courtesy and native good manners in the course of the campaign. That is true only in a very limited sense. Some of the newspapers have been playing the traditional trick with photographs - the one where the Opposition candidate always seems to look like a thug or a moron - while the man the paper supports looks twenty years younger than he is, and seems to combine the character and courage required of a born leader. But a considerable section of the press has been sober and restrained. There have been a few professional hecklers and rowdies who have attempted to break up meetings, but so far as I know these incidents have been isolated, and the police haven't had very much work to do. The other night someone did throw a milk bottle through a window of Mr. Brendan Bracken's car as he was leaving a political rally. No one was hurt. This incident caused one elderly gentleman to remark: "A milk bottle - shows you the sorry state this country has reached when people must throw milk bottles!" He added the information that fifty years ago campaigns involved free drinks, free fights and lusty language. There doesn't seem to be any danger that rowdies or reckless journalism will prevent the voter from making up his mind on Thursday. The weight of the newspaper support is behind the Conservative Party, but the Labour leaders are disposed to discount the effect of newspaper opposition (just as President Roosevelt did.)

It is agreed by all Parties that the outcome of this election will profoundly influence events in this country and in Europe.

Remember, it is the first free election in a major European power since 1938. The issues have become somewhat obscured by rhetoric and deliberate diversionary tactics. There have been the usual number of stunts and tricks. None of them appear to have met with any considerable success. ~~Ixshouldxlix~~

I should like to try to ~~explainx~~ set forth the fundamental issues involved in this ~~xxx~~ election. They are not simple. My only qualification for attempting such a formidable task is a fair amount of first-hand experience with British political affairs during the last ten years, plus the personal acquaintance of many of the leaders of all three major Parties.

To understand the present position you must go back to 1940 when the famous Churchill Coalition Government was formed. All Parties joined forces because the nation was in dire peril, and they all agreed that the war must be fought, whatever the cost to persons or political policy. ~~Theyxallxagreedx~~ They agreed on a joint Cabinet and a joint policy for the conduct of the war. But that was all. They didn't agree about anything that carried them beyond the end of the war with Germany. That war ended; the purpose for which the Coalition had been created was achieved, and it broke up. Now there has been much argument, trying to assign responsibility for the dissolution. Some of the details are not yet clear. But what is clear is that neither Party was wholly responsible - it was a matter of politicians seeking political power and Party advantage, (which of course in any Democracy they have the right to do.) So the debate about who killed the Coalition is not relevant to the basic

issues involved. Not even the personality of Mr. Churchill can be said to be at the very heart of this great national debate. He is, of course, the greatest single asset of the Conservative Party, and they would have slight chance of winning without him. But to find the nub of the whole business one must search Party platforms, Party history, and above everything else give full regard to the position in which Britain now finds herself. She is the weakest of the Big Three; she is strategically the most vulnerable; and she is confronted with a falling birthrate, an industrial plant that is obsolete, a great shortage of houses and consumer goods, a reduced merchant marine; and in addition to this her overseas investments are largely gone, and her chances of recapturing foreign markets uncertain. So the question is: Which system - free enterprise under the Conservative Party - or Socialism under the Labour Party - gives the greatest promise of putting these things right?

The other day Sir William Beveridge, a Liberal, said his Party was fighting for the three things most wanted by every man and woman in the country - lasting peace and the abolition of war; a Britain in which everyone who wanted a chance of working and earning got it; and an insured income for everyone who could not work. Now all three Parties would agree with that definition of objectives. The question is how is it going to be secured? The real problem is, who is going to organize, or perhaps reorganize the industrial capacity of Great Britain? Who is going to build the houses? - and remember that whichever Party wins there will still be a few thousand

people living in air raid shelters in London next winter. Not ten percent of the millions who have married in Britain during the war have homes. Labour says it will control the prices of steel, cement and brick, build houses quickly and cheaply. The Conservatives say they will: "beat down any barriers to a proper housing program." All Parties say: "There will be no more lines of unemployed waiting for the dole". And Labour adds that if it is necessary to control or restrict private enterprise in order to achieve that end, then they will do it. This election is not about Professor Laski, or the power of the Labour Party Executive Committee. It is about who is to conduct Britain's business. It isn't about a Gestapo, or the endangering of small savings. Those are electioneering stunts, useful perhaps in gaining votes but that's all.

The election isn't really a contest between complete nationalisation of industry and completely free enterprise. The Conservatives agree that it may be necessary to nationalise some industries. They want to do it on what they regard as the merits of each case. So the argument is not really about the direction of change; it is about the rate of change. Historically, when substantial groups in the state have differed about the direction of change, the result has been revolution. But when they have differed about the rate, the speed of change, the result has generally been progress by persuasion. This argument revolves around the question: which system, private enterprise or socialism, will provide Britain, in the special circumstances in which she finds herself, with the best chance of

feeding her people, and of feeding her factories with the necessary raw materials (which must be imported from outside?) The decision on this point must inevitably affect British foreign policy. The Conservatives have placed much emphasis upon the experience and unique knowledge of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden in this field. Last night, in his final broadcast appeal, Mr. Churchill, asking for a clearcut Conservative majority, implied that unless this were granted Britain's voice in world councils would be confused and unclear; that the nation might become a second-rate power. The Labour reply to this is that international relations are not conducted - at least not successfully conducted - on the basis of first names and back-slapping. Rebuttal - Mr. Morrison said the other night that Britain's position at any conference table depended upon power and principle; that if Britain was weak industrially, if her mines, her factories, her industrial research were unable to support a given policy, if her people were ill fed - poorly housed - then other nations would recognise that fact, and Britain would of necessity speak with a small voice. This campaign has not produced much argument about foreign policy. But British policy, especially regarding Germany will be powerfully influenced by the outcome of the election. Whether you regard the revival of trade unions in Germany as a good or bad thing, it is certain that a Labour government in this country would not, and could not, authorise their suppression in the British zone of occupation. So far there has been very little illumination of British foreign policy in this campaign. No one knows whether Conservatives or Labour favour a bloc of

Western European powers as advocated by General Smuts. The formal agreement about foreign policy is almost complete: pursuance of the war against Japan; suppression of Germany; collective security - there is no debate about any of these matters. But it is obvious to anyone that a Labour victory would mean increased British support for Left Wing governments on the Continent.

It may seem surprising to find men who up to a few weeks ago were working in close harmony now engaging in the business of name-calling within the limits allowed by the laws of libel. That has happened because there is an honest difference of opinion between them about the future policy to be pursued by this country. To a neutral observer one of the most interesting things about this election is that the outcome will be determined, not by faithful Party men but by those who have never before marked a ballot in a National Election. That is why the campaign managers are having so much difficulty in assessing the prospects of their Parties. Today you can get seven to five on a Conservative majority, but the betting is not heavy. Mr. Churchill's tour through the Midlands and the North was undoubtedly a great success. But he avoided the areas that are strongly Labour, just as an American ~~Presidential candidate~~ Republican candidate might decline to waste time by speaking in the Southern states. The Prime Minister made no major political speech during his thousand-mile tour, but there is no doubt that his popular acclaim in the doubtful constituencies worries the Labour leaders. Starting tomorrow the Prime Minister will ~~make an intensive~~ travel through the London boroughs. It will be a strenuous three days

during which he will meet and speak for most of the Conservative candidates. London sends sixty members to the House of Commons. It is roughly the equivalent of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The Prime Minister's decision to devote three days of arduous campaigning to the London boroughs indicates that the ~~Labour~~ Conservative Party does not consider the outcome a foregone conclusion.

I should think that the Conservatives will win this election with a small, but workable majority. But somehow the outcome seems less important than the fact that the Election is being held. Elections have been out of favour in Europe for several years. This one, held in a great, but imperfect Democracy, may be an example which will cause others in Europe to want to emulate it. It isn't a political campaign that is either pretty or perfect. Whoever wins will not lack for problems. But it is enormously exciting to see applied, even in a small island, the principles for which a terrible war was fought.

This is Eppus in London —
Now Back to C.B.S in N.Y.

~~INSERTX~~

INSERT:

Mr. Attlee, ~~the~~ Britain's Prime Minister, and Mr. Bevin are back in Potsdam. There is no news from there, ~~other than that~~ except that I believe that one of the principal negotiators has stated that his country ~~propexex~~ will go to war with Japan - and soon.*

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY JULY 29, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: About the beginning of this century Rudyard Kipling wrote a bit of verse which went: "Helmet and armour disappeared, with sword and bow and pike; and when the smoke of battle cleared, all men were armed alike". That is what happened in Britain's General Election. Each citizen was armed with a single ballot - the European war was over - there was no debate about the pursuance of the war against Japan with all vigour; - and the citizens used their ballots in a manner that startled everyone, including the leaders of all Parties.

This is no time for a post mortem on Party tactics, for it is clear that the result could not have been altered by changes in Party policy or personalities. The Election which gave the Labour Party an overwhelming majority, which annihilated the Liberal Party, was not merely a swing of the pendulum. It was not a delayed-action vote against Munich or the failure of the Conservative Party to re-arm the country. It was not even the irritability of a tired electorate and an expression of its desire for change. It represents a fundamental change in the political thinking of this country. The nation's gratitude to Mr. Churchill was, and will continue, to be displayed at public meetings; but his services to the State, were not sufficient to sustain his Party at the ballot box. This Election reflects a great change in the social and economic structure of the country, when Conservative strongholds such as Dulwich, Birmingham, Norfolk and many

agricultural constituencies are won by Labour; and when an unknown man, without support from any Party, can poll ten thousand votes against Mr. Churchill in his own constituency, the lesson is clear. The lower middle class have deserted the Conservatives; Socialism has become respectable; and a majority of the people have lost faith in the traditional social and economic structure of the country. They are prepared to welcome change, and they have lost much of their fear of State interference in the life of the individual.

The decisive defeat of the Liberal Party may be taken as proof that there is no widespread demand for a middle ground between Conservatism and Socialism. The lines have been clearly drawn, the will of the people freely expressed, and Britain embarks upon a new adventure with a Socialist government in complete control. Their majority is so absolute that they cannot use the need for compromise as an excuse for failing to carry out their stated policy. They are committed to public ownership - the nationalisation - of four major industries. The coal industry, as well as light and power, are to be run as an integrated service under which electricity will be available at a flat rate to everyone in the Island. The railways and all forms of domestic transport are to be taken over by the Government. The iron and steel industry will be run as a public corporation, and prices will be strictly controlled. The Bank of England will become a State ~~institution~~ institution controlled by the government. Do not expect any of these things to happen overnight. There is to be no confiscation;

stockholders will be compensated, and the necessary legislation must be passed through the House of Commons. That will all take time and much debate. Labour will meet its first test on the matter of housing. The new government will probably declare that houses are a national emergency; a huge government housing loan will be floated at probably no more than two percent interest, as compared with the four to six percent now being paid by individuals and municipal authorities.

Labour has inherited about as fine a set of problems as ever confronted a British government. Much of the country's industrial plant is obsolete. That is especially true of coal, steel and the cotton mills. Workers must soon be re-assigned from aircraft and armament plants to those industries. The industries can't afford to pay wartime wages without raising the price of the product, and if they raise the price, how are they then to compete in the world market - and remember this country must export if it is to live. For some time there will be more work than workers, but that is a temporary state of affairs and its continuance depends upon whether Britain can compete in world markets.

So far there has been no indication that big business proposes to "gang up" on the new government. The stock markets have declined slightly but not sensationally. Any alterations in British tariffs, or in the matter of Empire preference will come about as a result of international agreement, and not by the single-handed action of the Labour Government.

In the field of foreign affairs sensational changes are unlikely. A political revolution by consent, such as this one, does not alter geography or national self-interest. Mr. Bevin, the new Foreign Minister, has had most of his diplomatic experience in the field of Labour Union disputes, but he, as well as Attlee and Morrison have known and supported British foreign policy for the past five years. Mr. Bevin has promised that the India Office will be shut up and its work transferred to India, but no Labour leader has suggested that India would be offered proposals more generous than those presented by Sir Stafford Cripps. Changes in foreign policy are unlikely to affect agreements reached at San Francisco or at Potsdam. So far as I can learn Mr. Attlee did not go back to Potsdam desiring to overthrow or alter agreements reached while Mr. Churchill was still Prime Minister. It is clear, however, that this Labour government will be more likely to support the revival of trade unions in Germany, and the early establishment of anti-Fascist political Parties. There is nothing in the statements of Labour leaders to indicate that they will favour a soft peace for Germany. But they have made it abundantly clear that they will offer no support to the reactionary groups in the smaller nations. Some observers here are already worried lest the Labour victory be regarded as a green light - an assurance of support - by some of the more Left Wing elements in Greece, Italy and Belgium.

There will certainly be a gradual change in British foreign policy, and in the personnel conducting it. But foreign policy

was not an issue in the campaign, and changes are likely to be gradual indeed. Mr. Attlee, like Mr. Churchill, has no desire to be known to history as the Minister who presided over the liquidation of the British Empire. Labour won this Election primarily on domestic issues, and it is safe to assume that the new government will address itself first to the business of providing houses, jobs and food. Labour persuaded the country that the government must plan as comprehensively for peace as it did for war - that control of prices and basic industries was necessary in order that the individual might share more equally in the prosperity of the State. The legislation required to realise this program must be passed through the House of Commons. It will all be subject to the same Parliamentary and legal rules as applied before the ballots were counted. The Labour majority will not be particularly well disciplined. It is made up of a great many lawyers, journalists and young men back from the wars who have no official allegiance to the Labour Unions which have traditionally formed the backbone and provided the financial support for the Labour Party. They will be impatient, young and inexperienced. The old line Labour leaders will have their troubles maintaining discipline inside the Party. They may also have some trouble with the House of Lords. The House of Lords is made up of men who sit there by hereditary right, by virtue of their official position - such as Bishops - or because the King has created him a peer. This body, which is not elected, may hold up a finance Bill for thirty days; but any other piece of legislation may be delayed by the House of Lords for more than two years. For example, if the House of

Commons should pass a bill socialising all medical services in Britain, the House of Lords might delay its becoming law for at least two years. Of course, if that should happen Mr. Attlee could tell the King to create another 50 or 100 Labour peers, so that the Bill would pass through the House of Lords. It's all very complicated and may create some Constitutional controversy, but there is nothing to prevent the House of Commons from imposing its will upon the House of Lords. The members of the House of Lords know that, of course, so there is unlikely to be any head-on collision, at least in the early stages.

It is always dangerous to draw parallels, particularly when democratic procedure varies as much as it does between Britain and the United States, but it seems to me that this Labour government will be starting a New Deal for Britain which will move considerably to the Left of the final position reached by our own New Deal. The men who will be running this Labour government are, on the whole, sincere, honest and moderate. Their background, their attitudes are perhaps nearer to those of Andrew Jackson than to those of Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Churchill. They will have no difficulty in forming a government which compares favourably in terms of experience and knowledge of domestic affairs with the governments that have ruled this country during recent decades. The leading Cabinet Ministers played a significant part in the government which defended democracy alone for a full year. Most of the members of this new government - indeed all of them - are surprised by the extent of the victory they have won.

There is not one who is reluctant to praise Mr. Churchill's wartime leadership; and not one who fails to realise that history will speak more eloquently than any contemporary can of his services to the cause of freedom here and elsewhere. There is no dispute about the continuation of the war with Japan, and none about the need for closer relations with Russia and the United States. But the result of this Election has reversed the trend of transatlantic speculation. Our own country is now the last major stronghold of our brand of free enterprise and relatively unrestricted Capitalism. Britain has made her choice, whether we agree with it or not, and the margin of choice has been decisive. British business, diplomats and ordinary citizens must accept it. The outcome had been a matter of speculation for months. Now it has been decided. Britain is no longer a source of hope for the forces of reaction on the Continent..... The British ship of State is, on the basis of all precedent, on a long tack to the Left - driven by the winds of change that reach here from a Continent which is also drifting to the Left. And the field of speculation, now as during the past few years, is America and her policy. Will this British declaration cause us to believe that Democracy has departed from the Island which defended it so valiantly, and that all Europe is lost to hope? Or will we recognise that special conditions, economic and geographic, imposed the necessity of decisions that are more drastic than we at this moment would choose to contemplate? Economically and ideologically it would seem that America is nearer to being isolated than ever before. We are at the same

time the world's greatest military and economic power. As one who had some acquaintance with those who conducted the wartime coalition, and with those who will direct the destinies of the Labour government, this reporter is able to suggest only, that it might be a good idea to wait until we see what these new governments in Europe, including the British, really do before deciding that all is black or all is white.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY AUGUST 5, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

THIS IS LONDON: This is Britain's long mid-summer week-end - known as August Bank Holiday. Already we have had two days of sunshine, and it seems that the sun is more effective than bombs in [redacted] causing people to leave London. About a million have gone, and [redacted] thousands of people have been sleeping on the beaches [redacted] Brighton and Blackpool. The problems of food and transport are so acute that you need to be in good condition to survive even a brief holiday in England these days. Of course it's the sun that has done it. I am convinced that two months of sunshine each year would alter profoundly British character and attitudes. The weather seems even to have influenced those who write and talk about politics and international affairs. There is a certain tolerance, amounting almost to indifference, about recent events. It is as though the whole country had said: "Let's soak up a little sunshine and put off regard for reality until the holiday is over, and it begins to rain again".

Mr. Attlee has completed the formation of his new Labour Government. The principal posts were given to men of experience - as a reward for faithful Party activity. Most of the British press, including the Conservative papers, are fond of the use of sporting terms in connection with politics, and the new government is generally termed "a pretty good team". The surprises came when the Junior Ministers - the Number Two men - were named. Here Mr. Attlee has fulfilled his promise - has given opportunity to young men of little or no experience. The civil Lord of the

Admiralty was an ordinary Seaman - a stoker - until he was elected to Parliament two years ago. British miners are well represented, there are fifteen of them in the new government - five with Cabinet rank. ~~The new War Minister, the Minister of Information, and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour were all miners.~~ ~~Wing-Commander John Strachey is the new Under Secretary for Air.~~ He is one of the Labour ~~intellectuals and has written a number of~~ books ~~on Socialism.~~ ~~Hexixxanxahlexdebatexx~~ No one can predict how these younger men will survive the storms in the House of Commons, but this new government does follow a definite pattern. It seems likely that the various departments will be grouped under strong senior Ministers, thus Mr. Attlee will exercise general supervision over Defence and Supply matters. Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Minister, over Foreign Affairs including the Dominions and Colonial Offices; while Herbert Morrison and Sir Stafford Cripps will be the strong men in domestic affairs, exercising influence over housing, health and the increased control of industry. This does not mean that the various departments will lose their identity; but it may produce less inter-departmental friction and confusion. The whole Labour Party program will be presented to the House of Commons ~~in the King's speech~~ on August 15th. ~~Of course, the King doesn't write the speech - it's written by the Government - the King is merely asked to say what his Ministers have decided to do.~~ When that announcement is made first priority will go to the war against Japan; after that will come the national housing program; the nationalisation of the mines; the

control of steel and power, and the Bank of England.

This Labour Government, in spite of its large majority, is not likely to enjoy as long a honeymoon as is generally granted to new administrations at home. Their problems are not only numerous but very complex. For instance, nationalising the coal mines or the steel industry is no guarantee of increased output. What is needed for that is new machinery, new equipment - the modernisation of an industrial plant that has fallen far behind the rest of the world. Many members of the Labour Party are determined that any increased output shall result immediately in improved wages and better working conditions. How then is the plant to be modernized without outside financing? How is the balance to be struck between the Labour unions' demand for better wages, and the urgent necessity of modernising industrial plant and equipment, so that British products can compete in world markets? And they have got to compete somehow - at least that's one thing on which the Socialists and the Conservatives agree. The whole question of trading with the rest of the world is one of the major problems confronting this government. In Russia the State will do the trading; in America ~~you~~ it will ~~can~~ be private firms; in Britain it will be a combination of the two, for this country is moving towards increased internal controls which will make it more difficult ~~for it to permit free~~ if not impossible for it to permit free private enterprise in international trading. This government said during

the course of the campaign that it would not give up Exchange Control, price fixing, bulk purchase, and ~~the establishment~~ it proposed international controls for the purchase of raw materials. Can Britain continue to do business with a ~~free~~ private enterprise America; or must she deal primarily with nations that are either weaker, or that have ~~similar~~ domestic economic structures similar to her own? Or to put it another way: can a national economy be State controlled inside the country, and operate freely outside of it? We are now getting into the stratosphere of economics. I don't pretend to know the answers. The economists of my acquaintance do not agree; but I do know that this whole question is one that is engaging the serious attention of Britain's new government. It is all part of the dilemma, political and economic, that faces this country. I believe that nations want pretty much the same thing as the individual - security for their homes, and work to do. If that is true, British policy must recognize that Russia is the dominant power on the Continent of Europe, and that without friendship with Russia, Britain has no security. That is not a matter of ideology, it is geography. But does it follow that Britain can have work to do, and feed her people, only by ~~gearing~~ making her economy fit into the pattern that is now being created in most of Europe? ~~If, for whatever reason, Britain is forced to make a choice~~ The British ~~have said~~ don't want to be forced to make a choice between the United States and Russia; but if they should be forced to do so, their decision will undoubtedly be based upon which system offers them the greatest security and the best

opportunity of feeding their people and their factories.

The dominant reaction to the Potsdam Conference seems to be that that choice may not have to be made. As you know, the Potsdam communique was not greeted with unquestioning enthusiasm over here. The comment was restrained. There was a tendency to point out the many matters that were not solved - the Middle East, the Dardanelles, the Italian Colonies, Germany's western frontiers, and all the rest. But most British comment recognizes the overwhelming importance of the fact that the three nations met and mastered the most massive problem in Europe today. They did agree about what is to be done with Germany. And even those who do not approve of some of the detailed provisions - those who recognize how many problems remain to be solved, how beset with dangers and difficulties this three-lane highway is going to be - admit that the progress recorded was encouraging, and that the announcement did not try to conceal the areas where agreement was not possible. ~~The problems that are left are perplexing enough. Many of the difficult ones were shelved~~ - any critic can find plenty of things to complain about. Performance undoubtedly will not measure up to some of the promises. There is still a residue of mistrust and suspicion. But a question which might have caused the Grand Alliance to come unstuck was solved, however imperfectly. It would be possible for any casual student of European history to question the wisdom both of decisions and of postponements. But the fact remains that the Alliance forged in war did not break in the cooler atmosphere of peace.

Now that the Conference is ended it has been possible to see a few people who were there. One of them said to me: "We got some work done. At times it was a tough job. At the beginning there was some needling from all sides. But what we finally achieved was a good beginning, if only people will realise that it's that and nothing more.

There doesn't seem to be any doubt that President Truman acquitted himself well. Several of those present were impressed with his ability to register his opposition to a proposition with a single word - "No". The substitution of Attlee and Bevin for Churchill and Eden did not delay the proceedings. ~~And I understand that it was upon Mr. Attlee's suggestion that the message of thanks was sent to Churchill and Eden.~~ Generalissimo Stalin raised with Mr. Bevin the question of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy who flew to this country in 1941. Stalin has raised this question with Sir Archibald Clarke-Kerr, the British Ambassador in Moscow, each time the two men have met, and the Russian press has persistently demanded that Hess be tried as a war criminal. When the Generalissimo raised the matter with Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary demonstrated that his years spent in blunt labour negotiations had not been wasted. He said: "You can 'ave 'Ess; but you'll have to pay for his board and keep". Generalissimo Stalin laughed and did not pursue the matter.

I have heard no reports to indicate that this meeting was marked by complete unity or unfailing friendship. But the

fundamental decisions cover sufficient territory for them to be accepted as a guarantee that the three nations are capable of, and concerned about, settling the affairs of Europe by discussion and compromise, rather than by force. It is true that the small nations were ignored; that the Conference adjourned with much unfinished business; that the frontier decisions are unlikely to be reversed later on; and that most ~~journalists~~ reporters will be impressed by the assurances of free access to eastern Europe when that happens; but the progress was ~~max~~ considerable if not remarkable.

The events leading up to this war covered a considerable number of years, and history proves that it is much easier to make war than to make peace. This Potsdam Conference gave no guarantee of lasting peace, but it did demonstrate that the victors had elected not to quarrel over the prostrate body of a defeated foe. They have agreed a major problem; they have created a machinery for continuing consultation; and they have demonstrated that the solution of the problems posed by victory in Europe cannot be either easy or quick.

It seems to me that the real significance of the Potsdam communique - for Americans - ought to be that it is proof of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead. Most of the Americans who came over here to fight this war didn't want to come. We thought after the last war that we had secured a Europe that wouldn't bother us. Now it is clear that whether we like it or not, American power and

American policy will be a major influence in the Europe that emerges. Those who believe that Russia got everything she wanted out of Potsdam while we got nothing, might consider the possibility that perhaps we didn't know what we wanted. We created a continent and a civilisation by turning our backs on Europe; then the New World returned to save the Old from a form of tyranny much worse than that from which our ancestors had escaped. It is difficult to see how we are going to escape from Europe again. And the American meaning of Potsdam would seem to be that we have assumed the responsibility which our power has placed upon us.

London, August 12, 1945

There is no doubt whatever that the British press and public regard the Allied reply to the Japanese offer of conditional surrender as a civilised, reasonable document. It does not in any way restrict the Allies in carrying out their plans for the control and demilitarisation of Japan. The speed with which the four Allied capitals agreed upon the formula is proof that there was never any great divergence of views between them. There have been no public expressions of doubt here as to the wisdom of using the Japanese Emperor - at least for the time being. The Emperor is not promised any permanent tenure of office, and the statement makes it perfectly clear that he can be flung out at any time by the Allied Supreme Commander. So far as I can judge from the British press and from private conversations, there is no feeling that an important principle has been sacrificed, or that this means a soft peace for Japan. If the Japanese rejected the terms offered, then British opinion will not be revolted by the catastrophic destruction that will be caused in Japan. The least opinion here is that the Japanese Government will accept, although they may make another effort to secure a clarification of the Emperor's position under the Allied Commander. Such an attempt, if it is made, is foredoomed to failure.

For the last couple of nights there have been premature celebrations in London, but the whole temper of the nation has reflected a combination of relief and fear. No one is prepared to assess the relative influence of the atomic bomb and the Russian declaration of war in bringing about the Japanese

offer of surrender. People are content to leave that argument to the historians. The editorial writers have been much more concerned about control of the bomb than about control of Japan. Secular history offers few if any parallels to the events of the past week. And seldom, if ever, has a war ended leaving the victors with such a sense of uncertainty and fear - with such realisation that the future is obscure, and that survival is not assured. There is a widespread recognition that the agreement reached at San Francisco is as obsolete as the Gatling gun, and that the Big Few will have to think again if they are to devise any system which has even a reasonable chance of maintaining peace. President Truman's declaration that Britain and America will not reveal the secret of the bomb until means have been found for controlling it, brought no great reassurance. It does for the moment alter the balance of power, but such a solution is only temporary. Other nations by research and espionage are likely to solve the problem before we have mastered the counter-measures. The editorial writers who have been saying that we are faced with a choice between a new world or none at all do not feel that they are exaggerating. No one has expressed any confidence that an international agreement not to use this weapon would have any lasting effect. For it is impossible to ignore the fact that it has been used. Science has presented statesmanship with a problem, and its successful solution implies a revolution in the relations between nations. It is not a new problem. Thoughtful writers have been presenting it for decades. It has merely gained an urgency. And it may be that fear, particularly on the part of those who have experienced

even old-fashioned bombing, may spur governments to a solution.

We ought to be aware of the state of the world that is going to attempt that solution. The United States, Russia and the British Commonwealth have won, or are about to win, the terrible war against powerful adversaries. They joined forces because they were attacked or in danger; not because they admired each other; not because they agreed about the citizen's relation to the State, or about free speech or economics. All being in danger they fought together. None sacrificed or was asked to sacrifice political, cultural or economic autonomy. The three nations plus China created a world organisation. It is based upon power. They established a body of law from which they themselves are exempt. Conferences and consultations did something to reduce mutual suspicion, but much remains. The material and moral damage done in Europe alone cannot be calculated. There are millions in Europe who will be economically worse off next winter than ever they were under the Axis. Every estimate, official and otherwise, indicates that this will be the coldest, hungriest winter that Europe has known.

But the kind of world that is going to have to try and solve this problem posed by the scientists cannot be expressed by mere statistics, shipping, slogans or internal transport, small or good. The position is more complex than is indicated by any of those things. There is one fact which overshadows all others - vast areas of the world have become a sort of national no-man's-land. They are ruled either by armies or by provisional governments. The allegiance of the people is in doubt. Between one-third and one-half of the total peoples of the world have

been promised solemnly and officially that their ultimate form of government shall be established by the freely expressed will of the people. That has been promised to Japan, India, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Poland. The question is not only will the promise be fulfilled, but if and when it is what form of government will they choose? They are confronted with alternatives. Many are hundry, near to desperation and disillusioned. There is cynicism and questioning in this political no-man's-land. Much of the territory has become an economic desert - old standards, old leaders have disappeared. The struggle for the bare essentials of existence is bitter. It seems probably at least that people will give their allegiance to the system of government that is able to hold out to them not only the greatest prospect of personal freedom, but also the fullest measure of hope for relief from their immediate difficulties. Some of them may choose Communism, others Socialism as Britain has done, while others may elect to follow the American pattern. All will undoubtedly be influenced by the examples set by Russia and by the United States. They will also be watching the middle-of-the-road course followed by Britain. The United States Government has given its pledge to many peoples that they shall have the right of free expression. It is a great obligation, and if it is not discharged the weight of the New World's influence will have to be measured in horse-power and machines rather than in ideas. I cannot see that there is any inevitable conflict between the United States and Russia. But there is conflict and uncertainty in the minds of millions in these devastated and liberated lands as to which system they should choose. That is a fact. I do not believe that their

decision will be greatly influenced by food and other measures of relief, or by propaganda. They will be greatly swayed by example, by the system which achieves the greatest degree of economic equality, personal freedom, racial tolerance and social stability. Having given them our promise that they shall have freedom to choose, it is of the utmost importance that we provide them with honest information upon which that choice can be based, and that our policy in these countries should be represented and expressed by men with sympathy and understanding, and especially with a knowledge of America and its policies. This would not involve competition with Russia for the affections of people in foreign lands of which we know little. But it would mean discharging our obligation in their interests, and ours, to provide them with information upon which the decision could be based. For whatever the Big Three may decide, the people, including those in the defeated and liberated territories, will be heard from and their decision will affect the course of world history. And the example set by America at peace may be decisive.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY AUGUST 19, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST. EDWARD R. MURROW.

THIS IS LONDON: The Japanese envoys have arrived at Manila. They will receive their surrender instructions from General MacArthur tomorrow. * The Australians have established contact with Japanese forces on Bougainville and in New Guinea, and arrangements for surrender there are proceeding. No formal surrender contact has been made with the Japanese forces in Burma. American planes have been dropping medical teams and supplies on Allied prisoner-of-war camps in Manchuria. Preliminary reports indicate that the prisoners are in good condition.

* The Japanese are housed in a shell-scarred building overlooking the harbour. A British news agency reports that they complained about their seats in the plane. & that as they drove away from the airfield - ~~[illegible]~~ G.Is - yelled Banzai you - ~~[illegible]~~. ~~[illegible]~~

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY AUGUST 19, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

This is a day of Thanksgiving in Britain as it is at home. The King and Queen and most of the Cabinet, together with a whole lot of common people, gave thanks in St. Paul's Cathedral. The country has ended a week of official and unofficial celebration; but there has been, I think, a different quality - an altered atmosphere, from that which accompanied the celebrations of Victory in Europe. No one can speak with assurance of the matters that are in men's minds at such a time; but it seemed to me possible to detect a subtle but important difference. The voices and the faces, especially of those over thirty, seemed to reflect an uncertainty - a reluctance to accept victory as final - a realisation that victory is not the same thing as peace. The best description I have heard of this attitude that is so difficult to describe, went something like this: The people collectively seem to feel like a surgeon who has completed a long, difficult and delicate operation, employing revolutionary and untried methods. He knows that the operation was a success, but he is not yet certain that the patient's system will survive the shock which was the inevitable result of the use of new methods. You wouldn't find many people over here who were convinced that victory means prolonged peace, prosperity or plenty. It may be that recalling how ill prepared they were for war when the sirens sent them to the air raid shelters five years, eleven months and sixteen days ago, they now realise that the world while giving thanks for victory is ill prepared for peace.

The existing machinery created at San Francisco and elsewhere must be regarded as totally inadequate in a world where claim-jumping is still practised. The hard fact is that nations have so far been unwilling to make sacrifices xx for peace comparable to those they made for victory. And realising that, the people who are giving thanks for deliverance and victory - honouring the memory of those who died - are deeply conscious that victory is only the first instalment of the purchase price of peace. That I think is the reason for the solemn undertone in the victory celebrations.

The delaying tactics of the Japanese; their determination to disobey orders; the statements issued by their government, newspapers and radio reflect no change of heart, no acknowledgment of guilt - nothing in fact xx except that it is a very bad and hard thing to lose a war. They appear already to be attempting the creation of a mythology for future generations, that their cause was not evil; that the rest of the world ganged up on them; that they were never defeated but finally capitulated in order to save civilisation from complete destruction by the barbarians of the West and their terrible and inhuman bomb. The Japanese State was not shattered xx as was Germany, but the problem of demilitarizing, re-educating and eliminating feudalism will be infinitely greater in Asia than in Europe. Britain is of course primarily interested in the release of her 150 thousand prisoners held by the Japanese, and in the return of former British territory. The future of Korea and Manchuria is regarded as being a matter primarily between Russia and

the United States. The British Government has promised to support the return of Dutch and French territory in Asia, and naturally expects to regain the territory taken from Britain by Japan. For reasons of politics and patriotism this government is not likely to be any more willing than Mr. Churchill's to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. There is ~~not likely to be any~~ probably won't be much argument about such bases as the United States may desire on islands that were formerly under the British flag. And there will probably be willingness to enter into international negotiations about the future of Hong Kong. No one here expects any change in the status of Burma, Malaya or Singapore.

But in spite of pressing problems in Europe, Africa and Asia, British opinion is for the moment mainly interested in domestic affairs. The end of the war has not brought, and is not likely to bring in the near future, any substantial relief for the individual over here. The clothes ration is probably going to be cut. It was announced today that canned peas will require more points. And there will be one box of powdered eggs for an eight-week period. There may be some slight increase in the gasoline ration, but that won't happen for some time. It will be many months before British motorists can drive up to a service station and utter the British equivalent of our week-end war cry: "Fill her up!".

Rationing of essential goods and materials will be continued; and civilian labour under 35 years of age will probably still be conscripted. The key to the Labour Government's policy is to be

found in one sentence of the King's speech when, after talking about reconversion, the need for expanding export trade and the public ownership of industries he said: "The orderly solution of these difficult problems will require.....efforts comparable in intensity, and public spirit, to those which have brought us victory in war".

In most things the British are cautious, conservative people with a belief in gradualness. The new Labour Government has not so far proposed any ~~xxxxxx~~ unexpected sudden or drastic changes. The nationalisation of the coal mines and of the Bank of England were expected and cannot be regarded as revolutionary measures. For the last six years the Bank of England has been completely under the control of the government, and the proposed legislation will not make a nickel's worth of difference to the individual citizen.

The establishment of a National Health Service will involve a great battle between the government and the British ~~Medixxxx~~ Medical Association. This powerful doctors' trade union had reached a compromise agreement with Mr. Churchill's government, but now the whole matter is to be opened again. The Labour Government wants to provide a comprehensive socialised health service which will not mean the elimination of private practice, although it ~~xxxx~~ will probably result in reducing the income of private ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ practitioners. The final legislation will undoubtedly be a compromise between the government and the doctors. As a matter of fact, the whole program of this new government, with few exceptions, looks like being a mixture of compulsion and persuasion. There is to be no wholesale

elimination of private enterprise or profit. // The method of handling the cotton industry, upon which more than two million people depend for a living, probably sets the pattern for the handling of other industries. Cotton is not to be nationalised, and will in fact receive government support. But there are some interesting conditions. There must be joint consultation between management and workers' representatives inside the mills. Plans must be made for continuous rather than intermittent production; and where modern machinery demands it, double shifts must be worked. And the mills must be re-equipped with more modern machinery. The end result is that the government goes into partnership with the cotton industry, but on its own conditions. The mills are still run by the same people; they continue to make their profits, and to market under their own trade marks. But the government insists that they plan in the national interest. This is going to be the Labour Party's approach towards private enterprise. It is much too early to tell how it will work, for the health and well-being of British industry depends upon exports. One thing that most industries over here have in common is the need for modern equipment. That's where the government and industry hope for financial aid from the United States. Conversations on that subject have been going on here in London for the past ten days. I am not enough of an economist to know whether British industry is a good investment. But one thing is absolutely certain, and that is that the withholding of credits from Britain will not in any sense force this country to alter its politics or to return to an economy which more closely parallels

our own.

~~It may seem strange~~ Twice during recent days the British have ~~found grounds~~ been encouraged by American foreign policy. The first occasion was that passage in President Truman's speech advocating international control of the waterways of Europe, specifically the Danube, the Black Sea Straits, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal and all the inland waterways of Europe which border on two or more States. The President proposed at Berlin that there should be free and unrestricted navigation of these waterways. The assumption here is that since he proposed it, the United States would be willing to participate in setting up the scheme and seeing that it worked. And anything that further commits the United States to participation in European affairs is regarded as good news here, especially if it results in international control of the Black Sea Straits. It is even suggested by one magazine that "the ashes of our dead Isolationism ~~been scattered~~ were scattered by Mr. Truman over the Danube and the Kiel Canal." The second bit of news from America which found favour here was Mr. Byrnes' blunt statement that the American Government is not satisfied with either the present Bulgarian Government or its arrangements for the elections to be held in that country a week from today. Both Washington and London have become convinced that there is no possibility of holding free, fair elections under the existing government, which is believed to be dominated by a Communist minority, which has presented a list of candidates that leaves the electors practically no choice. The Jugoslav arrangements for elections & free speech hardly conform to established practice —

One thing happened in London this week which should be noted. It was a decision taken at an UNRRA Council meeting yesterday. The argument was whether or not UNRRA should provide relief for displaced persons ~~in enemy territory or ex-enemy territory if those persons did not for any reason desire to return to their own countries~~ who refused to return to their own countries. And UNRRA is going to do it. Mr. Herbert Lehman said the organisation would provide relief without discrimination as to race, religion or political beliefs. UNRRA food and clothing will not be withheld from the needy ~~in~~ DIS order to force them to return to their own country. The nations opposing the decision were Russia, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland. UNRRA has made a lot of mistakes but no one who has seen anything of the displaced persons in Germany will think that they made one yesterday

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY AUGUST 26 1945: EDWARD R. MURROW:
18.45 - 19.00 BST:

THIS IS LONDON: I suppose that putting yourself in the other fellow's place is always difficult. It requires a brand of intellectual gymnastics of which few of us are capable.

I remember driving through Nuremberg the day it was taken by American troops. For purely personal reasons I wanted to have a look at the great stadium where the Nazis used to hold their annual Party festival. Twice we were given wrong directions by sullen Germans, and I remarked to the jeep driver: "These people don't seem very happy to see us". And the driver replied: "What do you expect? How do you think we'd feel if we was in New York and a couple of Japs in a jeep was drivin' around askin' the way to the Yankee Stadium?" The driver's ability to put himself in the other fellow's place was much greater than mine.

Today I must talk about the cancellation of Lend-Lease, and ask you to put yourselves in the place of people here, and it will not be easy. I shall try to talk without stumbling over a lot of statistics and, I hope, without being unduly influenced by the atmosphere in which I work. You will appreciate that any remarks made from London on this subject must be coloured by the climate of opinion that exists in Britain. So without any desire to defend British policy, or to condemn American action we might try to view this development as it impresses and influences many people in and out of the British Government.

The Labour Party won the recent election very largely on the basis of a pamphlet outlining their policy. The title of the pamphlet was: "Let Us Face the Future". But few people, including the members of the new government, expected to face the hard facts of the future financing of Britain's imports in such a sudden and severe fashion. For the past four years British economy has been like a plant growing against a wall. Now the wall has been removed, and the result is uncertainty and considerable resentment. It is true that the terms of the legislation and the Congressional debates were available to the British Government. They knew without question that this wartime arrangement could not long survive the peace. They delayed in making alternative arrangements.

The cancellation came as a shock to the British public. On the whole the British press has been restrained in its comment, and American statements on the subject have been fully reported. But there is no effort to minimise the gravity of the situation that confronts Britain. The general opinion here is that the American action was not aimed at the Labour Government. The effect of the cancellation has been to create a fuller measure of unity than has existed at any time since this government took office. The British are never so united as in adversity. The discipline of the Labour Party has been improved, and the differences between Labour and Conservatives lessened by this danger which threatens the economic stability and the industrial

health of the nation.

But if you are to appreciate in any real sense the British attitude you must try to imagine yourself over here. You have fought a long war which lasted almost six years. In the course of it your savings, your overseas investments, many of your ships and your homes were sacrificed. You were the only one of the Big Three that went to war without being attacked. For one year you fought alone, despised by your enemies and despaired of by your friends. For almost six years you stumbled about in the dark, lived on a monotonous diet, gave up most of the personal liberties for which your ancestors had fought, and became shabby and very tired. But in the course of it all you developed a great pride, especially about that one year. Massive help came from across the seas, even before America entered the war. It was an unsordid, unprecedented act. There were not only munitions, but foods and clothes. And you were grateful. Finally there came victory which left a Continent in chaos. And, if you were a thoughtful Englishman you realised that your power, both absolute and comparative, had diminished. More than half of your export markets were gone. Even after peace your food ration was reduced. Your clothing ration was cut below what it had ever been before. You knew that your industrial plant was obsolete; that you would have less coal this winter than last. And whatever kind of Englishman you were, you knew that the country had to export to exist.

But still you took pride in the knowledge that you had made your sacrifices willingly, and that you had stood in the front line for a full year without flinching. You were inclined to regard those who, for reasons of geography and economics, had sacrificed less, about the way combat troops regard those who stay at home and work in security and relative comfort.

And then, after victory has been achieved, you are suddenly told that there is to be no relief; that austerity must continue; while at the same time you read that your great Ally to the West must learn to live on a standard fifty percent above that which existed before the war; and then your government tells you that Lend-Lease has ended without consultation or prior discussions, and that the country is in a serious financial position. Mr. Churchill calls the action "rough and harsh".

Please understand that I am neither defending the policy of the British government, nor criticising American action; but I am concerned to do what I can to explain to you the atmosphere that exists over here. As viewed from London, America is almost omnipotent - at least for the next few years. We have the industrial resources, the financial assets, and complete control of the production of the ~~xkms~~ atomic bomb. We are in a position to control Britain's standard of living for years to come. We have offered this country a loan. I do not know whether it will be accepted. The British Government has not made up its mind. The negotiations in Washington will deal first with a

settlement of existing obligations before new ones are contracted. I have been unable to find any desire over here to live on charity or to contract loans which cannot be repaid. The financial relations between nations are complex and confusing. But the temper of this country now is such that it will accept increased rationing, reduced imports, bi-lateral barter deals and the abandonment of the financial proposals of Bretton Woods. America is no more powerful in the economic world now ~~xxxxx~~ than Germany was in the military sphere in 1940, and the habit of resistance is strong in this country. Even a bankrupt is not without pride. And the powerful ought to be able to afford politeness. Mr. Leo Crowley has been quoted as saying that "the British if they want a loan must hurry". They are not doing so. They have their pride, as we have. Mr. Crowley's statement has been described to me as that of a small-town banker who posts a notice in the town square reading: "If Joe Doaks, whose farm has just suffered damage from fire and hurricane, wants an extension on his mortgage he had better come running". It's all right to say that to Joe Doaks; but it is almost a public offence to publish it to the world. No American, particularly one who has witnessed European politics at close range, would advocate perpetual charity or action detrimental to American self-interest. But it is I hope still permissible to point out that something might be gained by the exercise of good manners in the conduct

of relations between nations. Americans, more than most people, appreciate that the poor have their pride, particularly when they have become poor in a common cause. Of one thing I am absolutely certain, and that is that when the settlement of existing obligations comes to be made, the British Government will put that one single year in the balance against the tanks and guns and planes that we produced, and will say: "How do you strike a balance between the cost of a Sherman tank and the British boys who died inside it at Alamein?" It will take a good accountant to figure that one out.

I am trying merely to give you the atmosphere that exists over here. If I have offended you you would have been less offended by frank conversations with Britons; and at least I have done it without statistics.

NOTES:

London standing by past several hours.....'Tis a guess but good one that surrender's been received but four capitals now agreeing on time simultaneous release.....Even this announcement won't be official until Japs have flown central point and signed document...

Japanese news agency 1½ hours ago opened special transmission "nothing this time"...

Japanese Emperor up early this morning, talking with Foreign Minister.

Air war continues...super-Fort raids on home islands reported by Japanese radio...also reports land fighting Borneo and Burma....

Far as we know Japanese people not told of surrender offer, but Tokyo press obviously preparing ground, warning that "darkest hour of war has arrived," and telling people to wait for great command from throne.

Seems general assumption surrender imminent. News from SEAC headquarters says British rescue fleet standing by to proceed to Singapore. It is believed about twenty thousand British Commonwealth held in and around Singapore.

British radio been broadcasting ~~xxxx

LEAD:

THIS IS LONDON: The Japanese envoys, encumbered with four-foot swords, have arrived at Rangoon, where they will arrange the surrender of the Japanese Southern Army.

Admiral Halsey's Fleet is reported to be cruising somewhere south of Tokyo.

Lord Wavell, Viceroy of India, has arrived in London - No sensational developments are expected as result of his visit.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY AUGUST 26, 1945.
18.45-19.00 BST.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: I suppose that putting yourself in the other fellow's place is always difficult. It requires a brand of intellectual gymnastics of which few of us are capable. I remember driving through Nuremberg the day it was taken by American troops. For purely personal reasons I wanted to have a look at the great stadium where the Nazis used to hold their annual Party festival. Twice we were given wrong directions by sullen Germans, and I remarked to the jeep driver: "These people don't seem very happy to see us". And the driver replied: "What do you expect? How do you think we'd feel if we was in New York and a couple of Japs in a jeep was drivin' around askin' the way to the Yankee Stadium?" The driver's ability to put himself in the other fellow's place was much greater than mine.

Today I must talk about the cancellation of Lend-Lease and ask you to put yourselves in the other fellow's place and it will not easy. I shall try to talk without stumbling over a lot of statistics and, I hope, without being unduly influenced by the atmosphere in which I work. You will appreciate that any remarks made from London on this subject must be coloured by the climate of opinion that exists in Britain. So without any desire to defend British policy, or to condemn American action we might try to view this development as it impresses and influences many people in and out of the British Government.

The Labour Party won the recent election very largely on the basis of a pamphlet outlining their policy. The title of the

pamphlet was: "Let Us Face the Future". But few people, including the members of the new government, expected to face the hard facts of the future financing of Britain's imports in such a sudden and severe fashion. For the past four years British economy has been like a plant growing against a wall. Now the wall has been removed, and the result is uncertainty and considerable resentment. It is true that the terms of the legislation and the Congressional debates were available to the British Government. They knew without question that this wartime arrangement could not long survive the peace. They delayed in making alternative arrangements. The cancellation came as a shock to the British public. On the whole the British press has been restrained in its comment, and American statements on the subject have been fully reported. But there is no effort to minimise the gravity of the situation that confronts Britain. The general opinion here is that the American action was not aimed at the Labour Government. The effect of the cancellation has been to create a fuller measure of unity than has existed at any time since this government took office. The British are never so united as in adversity. The discipline of the Labour Party has been improved, and the differences between Labour and Conservatives lessened by this danger which threatens the economic stability and the industrial health of the nation. But if you are to appreciate in any real sense the British attitude you must try to imagine yourself over here. You have fought a long war which lasted almost six years. In the course of it your savings, your overseas investments, many of your ships and your homes were sacrificed.

You were the only one of the Big Three that went to war without being attacked. For one year you fought alone, despised by your enemies and despaired of by your friends. For almost six years you stumbled about in the dark, lived on a monotonous diet, gave up most of the personal liberties for which your ancestors had fought, and became shabby and very tired. But in the course of it all you developed a great pride, especially about that one year. Massive help came from across the seas, even before America entered the war. It was an unsordid, unprecedented act. There were not only munitions, but food and clothes. And you were grateful. Finally there came victory which left a Continent in chaos. And, if you were a thoughtful Englishman you realised that your power, both absolute and comparative, had diminished. More than half of your export markets were gone. Even after peace your food ration was reduced. Your clothing ration was cut below what it had ever been before. You knew that your industrial plant was obsolete; that you would have less coal this winter than last. And whatever kind of Englishman you were, you knew that the country had to export to exist.

But still you took pride in the knowledge that you had made your sacrifices willingly, and that you had stood in the front line for a full year without flinching. You were inclined to regard those who, for reasons of geography and economics, had sacrificed less, about the way combat troops regard those who stay at home and work in security and relative comfort.

And then, after victory has been achieved, you are suddenly told that there is to be no relief; that austerity must continue; while at the same time you read that your great Ally to the West must learn to live on a standard fifty percent above that which existed before the war; and then your government tells you that Lend-Lease has ended without consultation or prior discussions, and that the country is in a serious financial position. Mr. Churchill calls the action "rough and harsh".

Please understand that I am ~~not defending~~ neither defending the policy of the British government, nor criticising American action; but I am concerned to do what I can to explain to you the atmosphere that exists over here. As viewed from London, America is almost omnipotent - at least for the next few years. We have the industrial resources, the financial assets, and complete control of the production of the atomic bomb. ~~We have offered Britain alone~~ We are in a position to control Britain's standard of living for years to come. We have offered this country a loan. I do not know whether it will be accepted. The British Government has not made up its mind. The negotiations in Washington will deal first with a settlement of existing obligations before new ones are contracted. I have been unable to find any desire over here to live on charity or to contract loans which cannot be repaid. The financial relations between nations are complex and confusing. ~~But the average person over here understands~~ But the temper of this country now is such that it will accept

increased rationing, reduced imports bi-lateral, barter deals and the abandonment of the financial proposals of Bretton Woods. America is no more powerful in the economic world now that Germany was in the military sphere in 1940, and the habit of resistance is strong in this country. Even a bankrupt is not without pride. And the powerful ought to be able to afford politeness. Mr. Leo Crowley has been quoted as saying that "the British if they want a loan must hurry". They are not doing so. They have their pride, as we have. Mr. Crowley's statement has been described to me as that of a small-town banker who posts a notice in the town square ~~saying~~ reading: "If Joe Doaks, whose farm has just suffered damage from fire and hurricane, wants an extension on his mortgage he had better come running". It's all right to say that to Joe Doaks; but it is almost a public offence to publish it to the world. No American, particularly one who has witnessed European politics at close range, would advocate perpetual charity or action detrimental to American self-interest. But it is I hope still permissible to point out that ~~advantage~~ something might be gained by the exercise of good manners in the conduct of relations between nations. Americans, more than most people, appreciate that the poor have their pride, particularly when they have become poor in a common cause. Of one thing I am absolutely certain, and that is that when the settlement of existing obligations comes to be made, the British Government will put that one single year in the balance against the tanks and guns and planes that we produced, and will say: "How do you strike a balance between the cost of a Sherman tank and the British boys

who died inside it at Alamein?" It will take a good accountant to figure that one out.

I am trying merely to give you the atmosphere that exists over here. If I have offended you, you would have been no less offended by frank conversations with Britons; and at least I have done it without statistics.

As a matter of fact, frank face-to-face conversation or controversy becomes increasingly difficult. Before the first World War it was possible for people to travel from country to country without benefit of Passport. Now the forms are endless. Let me give you an example. I have an English friend who once spent five days in jail. That was in 1913. She was convicted of "attempting to set fire to a letter-box". She never thought it a good idea and in fact didn't succeed, but in those days the Suffragettes either threw a brick through a window or set fire to a letter-box, in order to demonstrate their determination that women should have a vote. This friend of mine, the unsuccessful incendiary, was in 1913 given a choice of a month in jail or a fine. She chose the month in jail and was released after five days. But the point of this story is that the other day, having been invited to go to America - for the sixth time - on a lecture tour, she duly presented herself at the American Embassy and asked for a visa. The clerk while filling up the form asked her if she had ever been in jail. She replied "Yes", gave the details and was informed

that the matter would have to be referred to the State Department, and consideration would require some weeks. Finally, after representations to the American Ambassador by a former British Cabinet Minister, the visa was granted, but with the notation that "exclusion by the Immigration Officials at Ellis Island might still be possible". The applicant, incidentally, was Lady Rhondda, editor and publisher of a weekly magazine known as "Time and Tide". She is still proud of the fact that she was in jail in 1913. But how much more difficult do you think it is for people who have been in jail for reasons of conscience during the last six years to gain entrance to the United States?

Last week in the Balkans, America and Britain scored a small success. The Bulgarians agreed to postpone their election. But the basic problem is still undecided. The Russians have stated that they are opposed in principle to the supervision of national elections by foreign States. Britain and America seem to be opposed to the supervision of elections in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia by Communist minorities. Students of recent history may recall, that the Yalta Agreement, pledged all three countries to the establishment of free elections of governments responsible to the will of the people. It also pledged the Big Three to facilitate where necessary the holding of such free elections. It looks as though the disagreement about Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece is over the meaning of the word "facilitate". What has happened in the Balkans so far is postponement, not solution.

Sun. 2nd September 1945.

Murrow to CBS.....

and now

There is peace./.the papers have been signed./.the last enemy has given up..unconditionally./.There is a silence you can almost hear..not even the distant echo of guns or the rumble of bombers going out with a belly full of bombs..no more crisp, or circuitious communiques...Afterxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx There are white crosses, and scrap iron, scattered round the world...and already some of the place names that will appear in the history books are fading from memory..(they will remain real only to those who were there.).Six years is a long time.(and it was more than twice as long for the Chinese.).Today is so much like that Sunday six years ago today there is sun..the streets are empty..there is just enough breeze to fill the sails of small boats on the Thames..people are sitting in deck chairs in the parks...people and chairs are shabbier than they were six years ago..It is a long time..long enough for nations to disappear and be recreated..long enough for the whole moral and material complexion of a continent to be altered...for cities that were a thousand years in the building to be destroyed in a night..long enough for a way to be found that may destroy humanity...But there is a fundamental difference between the atmos phere today and six years ago/ Then the assumption was that this war was just taking up where the last one left off...the French had a powerfull army...the iron ring of the blockade would strangle Germany../.The tired voice of Neville Chamberlain announcing the declaration came as something of a relief..the recurring crisis were over..the issue was to be fought out...there would probably be some bombing but it wouldnt be long before the world returned to something like business as usual..there was some talk of total war but

no one really knew what it meant...Few if any foresaw what the price of victory would be ... I d oubt that any single individual can grasp it now...The wor ld of six years ago is gone and there is a widespread realisation that there can be no return...The problems of peace are the more clear because so few appreciated the problems of war...For tens of millions of people the whole basis of existence has gone..they are without homes or hope..have nothing to lose..the whole pattern of trade and transport has been shattered..stable government is gone..the struggl for bare existence becomes more bitter..people who have lived dangerously lose their fear of change...the danger of revolution or of violence resulting from desperation is present in a dozen countries... There is the almost certain prospect of large scale starvation (in an economic and intellectual desert). Those who thought this would be an old fashioned war when it started six years ago do not believe that peace can be made in the old fashioned mould..It will require daring and perhaps even sacrafice equal to that displayed by the victors in war.....and the constant knowledge that victory is no guarantee of peace...We seem to be in a condition where there are few fixed firm standards..so many of the old landmarks have been destroyed....There is even confusion about the meaning of familiar words...For example General Mac Arthur said..on board the Missouri... "Democracy is on the march today,in Asia as well as in Europe..The unshackled peoples are tasting the full sweetness of liberty and relief from fear"...That is certainly acceptable as rhetoric but it employs one word which is more in use today than at any previous time and which is subject to more different interpretations...the word is

Democracy... You see it in print and hear it on the ra dio in almost every country in the world..Russia refuses to help supervise free and secret elections in Greece because such action would be "a violation of democratic principles"...The Rumanian premier refuses to give up his office and justifies his unconstitutional conduct by saying he is defending the democratic spirit...Democracy is used to defend policies pursued in Belgrade and Sofia and Budapest....It is clear that the word has a different meaning in different parts of the world but is still found usefull as a slogan...~~Ixxxxxxxxxxxxx~~The word came from the Greeks and first appeared in English in fifteen thirty one..and its use was based on a misunderstanding..the Greeks used it as a term of reproach not of praise...Plato came nearer to giving us a usefull guide when he divided governments into two categories...Law States and Caprice states..that is constitutional states and unconstitutional systems... Aristotle was even more direct ..he divided governments into good and bad.. and a government which sought to further the interests of all its citizens was good..and a government which sought to benefit one particular section at the expense of the other sections was bad..and that made a system under which the poor governed for the benefit of the poor..a bad and perverted system..likewise a system which was run by th the rich for the rich was also bad or perverted...So democracy may and obviously does mean one thing in eastern Europe and another thing in the west..the two are becoming confused...maybe we should start be redefinin the word..and settle for a written constitution,freedom of speech, a secret ballot and no secret police..that would be a considerable ~~xxxx~~ improvement over existing conditions...Of c ourse one of the basic

problems in SE Europe is what is to take the place of german economy ..In the past germany supplied most of the manufactured goods..the seeds fertilisers..most of the finished industrial products...Russia cant do that..at least not for some time..Its dangerous to generalise about that part of the world because there is so little hard information available..but the rec ord so far indicates that there is only one alternative to communist dominated governments..and that is governments dominated by the extreme right..either one means supression and a measure of terrorism...There doesnt seem to be much middle ground left in Europe..certainly there wasnt in Britain where the elections were free and secret and where the liberal party was massacred...Again on the basis of the record so far..Britain and America desire to prevent SE europe from becoming an exclusive zone of Russian influence..if that is the case there is reason to doubt that long range lectures and the th threat of non recognition will do it...Certinly it didnt work in Poland...It is idle to deny that there is competition between Russia and the western powers in SE Europe..it is in the official statements of the last couple of weeks. This is an argument about the meaning of that Word democracy..which both sides are using..and failing to define...But to come back to General MacArthurs statement..it is more than clear that millions of people in Europe are not tasting the full sweeteness of liberty and relief from fear..they are both hungry and frightened...and to feed and reassure them is urgent work, and will require much time...For these conditions the Germans are responsible..at least mainly responsible...Twenty-four of their former leaders are to be tried..The list represents a fair cross-section of tho

those who conspired to dominate Europe and tomorrow the world...The Nazi Party..the army and the industrialists and financiers who knowingly furthered their evil plans.. The trials at Nurenburg will be something of a spectacle...and the verdicts will establish a precedent which may cause future warmakers to hesitate if they know that they place their own lives in jeapordy...So far as the germans are concerned ..their crime was so great..the consequences so terrible, that any degree of guilt should be sufficient to ~~xxxx

It will be one of the most important and coveted appointments in the history of international organisation..There seems to be an impression h here that it will go to Mr Stetinius...The only person I know who might be expected to make a sucess of it..w ho by directness and unorthodox methods c ombined with honesty and faith might weld such an organisation into a working and if necessary fighting organisation is General Ike Eisenhower... ~~Izxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This united nations organisation if it is to work cannot be the plaything of diplomats or the prisoner of tradition..It must be able to call upon the ability and the faith of the best men of all nations...Generals are not generally good negotiators..they are accustomed to command..and most of them in my experience,from whatever nation they come,are not exactly s uited to the delicate business of reconciling opposing points of view...General Eisenhower is no expert on international affairs..no profound student of politics but if the united nations are looking for a man who is a good administrator ...whose honesty is apparent to all..and who can inspire diverse nationalities with his own enthusiasm and belief in the possibility of creating a world in which war is unnecessary..then Eisenhower..~~inxspitexofzthezfactxthatzhexizxazgeneralzxzx~~ Might be considered for a job which will be even tougher than the one he has recently completed....Anyway its woth considering....

Ive been trying to think of a way of telling you about British reaction to the outbreak of peace...a nd as often happens Ive found someone who says it much better than I could...He writes under the name of Nat Gubbins in the Sunday Express..~~Hezxayszhexxbeenzxskedzxzxxxxxxx~~ His column is generally supposed to be funny but today he answers two

questions...Why has peace brought no blessings but only greater misery and what is the greatest single factor causing unhappiness in Britain t today....He says both these questions could be answered in one word... Frustration...War wound up nerves like a clock..the clock has been wound to the last turn for six years and never allowed to tick away its tension.#.During the war the citizen endured minor frustrations because he considered cheerfulness in hardship a patriotic gesture, and this raised his self esteem...But the war is over..and wearing shabby suits no longer raises his self-esteem..He cannot fancy himself any more as a gallant scarecrow,enduring much, so that his civilisation might live..He feels that he has saved the world and yet he can scarecly do a single thing he wants to do.#He cant travel,he cant spend his money,he cant even get a seat in a bus without a fight...So far as food is concerned he is frustrated both at home and in restaurants... unless he goes to foreign restaurants and bribes a head waiter who can hardly speak english...So far as drink is concerned he expects a refusal before he asks for it,feels guilty if he gets it, and humiliated if he doesnt...Mr Gubbins then lists other causes of frustration... standing in ques,railway travel,gasoline restrictions,holidays,and all the rest...and finally Mr Gubbins... says the signs of frustration are to be found in rapid talk of no c onsequence but since you are frustrate too you dont listen..The citiz en is always on the defensive and therefore quick to take offense..You dont know what to ta lk about which is another frustration...He ends by advising his readers to say the fewest possible words to the smallest number of people..In other wor words..keep your trap shut.#.Its a thousand to one you have nothing

a musing or interesting to say.....That is probably a fair summary of t the state of affirs here...and good advice too....

One Piece of news brought great encouragement to the people of Britain last week..it was President Trumans message about lease lend. It didnt s olve a ny of the immedate difficulties...but the president stood up and said that Brita in had pulled her weight ..and a little more..in the great war effort...That sort of thing counts for much in a c ountry that has inflamed sensibilities as a result of being a debtor nation

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM AS BROADCAST

EDWARD R. MURROW

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1945

1:45 - 2:00 P.M.

ANNCR: Big Ben tolls out the hours as history writes a new chapter. Here in New York on a brief leave, Edward R. Murrow, Chief of Columbia's correspondents overseas, is at our microphone ready with the day's news. A service of the American Oil Company --------

COMMERCIAL:

ANNCR: Now, here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: The Japanese have signed the instrument of surrender in Nanking. The surrender covers all the land, sea and air forces in China, Formosa and Indo-China, but excludes those in Manchuria.

The surrender of Japanese forces in Korea has also been formerly accepted. General MacArthur has issued a statement which indicates that the Japanese government will be allowed to run the country so long as it follows orders. The Army of Occupation will insure compliance with such instructions as may be issued.

A lot of Americans are coming home these days. They've all been very lonesome. This is the land for which they have longed. A lot of them thought they would never make it. Home and hamburgers, the family car, familiar faces, funny papers, the mountains and rivers and well-known streets, they all seemed so far away and unobtainable. The land marks were lost in the fog of battle and boredom.

And now the boys who went forth to battle are coming home and no one can speak for them. For coming home is a highly personal business. Different men see different things and think different thoughts. There is no standard order of procedure for coming home.

A couple of days ago I came home for the fourth time in about 9 years. The longest part of the trip was when the transport plane started letting down over LaGuardia Field. It seemed we would never reach the ground. When we did, even the customs men were friendly.

For what they're worth, I'd like to give you a few impressions of these two days on the ground, and try to answer a few questions that have kept recurring in conversations with friends.

sbw

MURROW : (cont'd) We remain the best dressed, best fed nation on earth. Europe is lean and we are fat. There are more different magazines on the newsstand in my hotel than are published in all of Europe. Public opinion poles tell me exactly what the nation is thinking about Russia, and other big matters of the day. I've even seen a baseball game. The crowd was so clean and neat, their clothes were proof that there is no shortage of soap.

There was none of the drab, tattered and dull appearance that you would find at foot ball games in Britian and on the Continent. I'd forgotten that so many cars can move so fast, and that fresh fruit and fresh eggs can be had for the paying of a small price. But these things are probably unimportant.

The most striking thing about coming home in peace-time is the realization that we won this war going away. We could have done another lap, several more, while our Allies in Europe neared collapse as they reached the finish line.

Viewed from abroad, this country of ours is very powerful, but coming home, you get the impression that there is a vast store of reserve energy that hasn't even been touched. And there is another thing that is even more striking. It is the realization that we are moving in one direction, while most of Europe is moving in another. We are casting off controls. We have the prospective prosperity and unemployment, while most of the countries in Europe are short of manpower. In all of Western Europe the trend is toward increased state control of industry. They do not believe that they can go back to pre-war social and economic patterns. We are attempting to do so.

There is much talk about free enterprise and state control, but a reluctance to define what is meant by the phrases. Britian and most of the countries of Western Europe are trying to see to it that everyone has necessities before the rich have luxuries. They are trying to find a middle ground between the rigid economic system of Russia with its sacrifice of civil liberties, and our system of minimum economic control.

They have lived dangerously for 6 years and they've lost their fear of change. I do not believe they have lost any of their faith, in a system of government, under which the people have full power to throw the government of the day out of office. But they want a greater degree of economic equality, and they appear to be convinced that that can only be secured through increased government control of industry. And that's happening, not only in Britian, but in France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Czechoslovakia.

This argument of what free enterprise versus nationalization is not an academic one. The two systems are being demonstrated, and the issue should not be obscured by slogans. (cont'd)

MURROW: (cont'd) If the state dominates or directs the principle economic activity of the nation, do the people benefit? Is their standard of living raised? Is their security more assured? Are the facilities for health and education for the whole of the people improved? If that happens, then what price must be paid in terms of the individuals freedom of action; his civil liberties. And are his rights under the constitution in the courts reduced? These things can be measured, and they should be. Half a dozen nations in Europe are now laboratories where great experiments are being conducted. The outcome is in doubt. In some cases, policy is a combination of foresight and fumbling. They're playing by ear. The fact that they had decided to depart from traditional American practice, and have not modeled their new government on ours is hardly reason to condemn them. After all, they have abandoned many of their own traditions which were considerably older than ours. Much of Europe is a testing ground for ideas. A whole lot of theories are being put to the test. And the main theory is this. That the State can increase its control over the productive capacity of the country without enslaving the individual. And that that can be done to the end of that the whole of the people shall be better off. I don't pretend to know what the outcome will be. Most of the Statesmen who are conducting these experiments see the future but vaguely. But from their mistakes and their achievements it is possible that something may be learned. They may produce a new working definition of democracy, or they may produce a crop of revolutions. Whatever happens, we will be affected by the outcome. Just as we were finally effected by what happened in Germany when the Nazis were seeking power.

It would probably be a good idea not to pay too much attentin to those who profess to know with certainty what the outcome will be. For believe me, the people who were in charge of these experiments are not as certain as some of those who were writing and talking about them over here.

During the last couple of days several friends have asked what its like in Britian now. That isn't easy to answer. But just before I left London, there appeared a piece by a friend of mine, who writes under the name of Nathaniel Governs. He is supposed to write humorous stuff, but like most funny men he's at his best when he's serious. Anyway, Nat Governs summed the whole thing up, much better than I could. He said, "what is the greatest single factor causing unhappiness in Britian today? Why has peace brought no blessings, but only greater misery?" Governs says both these questions could be answered in one word - "frustration". Since the dawn of civilization, man has always been frustrated. He has been frustrated by self-imposed conventions, religious taboos, and the maldistribution of wealth. War imposed more restrictions, and therefore more frustrations on him. Winding up his nerves, like the winding of a clock spring. In fact, you can compare him to a clock that has been wound to the last turn for 6 years, and never allowed to tick away its tension.

(continued)

He thought that peace would relieve this tension, and his bitter disappointment may be called his "frustration #1." On top of this, he is still the victim of the minor frustrations he endured cheerfully during the war. He endured them cheerfully because he considered cheerfulness and hardship was a patriotic gesture. And this raised his self-esteem. But the war is over, and hardship is no longer a joke. Wearing a shabby suit does not raise his self-esteem now. He cannot fancy himself anymore as a gallant scare-crow enduring much, so that his civilization might live. He feels he has saved the world, and yet he can scarcely do a single thing he wants to do. He can't travel, he can't spend his money; he can't even get a seat in a bus without a fight. So far as food is concerned, he is frustrated both at home and in restaurants, unless he goes to foreig restaurants and bribes the head waiter who can hardly speak English. If he wants a drink, there is either nothing to drink at all, or its in such short supply that he expects a refusal before he asks for it; feels guilty if he gets it, and humiliated if he doesn't. The signs "no cigarettes", "no beer", and "restaurants closed", are gradually wearing him down. And that Governs concluded, in fact the best method of retaining your sanity is to say the fewest possible words to the smallestnumber of people. In other words "keep your trap shut". Its a thousand to one that you have nothing interesting or amusing to say. That is Govern's summary of the climate of opinion in Britian today, and its about as good as any I've seen.

Tomorrow, or the next day, the discussions about short-term aid to Britian will begin in Washington. And there does not appear to be any orthodox method of finance which will solve their problem. But it would be a mistake to assume that they must just take what is offered. They are faced with economic problems vastly greater than those that have confronted any previous government. But they have an alternative, and if they fail to secure assistance, or if the price of assistance involves the abandonment of their program of socialism, the British government is quite capable of saying to its tired people - "tighten your belts again," or "bite on the iron". We will close the economy of the Empire, arrange barter deals with anybody who will trade with us, It will be hard going, for two or three years, but after that we'll be alright." And they will say to the British people, "we will not have sold out our chance to try this experiment which the people elected us to carry through." If that should happen, the people will certainly support the government. There is an astonishing degree of political unity in Britian now in these days of financial adversity. Then, there will be more controls, stricter control of imports and exports. And the beginning of a trade war from which the people of Britain and the people of this country will certainly suffer. The solution of this problem will require tolerance and compromise on both sides. And whatever happens the peoples of Europe are condemned to years of uncertainty and shortages, and austerity.

MURROW:
(cont'd)

In many countries this winter there will be desperation and dissolusionment. America will not be popular. No matter what we do. For we are powerful, and powerful nations do not win popularity contests amongst the hungry. It seems to me no exaggeration to say that there is one question now being asked by millions of people in Europe, and it's an old question. I've heard it in various forms in half a dozen countries, and its this "what must we do to be saved?" In the fomrer enemy countries they want to be saved from the consequences of the evil policies they supported. In Allied lands they want to be saved from starvation and hopelessness. Saved from exploitation by the powerful; saved from plague, and above everything else--saved from a repetition of what has happened during the last 30 years in Europe. And there are many amongst the thoughtful who want to be saved from the cinicism, the lack of faith and hope which has spread over Europe. We can't save them by dollar charity or with long range lectures, but we can do much by example. Our statements about democracy and representative government are now on trial at the meeting of Foreign Ministers in London where the treaties are being drawn up, with small nations -- who can no longer defend themselves. It would perhaps be possible to phrase our question in the same terms that they used in Europe, "what must we do to be saved from abusing the terrifying power we possess?"

This is Edward R. Murrow in New York - now here is Warren Sweeney.

SWEENEY: (COMMERCIAL)

Don't forget your date with Edward R. Murrow next Sunday. On Thursday hear CBS World News with Ned Calmer, and analyzed by Major George Fielding Eliot, a service of the American Oil Company and its affiliate Pan American Refining Corporation, whose great new fuels and oils are perfected for brand new thrills in car performance. Great things are coming - keep your eye on Amoco, a great name on the road.

This is Warren Sweeney saying Good Afternoon for your Amoco man, and reminding you to remember Amoco, a great name on the road.

Thanks a lot.

This is CBS the COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

Ed.Trans.A.Gronholdt

sbw

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM AS BROADCAST

EDWARD R. MURROW

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1945
1:45 to 2:00 P.M.

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(.....30 seconds.....)

SWEENEY: (COMMERCIAL)

Now, here is Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: The Conference of Foreign Ministers in London appears to be a slow-motion affair. There's an obvious reason for that. The preliminary preparation was inadequate; the documents hadn't been translated; the agenda wasn't fully agreed in advance. The Potsdam meeting moved with speed, mainly because the European Advisory Commission had prepared the ground, had outlined the areas of agreement and of disagreement before the principals sat down around the table.

The plan for the London Conference was that a peace treaty with Italy should be drawn up and agreed to. The other problems of southeast Europe and the Mediterranean were to be postponed. Italy presented the fewest problems, but now it is clear that there is no agreement, and even the easiest problem must be referred back for more study and consultation. The lesson is clear. It's going to be difficult, if not impossible, to settle peace terms for one nation at a time. We may have to do it on a regional basis. The disagreement in London isn't just about the control of Italian colonies. It's about Trieste and Russia's position on the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and it's about Palestine and Cyprus and about the formation of elected governments in Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Roumania.

The architects of peace in that part of the world can't decide what the Italian wing of the building is to look like till they have made a plan for the entire building. The delay in London doesn't mean that agreement is impossible. It is merely proof that it will require much time, discussion and compromise. I suppose that anyone can pose as an expert if he's far enough from home. I've been home for a little more than a week and haven't really seen anything except Washington and New York. But there has been time for a lot of reading and much listening and an astonishing amount of eating.

The impressions created by this country at peace are so strong that I want to talk about them. It'll probably be old stuff to you, but it is at least possible that one who

MURROW: (Cont'd)

has spent a few years abroad, wondering what was happening in his own country, often longing to be there, might see or sense something that you have come to regard as commonplace. During the last few years I have tried to talk from various places in the world about something that was to me interesting and perhaps important. What is happening in America now is of tremendous importance to the rest of the world, and there's nothing that interests me more. So, with full knowledge that the impressions are superficial and may be mistaken, I should like -- to use one of Mr. Churchill's favorite words -- to "descant" for a few minutes upon the American scene.

You all look very, very healthy. You're not as tired as Europeans, and your clothes ... well, it seemed to me for the first few days that everyone must be going to a party. The color, the variety, and, above everything else, the cleanliness of the clothing is most impressive. And what can be said about the food? The other morning, flying from Washington to New York, the hostess asked if I would care for breakfast. She brought fruit juice, scrambled eggs, bacon, rolls and coffee and cream and sugar. That meal in Paris would have cost about $10.00; it would have been unobtainable in London; it might have been possible to get everything but the fruit juice in Warsaw for about $30.00. On the outside, the plane was just like the C-47's in which I've ridden so many thousands of miles during the war. But inside there was comfort. No signal lights for the paratroopers, no racks for stretchers. It was very nice.

I conclude that this country is going to do as great a job in the air in peace as it did in war. An Englishman once said to me: "the greatest thing about your country is that no one has ever told it that a thing can't be done." I've thought of that while reading the stories about reconversion, comparing them with what's happening in Europe. And, without knowing any of the details, it seems to me to be a headlong, driving, confident business. The advertisements for new radios, cars, refrigerators, furniture, clothes, travel, drink, everything, speak a loud language of confidence.

The other day I wanted to buy some shirts, and the man behind the counter said he didn't have the kind I wanted but he would have them in sixty days. And I thought: "imagine his knowing that with such certainty." The shirts I got didn't cost any coupons, neither did the socks, nor the suit. You can't do that anywhere in Europe. And we have plenty of paper. The size of the papers, the variety and slickness of the magazines is amazing.

In Washington this week there were signs on the lampposts reading "Welcome, Skinny." And it occurred to me that we're the only member of the victorious coalition that would call a great General "Skinny," and we're the only nation with paper to spare for the printing of signs. Incidentally, when General Wainwright spoke to the House of Representatives, only about

MURROW (Cont'd):

half the members were there. Maybe they were busy on State business. But I was sorry all of them didn't see and hear the General. He reminded me of thousands of men I've seen coming out of concentration camps in Germany.

One day there was time to stand for ten minutes beside a service station. Cars drew up, were filled up and drove away. There's no country in Europe where that can happen. I thought it remarkable, but no one else seemed to. In New York it is possible to have laundry done in three days. In most European capitals it takes near to three weeks. You get soap with your hotel room here -- two little cakes. That's currency in most of Europe. It'll get you more food than two $5.00 bills. There's a lot of fresh paint about. The houses seem so neat and undamaged. You must have lived in Europe these last six years to understand just how pleasing and almost exciting fresh paint can be. The other day a friend of mine just back from the Continent said: "you know, walking into a grocery store here is exciting, like going into a jeweler's used to be."

When I first came back, I spent some time listening to the radio. At first, the commercial advertising came as a shock, but that soon wore off and was replaced by the realization that the radio was telling me what to buy, but not what to think. There is more news, more discussion of public issues, more controversy on the air here than in any European country. There is plenty of debate about ideas. The listener has a wide field to choose from, and I've heard no one say that the broadcaster is always right. Personally, I object to some of the advertising, but I prefer it to any system under which the government uses the power of broadcasting to tell me what to think.

I find more information about the Foreign Secretaries' Conference, in London, in the newspapers here than I would find in the London press. Part of the reason for that is that the papers over here (sic) are still strictly rationed for newsprint. But there's another reason. Fatigue dulls curiosity, and continued hardship causes one to concentrate on immediate problems. The British, like the rest of the people of Europe, are tired. Some of them are tired almost to death. Believe me, you can't realize -- no matter how many papers you read, however many pictures you see or broadcasts you listen to -- you can't realize just how tired Europe is. That fatigue gives malignant men their opportunity and it also increases our responsibility. We have power; we're bouncing back fast after the test of war. Our industrial plant is intact, our homes are standing. Many of the minor restrictions imposed by war are being removed.

By the accident of geography and the unfolding of history, we've had world leadership thrust upon us. Some of us are disposed to accept that leadership reluctantly. But during the last week, I've heard a great deal of serious talk about American policy, economic and political, many expressions of real desire to aid our allies in Europe, uncertainty as to how it can be done

MURROW (Cont'd):

without demanding unfair sacrifices of ourselves. There is no easy, ready-made answer. But from these conversations and from the press and radio, I conclude that there has occurred, or is occurring a change in our attitude towards Europe.

We fought the last war in an effort to secure a Europe that wouldn't bother us -- and we failed. Another terrible war has been concluded, and many seem to realize that our future is bound up with that of Europe, that our self-interest is involved in what happens over there, that the men who died made a continuing committment. During these days in London, our representatives are discussing peace treaties and frontiers. The solutions are shrouded in secrecy. We have not yet devised a method of keeping the public informed of these important negotiations. But meanwhile the peace is being made -- a little bit at a time. There would seem to be one important test to apply to any and all American committments in Europe, whether they be about Italian colonies or Trieste or the Dardanelles, and that is this: Once the agreement has been made and agreed to by those powers concerned, are we prepared, in concert with other powers, to use force, to go to war, if those decisions are upset by force of arms? Our committments should not extend beyond the areas where we are prepared to sustain and support them by all means at our disposal. Our representatives, in London and at future meetings, will be making a bargain with destiny. There will be a series of such bargains. Taken altogether they will represent the system which we are pledged to defend.

We cannot, powerful as we are, do it alone. There must be more than one policeman. It seems to me of tremendous importance that our policies and our hopes, as well as our demands, should be clearly stated abroad. We require urgently a larger, better paid, and better trained foreign service. They should know not only protocol and diplomatic procedure. They must know this country and must make it their business to inform themselves about labor movements, agriculture, education and economics in the country to which they are accredited.

It seems to me that our State Department is facing a test second only to that which confronted our army after Pearl Harbor. We are all at the moment concerned about the policies pursued by the armies of occupation. Certainly, mistakes have been made. We haven't much experience in occupying countries. It seems a healthy sign that the public should be so concerned and vigilant about this matter of the treatment of defeated nations. But isn't there some chance that we may pay more attention to the defeated enemies than to the cultivation of our friends? We should make available to them, thru libraries and the exchange of students and professors, thru broadcasts and publications, information about this country. Many Europeans are curious and more than a little apprehensive about this great power in the west. Often our ways are not their ways. But a fuller exchange of information and ideas might result in both sides learning something of mutual advantage.

MURROW (Cont'd):

This is Edward R. Murrow in New York.

Here is Warren Sweeney.

SWEENEY: (COMMERCIAL)

This is CBS, the COLUMBIA ... BROADCASTING SYSTEM

(FADE THEME 20 SECONDS)

WABC...NEW YORK

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COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM AS BROADCAST

EDWARD R. MURROW

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1945
1:45 to 2:00 P.M.

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(.....30 seconds.....)

ANN'C'R: (COMMERCIAL)

Now, here's Edward R. Murrow.

MURROW: It appears that the London Conference of Foreign Ministers will end without reaching any important decisions. The London press is pessimistic, but Moscow Radio says there are no insurmountable difficulties. The Army says that 750,000 veterans of the Pacific may be home by New Year's Eve, and in the European theatre it is announced that all enlisted men with 60 points or more will be homeward-bound by the first of the year.

General Doihara, Commander of the Japanese 1st Army District, former leader of Japanese forces in Manchuria, has been gathered in by the 8th Army.

Police reserves were moved into Naples today after a crowd of thousands had staged a demonstration, protesting against the small bread ration and the employment of German prisoners in the port area.

General deGaulle has demanded the internationalization of the Ruhr and permanent French occupation of the west bank of the Rhine.

There seems to be something like a traditional pattern for what happens after the end of major wars. The victorious coalition is subjected to heavy stresses and strains; problems that were postponed, or never faced at all, press for solution. Something must be done to fill the economic and political vacuum created in the conquered territory. There is the natural desire on the part of the victors to return to the ways of peace. The armies, those of victor and vanquished alike, become potent political factors. The defeated plan revenge, try to salvage what they can from the wreckage, and the victors try to avoid repeating old mistakes. Boundaries are redrawn and traditional balances are upset. It becomes clear that the coalition that brought victory was held together by a common danger and, when that danger has been eliminated, the old conflicts -- suspicions and appetites, comes to the fore again. Problems obscured by the fog of battle emerge with clarity and urgency and cannot be removed by rhetoric.

MURROW: (Cont'd) That process is now well under way. The area of disagreement between the Allies of yesterday is great and that is so because the war has created in Europe and in Asia a great "no man's land." The two powers, around which many smaller powers revolved, have been smashed. The old systems of trade, transport, communications, and even security have been smashed. There is hunger and desperation, unstable government, shaky currency, social unrest, disillusionment and much cynicism.

The last war in Europe was a shaking war. It shook the very foundations of ordered life. Three great dynasties were destroyed, but the pieces were somehow patched together again. This war was a breaking war. It destroyed the old pattern and it left problems more massive than any that followed the last war. The Foreign Ministers have now been meeting in London for two weeks. They have succeeded in setting up a permanent secretariat and that's about all they have done. The meetings have been surrounded with considerable secrecy, but the broad lines of disagreement are clear.

Russia has been dominating the Conference. She has a clear policy, which is aimed at the maintenance of friendly governments in southeast Europe. Mr. Molotov is not happy about the present government in Greece, while the United States and Britain find the governments of Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary unacceptable. The Russians succeeded in barring Greece from the discussions regarding the peace treaty with Italy, and, then, surprised their Allies by concluding an economic pact with Hungary, which would appear to give Russia high degree of control over the economy of that country.

London sources say that this treaty was concluded without consultation with Britain or America and with a government which they do not recognize. The Russian suggestion that they would like to act as trustee for Tripolitania and perhaps other areas should probably not be taken as a very serious bid. It is more likely to have been a bargaining point, calculated to secure recognition for their claims and their governments in southeast Europe. Russian policy in this whole area has been consistent. She desires a group of friendly states as a cushion against the west. She seems to be willing for them to retain their cultural autonomy, but they must be friendly. And that means that they must be tied, defensively and economically, to the Soviet Union.

The British are highly sensitive to Russian presence on or near the Mediterranean. They feel about that almost as we would if a strong power should extend its influence to the very edge of the Panama Canal Zone. The Russians have refused to withdraw their forces from northern Iran because so long as they are there they represent a very strong bargaining point. London, for the last two weeks, has

MURROW: (Cont'd) been the scene of some hard bargaining and it is clear that no deal has been concluded. Delay is inevitable and delay will be expensive in that part of the world for it means not only continued hardship for the people who live there; it also means more delay in reestablishing anything like stability in all of southeast Europe and the Middle East.

It would seem that the United States is not content to play the role of mediator, but is conscious of the responsibility which great power places upon us. And when it comes to a bargaining point, President Truman's suggestion that Europe's inland waterways should be internationalized certainly matches any of the Russian proposals, for that is one thing Russia does not want to happen and, especially, she does not want international control of the Dardanelles.

The American proposal that no general reparations claim should be made against Italy, that Trieste should go to Italy with a substantial part of the port being turned into a free zone, and that Italy's northern frontiers should remain much as they were, is proof that this country is not reluctant to exercise leadership far from home. These arguments are inevitable and there are many more to come. The discussions of frontiers and reparations and bases and economic relations will certainly go on for years. Conferences may well meet and break up without accomplishing anything. There will probably be no shortage of diplomatic crises. Harsh words will go bouncing 'round the world. It is certain that our patience will be severely tested. As a nation, we shall hardly win any popularity contests for we are too powerful. It seems, on the basis of the evidence so far available, that we shall have certain domestic matters to engage our attention, and others in the Pacific. It will be easy to become thoroughly fed up with these European nations and their thousand-year-old quarrels.

(MORE)

cr

MURROW:
(CONT'D) I think we shall be frequently irritated by their ingratitude and their unwillingness to behave and do what we tell them. After all, we have never been the most patient of people. This country was in large measure created by the impatient, but we must recognize that this breaking war left unprecedented problems. What we are now witnessing in Europe is merely the proof of Clemenceau's statement that "it is so much easier to devise methods of killing people than to develop a system under which they can live together in peace." Europe is not only tired -- it is sick and sensitive and many nations are in a mood to try experiments which will not commend themselves to us. Our diplomats in Europe may have a difficult time, but not so difficult as our soldiers had. Our only chance of securing a Europe that won't bother us is to participate in its rebuilding.

I have been reading a thoughtful magazine article by a friend of mine, John Chamberlain. He deals with an event which affected the lives of all of us - the attack at Pearl Harbor and the events that led up to it. He concludes that valuable lessons can be learned as the result of a thorough going investigation. That is probably true, for the people have a right to know what was done in their name. It is no part of a reporter's function to comment upon the ethics, patriotism or political tactics which caused Mr. Dewey to refrain from making public a top military secret, namely, that we had broken the Japanese ultra (?) code sometime before Pearl Harbor. But Mr. Chamberlain states: "To say that we were slugged without warning is a radical distortion of the truth. Roosevelt, the Chief Executive of the nation and the Commander-in-Chief of its Army and Navy, knew in advance that the Japanese were going to attack us, " and, he adds, "there is even grounds for suspicion that he elected to bring the crisis to a head, when it came." And Mr. Chamberlain continues: "More than 15 hours before Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt and the members of the Washington High Command knew that the Japanese envoys were going to break with the United States the next day. The only thing they did not know was the precise point of the military attack."

These are serious charges and, presumably, will be investigated in due course. I should like to make some comment upon them. I dined at the White House on that Pearl Harbor Sunday evening. The President did not appear for dinner, but sent word down that I was to wait. He required some information about Britain and the Blitz, from which I had just returned. I waited. There was a steady stream of visitors -- Cabinet members and Senate leaders. In the course of the evening I had some opportunity to exchange a few words with Harry Hopkins and two or three Cabinet members when they emerged from conference. There was ample opportunity to observe at close range the bearing and expression of Mr. Stimson, Colonel Knox and Secretary Hull. If they were <u>not</u> surprised by the news from Pearl Harbor, then that group of elderly men were putting on a performance which would have excited the admiration of any experienced actor.

MURROW:
(CONT'D) I cannot believe that their expressions, bearing and conversation were designed merely to impress one correspondent who was sitting outside in the hallway. It may be that the degree of the disaster had appalled them and that they had known for sometime, as Mr. Chamberlain asserts, that Japan would attack, but I could not believe it then and I cannot do so now.

There was amazement and anger written large on most of the faces. Sometime after midnight (it must have been nearly one in the morning) the President sent for me. I have seen certain statesmen of the world in time of crisis. Never have I seen one so calm and steady. He was completely relaxed. He told me much of the day's events, asked questions about how the people of Britain were standing up to their ordeal, inquired after the health of certain mutual friends in London. In talking about Pearl Harbor he was as much concerned about the aircraft lost on the ground as about the ships destroyed or damaged.

Just before I left, he President said: "Did this surprise you"? I replied: "Yes, Mr. President," and his answer was: "Maybe you think it didn't surprise us!" I believed him. He had told me enough of the day's disaster to know that there was no possibility of my writing a line about that interview till the war was over. I have ventured to recount part of that interview now because it seems to me to be relevant to a current controversy.

This is Edward R. Murrow in New York.

Here is Warren Sweeney.

SWEENEY: (Commercial)

This is CBS... THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Ed. trans. - Adele A. Cardiff

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Murrow to CBS... September thirty...

During the last week more of the problems of peace..the tensions ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ that accompany victory ,became ~~pa~~ aparent...There were minor explosions from Saigon to Harlem....Strikes here at home...violence in Indo-China..Australian stevedores refusing to Load ships bound for the Dutch East Indies because they dont like Dutch and allied policy there...The news has reflected a nervousness and irritability...a sense of frustration arising from the realisation that the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ translation of general promises into concrete and rather detailed action and decisions,is not going to be easy..and is not to be achieved in a hurry..One decision,reached in London, did something to relieve the gloom that has surrounded the meeting of Foreign ministers.. Our Government proposed a plan which will result in the creation of something like an Allied controll Council for Japan...The other major powers accepted it..This was a foreefull de,onstration that we are prepared to practice in the east what we have urged in the west...There is no question of an allied occupation force for Japan..Our armies will remain the instrument by which policy will be enforced but we have not sought ot exclude our allies from the making of long range policy.. American influence in Japan will naturally be dominant..just as Russias is in South east Europe...The rest of the news from London has been less encouraging. An effort has been made to solve the deadlock but the compromise as outlined can cause little rejoicing..It is proposed that there should be a meeting of all nations allied against the axis in Europe..and that the small nations should have a chance to state their ~~xxxx~~ position regarding SE Europe..and then the big three..the US,Russia and Britain would decide what's to be done...This would mean that the Russian effort to exclude France and China has been sucesfull.. ..and that would not be proff of progress towards a solution..It would mean postponement.. a chance for the small powers to speak their peace..but the most serious aspect of this suggestion is the exclusion of France from decisions which must affect her future..There is ,and there has been for some time,the possibility that France may come to occupy the position that Italy did after the last war..a member of the victorious coalition but still an unsatisfied and bitter power,harbouring strong resentment against her late allies...It is difficult to see how any European settlement,which leaves France in that position,can last..Eventually the Americans and the British troops will go home..they will leave the continent of Europe..but the French must go on living there...There can be no doubt that the preparation for the London conference was alltogether inadequate...The Russians arrived with a plan for

SE Europe...The British and ourselves didnt like it but didnt have a concrete alternative...So far as western Europe is concerned America and Britain had no plan at all..The Russians were indifferent about that part of the world so long as it wasnt formed into a western block which might be hostile to the Soviet Union...The British were frightened of the Russian crawl towards the Medd and t the Persian Gulf...Both nations wanted the same thing..which was security..and they have both been trying to get it by old fashioned methods of diplomacy... there is no mutual belief in the good intentions stated by the other side..What has been happening in London is a struggle for power...That should surprise no one..There is no evid nce that war makes either nations or negotiators more willing to trust one another..or to sacrafice what they believe to be national advantage...What starts out as suspicion can turn into certainty in peace as i war...And during the last couple of weeks the British and Russian press has been sowing much suspicion...and some organs of opinion here have contributed their share...It is clear that Britains Socialist government shares the cxxx Conservative suspicion of Russian intentions...and the Russians are convinced that whatever the complexion of a British government it must oppose Russian ambitions in the Medd. and the Middle east...Comment on both sides becomes more blunt and bitter...For Example a British publication which is distributed thru official channels in this country,..the London Commentary on World affairs.. had this to say..The fate of Europe and much else beside now depends upon the continued strength and united persistence at the council table of Britain and the United States...It claims that Russian military power and her determination to ensure her security in her own way threatens to destroy in large areas t absolute respect for individual conscience which we regard as the core of democracy...The London commentary is not an official pronouncement but there is no question that it reflects foreign office opinion..It denounces Russian policy in the Balkans,asserting that the governments there are puppets, established by Moscow and run by communists who dominate the other parties.... There was strong criticism of rule by force..and one party democracy...And the London commentary sums the whole thing up in this fashion...We are confronted with the possibility that the Victorious allies may find themselves incapable of unified action in shaping the peace..In that event,the conduct of international affairs would disintegrate,and the splitting of the world into mutually exclusive zones of influence,economic and political,would go deep...Such a development is certainly a possibility...but such pessimism seems hardly justified by developments to date...the london conference has lasted for nineteen days... It has reached no fundamental decisions..and probably wont do so..the Russian demands have not been met...

the area of disagreement has been outlined...It hasnt been like some of the conferences that ~~xxxx~~ preceede this war..where there was always ..complete agreement on paper..and none in fact...We are gradually coming to understand the size and complexity of the problems confronting statesmanship...and where does that leave us.?Surely not in the position of arbitrating between Britain and Russia...and presumably not in the position of supporting any and all British claims...We have power..and in some areas it can be decisive..but not in all... We cannot for example guarantee support and sustain our system of democracy in Rumania Bulgaria and Jugoslavia..at least we cant if the Russians dont agree ~~xxx~~ with us about the meaning and practice of democracy..and they dont...Compromise may be possible..~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but it will take much time and ~~xxxxx~~ patience...It will require the recognition that Most of Europe is moving to the l[illegible]...is willing to discard certain ~~xxxxxxxx~~ freedoms which still seem to us essential..in the hope of securing greater economic equality and stability..~~xxx~~ Most respect our power...after all they have seen it..and most of us here havent. we just produced it...~~xxx~~ For instance american air power has been seen by millions in Europe..but most of us here have only heard about it.. Our power in battle and in the organisation of supply has won their admiration and respect but they are not convinced that we have found all of the answers to the question of the citizens relation to the state..or the ideal compromise between liberty and controll....Europe came near to dying and is still convalescing ...Some nations are in a mood to try drastic remedies..most are looking for a middle road between us and the Russians...They are inclined to regard our action in Europe as an honest and accurate reflection of policies and attitudes at h[illegible]...That is not always the case...We have been seeing a demonstration of that in Germany..The war against ~~xxxxxx~~ Fascism was won..it was to eradicated..the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ business hasnt been carried out with mush speed..It requires the indiscretion of a general...and there are other high ranking officers who share General Pattons views..to insure the dismissal of Nazis from high office in Bavaria..Other Europeans wonder about these things...The problems of Occupation present peculiar problems for an American army...In the first place its a homesick army..and who would have it otherwise...We admire efficiency..and the Germans are efficient...They are hard working and thrifty..they are clean and our area of occupation is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as one GI put it to me.. one of the finest pieces of real estate in the world...In defeat the German is docile,obeys the orders of the occupying force..There is many ~~xxx~~ American soldier who likes the Germans better than the French Belgians or British.... There are many officers in our army who are living better..with more power ,

comfort and servants,than he ever had before,or is ever likely to have again... There has been a disposition in some quarters to treat the whole matter of fraternisation as a slightly obscene joke...I dont know anyone who is worried about soldiers in germany being converted to national socialism..they are too tough mind d for that...But they may well come back with a distorted impression of Europe and Europeans... The occupying troops might have been one of the most powerfull educational forces in Germany... But they were inadequately briefed on why it was necessary for them to go there and are even less informed as to why it is necessary for them to stay there..The army trained men to fight in an unbelievably short time..but the fighting is finished..and the training for occupation.. was and still is wholly inadequate.. While the fighting was going on..the best outfits on the ground and in the air were those who had been properly briefed..who knew what was expected of them and why..There would seem to be no reason why the same thing couldnt be done for the men who must stay over there..It would be important for them and for the nation..for many Europeans have a distorted idea of this country..they are inclined to regard our administration of our zone of germany as a small scale model of what we do ..the way we act..at home.. Someone once said that an unemployed army may be as dangerous as an army of unemployed

Insert.....

Tomorrow I must return to Europe...with a few general impressions gained during three weeks in NY and Washington....The interest in foreign affairs has survived the peace..to a quite remarkable extent...We are uneasy about the future and insufficiently aware of what labour management and military achieved during the last four years...Taxi drivers have become more courteous..Our most overworked phrase is " Out of This World".....Twenty intelligent people..questioned about anti semitism..all said it was increasing..few evidenced any desire to do anything about it....There is probably less unity here than in most European countries because our civilians suffered less and our prospects of prosperity are better...There was a sign reading beefsteak..forty cents...and an advertisement saying I could buy a plane from a depertment store..there was food being wasted..~~thexexwaxaxsnxxxx xfxzxxxx~~....There were no obvious signs of a spiritual reveival...There was more serious and informed talk about the atomic bomb than I have heard anywhere in Europe...~~Thexxzxxxxxxxxxx xthexexxxxxxxxxxx~~...Most people appear to recognise,though sometimes reluctantly,that we have become part of the world..and that there can be no going back....But I think the dominant impression is really an old one..it is the sense of confidence,energy and optomism that is ~~inxthexxxxx~~ part of us..People talk of the quarells to come.. the manifold problems that confront us,labour problems,race problems, international problems..they are not small,any of them,~~xxxxxxx~~ but there remains at bottom that belief that there is nothing we cannot do...

C.B.S. SUNDAY OCTOBER 7, 1945.
18.45-19.00 G.M.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

When the Queen Mary came up Southampton Water this morning we could see the scars left by the bombing five years ago. It was easy to remember the smoke, the smell of cordite, and the tired people who came out of the air raid shelters after that last big raid on Southampton. Today there was a parade.... British prisoners of war coming home. The people of this port stood on the sidewalks and cheered. They were rather shabby - they looked tired - their clothes were drab - the contrast with New York was striking.

~~When the papers became aboard the yxxxfizzizzx~~ Crossing the Atlantic these days - at least crossing it by ship - is an altogether strange experience. About three years ago I crossed in the Queen Elizabeth, together with about eighteen thousand G.I.'s. Then we had air cover coming out of New York - a couple of Liberators picked us up somewhere off Iceland - we had dawn alerts - two meals a day - we stood in line for hours - everyone was slightly apprehensive..... the boys didn't even know where they were going. This crossing was different, and in some ways more frightening. There were only a few hundred people aboard - they all had a reason for travelling, and they were all worried. Mr. Biddle and Judge Parker, going to represent us at the trial of German war criminals - to establish a new body of law - to create a precedent. There were Generals and Air Marshals and Professors, movie magnates and just ordinary people. There was reasonable comfort, no standing in line; the only evidence of those earlier crossings were the G.I.'s initials carved in a rail. But it was not a happy ship. Every conversation came finally back to the insecurity, the sense that somehow things had got out of hand; that the problems confronting the people on this ship were perhaps more difficult, more complex than were those confronting the G.I.'s three years ago. The ship wasn't blacked out as it was then; the

the wearing of lifebelts wasn't compulsory; there were only the normal hazards of a peacetime crossing. The weather was kind, the food excellent, and every conversation finally came round to the recognition that there is no security in this atomic age. Time after time after time this uncertainty, this sense of awed bewilderment manifested itself. It was not a reflection of the day-to-day flow of news, although that had very little hopeful content during the week. I think it was rather the fact that a few hundred people were removed for a short time from the pressure and the routine to which they were accustomed, and were disposed to think of what is happening in the world. There were not many optimists aboard. The comfort of the crossing gave no sense of security.

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"There is nothing unusual in an international conference encountering a difficulty which threatens to become a deadlock. Probably most conferences do so, at some point in their course, and for a while it seems touch-and-go for a total collapse. But eventually they find a way past the obstacle. The unusual thing is that this time no way past was found. Why was that? Partly, perhaps, because the negotiation was not at the highest level, and concessions made by the negotiators had to be ratified by the Heads of Governments, who were sitting at home outside the negotiating atmosphere. Partly, too, because the core of the negotiation was narrowed down to three nations; if there had been more parties and more points of view, there might have been a wider field for compromise. But more fundamentally, because the Russian standpoint differs from that of all other independent countries, and is not easily reconciled.

"The difference first showed its diplomatic consequences at San Francisco, where all the serious hitches were of Russian origin. It was repeated in London, where no one can doubt that if the drafting of treaties had been committed to Great Britain, the United States, France and China only, they would without serious trouble have accomplished their task. Russia did eventually accept the San Francisco scheme. But it can hardly succeed in the sequel, unless the very important part assigned to her, in it, is discharged in a more definitely co-operative spirit than she has shown since the end of the war.

"The difficulty appears to be rooted in what is sometimes called the difference in ideology. Take, for example, the issue which has been raised at Berlin in regard to the revival of German trade-unionism.

The Russians have set about creating a German trade-union movement on the Russian model; that is, the officials of the unions will not be chosen by the members but by the Government, which will take care that they are obedient members of the Communist party. The British, French and American policy is that the officials should be freely chosen by the members. The contrast is that between an authoritarian and a democratic regime. We need not discuss which is the better; it is sufficient to note that they are diametrically opposite and cannot be combined, whereas the area of Berlin, though divided into four for Allied military occupation, seems bound to remain one for trade unionism. It should be added that in this instance, as in so many others, the Russians never consulted either us or the Americans, but went ahead with their own policy to confront us with an accomplished fact."

That would appear to be a fair summary of British press reaction to the collapse of the Conference.

Today the British are looking at pictures of the Duke of Windsor who is home for the first time in five years....the papers are telling them that General Eisenhower thinks Hitler may still be alive... Somehow Britain which is a very familiar place ...seems strange and unknown...Perhaps that is because Americans never leave home...all the way over on the boat..the impressions of home kept coming back.. There is that phrase..certainly the most overworked in our language today..at least in NY and Washington....OUT OF THIS WORLD...I am still not sure what it means...unless perhaps we are not like any other place in this world...And then there is the memory of twenty people ...all intelligent...I put the same question to all of them...asking whether anti semitism was increasing...and they all said yes..and appeared to be only slightly interested in doing anything about it...

America from the outside seems to be so big..so strong..we are regarded abroad with a mixture of awe and aprehension...We have more of

of the worlds goods than anyone else..and we want more...We are , I think the most generous people on earth...we have more infirmation thrown at us....Our papers and our radio carry material that is not to be found elsewehere...we are so well dressed..so full of vitamins..we are in fact ..out of this world...We still laugh..most of us seem to believe that that things will go on getting better...Our standard of living is the envy of the world..millions of people want to come to our country... and at the same time they are somewat frightened of us..they know not what we shall do with our strength....The people on this ship last week...they may not have been typical...maybe they were not a good cross section...people studying public opinion might well have decided that they were not representative...but they were worried... they had an uneasy feeling that..our country was placed in a position where it had to lead....they were all coming to Europe..where many will starve this winter.....The scientists knew that we couldnt keep the secret of the atomic bomb...the professors who were going to the conference of the International Labour Office knew that we faced serious labour problems at home....The movie magnates had an uneasy feeling that maybe American pictures had not been giving the rest of the world a true picture of our country...The reporters on board were hoping to do a better job than they had done before ..Those of us who have spent some time in Europe..specifically Bill Shirer and myself...had seen conferences fail before...many times the failure was disguised with polite language..there was much talk of complete agreement...The foreign ministers conference didnt agree..and we all know it...Grave issues were debated..and the danger is great..but the issues have been brought out into the open..they will not be quickly resolved..but there was no faking of the record... Surely this is some improvement....This meeting of foreign ministers was ill prepared..peace is not to be achieved at a single sitting... Only the rash and arrogant couldn have believed that the world would fall back into the old familiar pattern..or that peace is easier to to make than war..

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C.B.S. SUNDAY OCTOBER 7, 1945.
18.45-19.00 G.M.T.

EDWARD R. MURROW

When the Queen Mary came up Southampton Water this morning we could see the scars left by the bombing five years ago. It was easy to remember the smoke, the smell of cordite, and the tired people who came out of the air raid shelters after that last big raid on Southampton. Today there was a parade.... British prisoners of war coming home. The people of this port stood on the sidewalks and cheered. They were rather shabby - they looked tired - their clothes were drab - the contrast with New York was striking.

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ERM IN SOUTHAMPTON..... WARRE N SWEENY

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY OCTOBER 14, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: After the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon is reported to have said: "Another victory like this and I shall be ruined". The British are not yet prepared to echo that statement or to cry "Woe to the victor"; but their problems and perplexities increase weekly - a state of affairs which it might be observed is not confined to the United Kingdom.

Leaving aside ~~the~~ many of the basic problems such as housing, food, exports, relations with Russia, and ~~many others~~ a host of others, I should like to talk about three or four problems that have been engaging the attention of the people of this country during the past week. As you know, there is now in progress a strike of stevedores and longshoremen. About 45 thousand men are out, and the government is using troops to unload priority cargo. It is safe to assume that most of the strikers voted for the present Labour Government - this is not a strike against the government. It is an outlaw strike, proposed by the Union leaders; the men get no strike pay; the whole thing sort of grew by contagion from one port to another. The men are demanding five dollars a day and a forty-hour week. The local and the national union leaders are unable to keep the men in line, while the well-established process of negotiation goes forward. To a considerable extent the union leaders have lost touch with the rank and file, because for five years labour was so strictly

controlled and mobilised that the decisions were made here in London, and the Union leaders were more or less by agreement government officials. During the war many of the dock workers' wives were employed in war factories. They have now lost their jobs, and the family income is thereby reduced. The men are tired after six years; they are impatient and fearful of the future. In spite of what their leaders tell them they seem to believe that unless they strike for a slight improvement in conditions now, they will not get them later on. There have been the usual charges about outside agitators, and it is true that the revolutionary Communist Party, made up of Trotskyites, is supporting the strike. But in the opinion of most observers here, the influence of this small group is not sufficient to account for the widespread nature of the walk-out. It has been said that the nation's food supply is in danger, and that certain perishable cargos ~~ix~~ waiting to be discharged may be lost. The strikers reply that the perishable stuff is in refrigerator ships and is therefore in no danger.

It seems certain that with the possible exception of bacon this week's rations will be in the shops all right.

So far the government has refused pleas for direct intervention, insisting that the dispute be solved through established methods of arbitration. The strike could develop into a major domestic crisis - it has not done so yet. Incidentally, there has been no public protest against the use of troops for the unloading of priority cargo.

Another question that has caused much discussion - one that is particularly perplexing to this Labour Government - is Palestine. It is an old controversy . I have neither desire nor competence to engage in the long-standing controversy about the future of that troubled land. But it might be useful to explore the problems of policy that confront the British government in relation to it. The British White Paper of 1939 proposed to restrict and to finally stop Jewish immigration into Palestine. The Labour Party opposed that policy. The annual conferences of the Party went on record against it. Labour Party candidates, not all but many of them, stood on platforms and promised that a Labour Government would make Palestine a national Jewish home. The Labour Government is now in power , and it is convinced that such a policy cannot in the foreseeable future be carried out by any British Government. There have been published reports that the government has decided to admit fifteen hundred Jews a month for the next year, during which some solution would be sought. That is not yet government policy. It is merely a recommendation ~~The mounting tension in Palestine has caused Britain to send some of her best troops there, including armour and airborne forces~~ made by British Middle-East experts. The mounting tension in Palestine has caused Britain to send some of her best troops there, including armour and airborne forces. The British, as the mandatory power in Palestine, are responsible for the maintenance of law and order. No one would maintain that their policy in the past has been above reproach; but they now appear to be convinced that any substantial increase in the number of Jewish immigrants can be achieved in only one of three ways: by agreement with the Arabs

(which they believe to be impossible); by the use of force, which would involve warfare on a considerable scale; or by the active participation of the United States. President Truman has suggested to Prime Minister Attlee the immediate granting of one hundred thousand certificates of admission to Palestine. This suggestion, which was not accompanied by any positive offer of American assistance, has created considerable caustic comment, both in public and in private. For the British are convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the admission of any such number would involve them in large-scale and protracted warfare with the Arab world. During the past week Members of both Parties who claim to be familiar with Palestinian problems have told me that the presence of a few American troops - the estimates have run from two hundred to two thousand - would guarantee the peaceful absorption of an increasing number of Jews into Palestine. According to the latest reports reaching London, the few remaining American troops in that area are being evacuated by air. The British cannot solve this problem alone, and they know it. The immediate problem, as you know, is the presence of one hundred thousand ~~displaced~~ Jews in camps for Displaced Persons in Western Europe. Their plight is desperate. ~~If you doubt it~~ They have nowhere to go. Permit me to give you certain information which I believe to be entirely reliable, which appears in today's Observer. "Of the original inmates of Belsen concentration camp, 23 thousand have died since the camp was liberated by British troops on April 15th. 21 thousand were Jews. The survivors of Belsen still walk around in light summer clothing. No coal has been

promised for the winter; most of the people are too weak to cut firewood. The Jews meet with unabated hostility from their non-Jewish countrymen. No Jews sit on the camp administration which has been appointed by the British military authorities. The Polish committee in the camp, which is recognised by the British authorities as representative, is free of Jews. And the Observer's reporter said he was given copies of a clandestine newspaper published by Jews at the Camp. No one who has seen these camps - and I have - can doubt that the Jews were singled out for starvation and maltreatment of a very special kind. There are still about a hundred thousand of them in the camps. Is it wise or proper that we should urge upon the British, without offer of assistance, that they should transfer these people to a country which is predominantly Arab? I do not know..... So far I have merely been trying to report as honestly as I could the dilemma which confronts Britain as the Power holding the mandate over Palestine. The immediate pressure for immigration certificates arises from the plight of these hundred thousand Jews in camps in Germany. For my own part I am bewildered by the assumption that they must either go to Palestine - where their safety can only be ensured by force - or be left to rot in idleness behind barbed wire on nineteen hundred calories a day. Is it not true that this concentration on Palestine as the only possible refuge is the result of the unwillingness of the British Commonwealth and the United States - those capacious and otherwise generous areas of the world - to accept them. Judging by the public print both here and at home, I am persuaded that most

of us are in some danger of trying in an altogether futile fashion to bury our conscience in the sands of Palestine.

But above strikes, and Palestine, and the nationalisation of the Bank of England, and a new war in Java - perhaps more important than all these - has emerged the revolt of the scientists. They have emerged from their laboratories, both at home and over here. We are now witnessing a major and perhaps decisive intervention by organised science in the field of politics. Their position is one of great power. On Wednesday of this week the matter of the control of the Atomic Bomb will be raised in the House of Commons. British scientists are meeting to determine their position. When it is finally announced, I am told that they will agree in large measure with their American colleagues. There seems to be an unwillingness on the part of the scientist to become a xx civil servant, or to confine his researches, or indeed his opinions, within frameworks established by government. It would appear that there is greater agreement amongst scientists than amongst politicians. It seems safe to assume that British scientists, like American, will conclude that they have produced something which is not only frightening to those who produced it, but which also presents a choice between clinging to old-fashioned sovereignty which may produce suspicion and then suicide, or of moving on to something which will permit at least the hope that a world organisation may prevent the destruction of this minor planet.

While waiting for the politicians and the scientists to

determine the shape of the world to come, it is necessary to report that a human problem has concerned many people in this country during the past week. There are a lot of wives of American soldiers who want to get to America. There are in fact about 25 thousand wives, and about 20 thousand children. They are unable to secure transport; there have been protest meetings; and delegations have appeared at our Embassy. No one appears to be able to tell these British girls and their children just when they can expect to travel to the States; but they are a most determined group, and the wives are already asking questions about how come lecturers and movie stars and other unessential individuals are permitted to make the westward crossing when they aren't. I would hesitate to encourage unduly any of my G.I. friends who married English girls, but I can report that their campaign is being conducted with a skill and determination which would seem to indicate that they are really anxious to get over there. ~~Nax&xixx wifexhasxyetxchainedxherselfxtoxthexrailingxoutsidexthexAmericanxx Embassyx~~

It is announced today that Mr. Churchill is suffering from a sore throat, and will not be able to attend this week's sessions of the House of Commons. ~~Thatxx~~ His doctors say that it is only a sore throat, that there are no chest complications, which is just another way of saying that he is not threatened with the pneumonia which endangered his life three times within the last four years. Mr. Churchill's indisposition means that the

Opposition will be denied his eloquence in opposing the Supplies and Services Bill, which is merely a complicated way of saying that the government proposes a continuation of the control of prices and the rationing of commodities for a period of five years. But it is certain that not even Mr. Churchill's eloquence would have prevailed against the Bill, and no one, ~~will~~ not even his enemies, will fail to rejoice about the minor character of his illness.

CBS. LONDON: SUNDAY OCTOBER 21, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: This House of Commons must be one of the hardest working legislative assemblies in the world. Four nights last week the House sat until after eleven o'clock, and that meant that some of the Members had to walk home, for the buses stop running at ten. The Kitchen Committee - sometimes referred to as the "Ministry of the Interior" - decided that the price of meals in the House of Commons' dining room should be reduced, tipping abolished, and something done to improve the quality of the food. The House accepted the Report enthusiastically, but it's still a good bet that Members will have to stand in line for their meals.

But last week in Parliament ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ we witnessed a major battle argued with ability and considerable bitterness. The debate was not widely reported over here, but it involved an issue of very great importance. At home we would have called it a conflict between the Executive and the Legislative branches of government. At the risk of over-simplifying a lengthy, involved and at times technical debate, I should like to try to explain what happened, for I think the result gives clear and convincing proof of the policy that I think will be followed by this Labour Government. The Bill under discussion was called "The Supplies and Services Bill". It provided for the continuation for a period of five years of the emergency wartime powers over industry and trade. Before the Coalition Government broke up all Parties had agreed that these powers should be extended for a period of two years - but that was at a time when the government thought the

war with Japan might last another eighteen months. Last week the Labour Government went to the House, and said "We want these emergency powers not for two years but for five." The Conservative opposition replied "Nothing doing; we are prepared to give you the powers for two years, but at the end of that time you should be willing to come back before the House of Commons and argue the case again." The Government replied that it must make long-range plans for a minimum of five years, and that it didn't want to waste Parliamentary time by debating the whole thing again two years from now. Finally the government used its two hundred majority and passed the Bill. No peacetime government has ever been given such sweeping powers. The effect is to rivet upon this country for a period of five years wartime control over industry, trade, and to a lesser extent over individuals. ~~Government spokesmen~~ During the war the government had to go to the House of Commons every year and ask that these powers be renewed. Now they can be exercised for five years without being referred back to Parliament. If the Labour Party fails to carry out its program it cannot blame that failure upon a lack of power. Government spokesmen indicated that probably not all of the powers would be used, but the important point would seem to be that they have been voted, and can be exercised without further Parliamentary approval. The government can regulate prices, both of finished products and raw material. It can continue to control all imports and exports. It can operate its own factories and use the price of the product as a yardstick measuring the prices that will be permitted to be charged by private

firms. It can commandeer but not confiscate land for the building of houses. This legislation gives the Labour Government power to go ahead with its own Five Year Plan.

The Bill has yet to pass the House of Lords, where in theory it might be held up for two years, for the Conservative opposition hold a majority in the House of Lords. If that should happen there would be a major Constitutional crisis, and the House of Lords would, in effect, commit suicide. For the Labour Government can always create sufficient peers from its own Party to outvote the Conservatives. So it seems safe to assume that the Supplies and Services Bill will shortly become law. It will be a more important law than any other that is likely to be passed during this session of Parliament, for it gives to the Party in power control over the industry and trade of the nation. And during the coming five years certain patterns and practices will be established which it will be difficult for any subsequent government, whatever its political complexion, to alter. It is a Bill of enormous domestic importance, and its effects will not be confined to this country, because the government's wartime power to control and direct imports, exports and to a large degree the whole economy of this country, is to be continued for the next five years. It is only fair to say that this piece of legislation was not passed by trickery or subterfuge, and should have come as no surprise to the intelligent voter. The continuation of these controls formed an integral part of the

Labour Party's platform, and the issue was debated from one end of the country to the other during the National Election.

~~But what is possible in~~ But in Britain, more than in most countries, what is possible domestically depends upon what happens internationally. In the field of foreign affairs the week brought little that was decisive or encouraging. Affairs have not marched toward a solution in Java, Indo-China or Palestine. The British want to get out of the Dutch and French territory in south-east Asia. They have enough problems elsewhere. They are primarily concerned to maintain good relations with the French and Dutch governments in Europe, for on that depends what hope they may have of security and stability in Western Europe. The Dutch press and radio have been pretty caustic in their comments about British policy in Java. And indeed British correspondents out there have been painting a pretty gloomy picture of confusion and delay. The Dutch are particularly bitter over the six weeks that elapsed between the capitulation of the Japanese and the arrival of the first British troops. And they claim also that Britain and America declined to put shipping at their disposal - shipping which belongs to Holland in the international pool - in order that Dutch forces might have reached the Islands earlier.

Another obvious reason for British support of the European powers in Asia is the fear that any encouragement of the independence movements might have serious repercussions in British territory, particularly Burma and Malaya. However, these problems of Empire

do not seem to engage seriously the attention of many people here. There are too many sombre issues nearer home. ~~I suppose it would be possible to single out any one of a dozen and maintain that it was a fundamental problem, and that upon its solution rested much of Europe's prospects for peace~~ The absence of any effective conversations between Russia and the Western Powers means that much of Europe remains in a state of suspense, threatened by famine and suffering from nervous exasperation. There is no indication of any joint economic policy for Germany. The Allied Control Commission did decide to increase the income tax all over Germany, but that's all. In the East the Russians are carrying out sweeping land reforms, and stripping the industrial plants. They are encouraging political activity by those likely to agree with them. In the American zone a few factories are being destroyed, and political activity severely restricted. The British in their zone appear to be doing what they can to get industry started again. Meanwhile the tone of the Russian press and radio becomes more critical, while Russian prestige in Britain diminishes. The latest development which demonstrates what is probably an honest difference of opinion regarding the handling of political affairs in ex-enemy countries, is to be found in Hungary. The relatively conservative Smallholders' Party won the municipal elections in Budapest. The Moscow press and radio did not like the outcome, talked of reactionaries and those who desired to deny to the Hungarians the benefits of democratic development. The Russian Commander in

Budapest then called in representatives of all the Parties, and suggested that they agree on a single list of candidates for the National Election. This is the reverse of ~~ax~~ traditional British practice, where all-Party governments have been formed, but generally after an election, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ which demonstrates the relative strength of the Parties, and not before. The Russians obviously see nothing wrong in presenting the voters with a single list of candidates, since that is what they do in their own country; but such a practice does notconform with Western ideas of a government freely chosen by the people. The Hungarians themselves have had very little experience with this sort of election.

It seems possible that this difference in political philosophy and attitude towards justice may be reflected in the trial of War Criminals at Nuremberg. The British, so far as I can gather, are determined that all legal forms and practices shall be strictly observed, and that the accused shall have adequate and extended opportunity for defence. That is the practice they have followed at the Belsen trials; and the Russians have been very critical of the procedure there, saying that the ~~trials~~ trial had become an example of how not to try Fascist criminals, with its "delays, court investigations, and disregard of the political element". Of course, the Russian criticism is at least understandable, when a British Major defending the head of the Belsen concentration camp is quoted as saying: "The concentration camps of Germany came to contain the dregs of the ghettos of Middle Europe. People

who had very little idea how to behave in ordinary life, or of doing what they were told." There were many Russians and practically no Englishmen in those camps. And it is understandable that such statements, together with a certain Anglo-American reluctance to dismiss Nazi officials, should create suspicion in Russian minds.

A study of the European press and radio certainly indicates that a suspicion and irritation has been increasing since the collapse of the Foreign Ministers' Conference here in London. Grievances between nations as between individuals may be no less dangerous because they are imagined. It is getting cold and wet xx over most of Europe. ~~Thexwinterx~~ Conditions for millions will be indescribable. The big nations appear to be waiting, each for the other to make the first move. It is going to be terribly hard to make up the time that is being lost. And for hundreds of thousands if not millions it will be too late. ~~Delayx~~ ~~inxxettingxxxxxsolvingx~~ More may die than perished in the concentration camps, and then where will the people look for the criminals?

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY NOVEMBER 11, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT. EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Today, under a cold November sun, Britons remembered the eleventh day and the eleventh hour. A dozen R.A.F. trumpeters sounded the Last Post at the Cenotaph in Whitehall. ~~xxxxxx~~ The King placed a wreath of poppies - a few of the youngsters who survived the Battle of Britain mingled with gray-haired men who had fought in two wars. There was the usual service in Westminster Abbey, and it ended with those great words from Lincoln's Second Inaugural: "Grant, O Merciful God, that with malice toward none, with charity to all, with firmness in the right, as thou givest us to see the right, we may strive to finish this task which Thou hast appointed us. Bind up the nation's wounds to care for him who shall have born the battle, and for widows and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting Peace among ourselves and with all nations". As the crowds left the great Abbey the air was keen and chill, and not entirely perhaps because the November sun was lacking in warmth. There was no high hope to hurry people back to their meagre midday meal. The faces reflected fatigue and a degree of reverence, but no great faith in the future. Only three days ago Winston Churchill, great reporter and historian who carries in his mind most of the world between two wars, had said: "The world outlook is, in several respects, today less promising than it seemed after the German capitulation of 1918, or after the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Then there were much higher hopes of the world's future than there are now.....Th is today none of that confidence among men that they or their

children will never see another world war which there undoubtedly was in 1919". Mr. Churchill regarded it as the first duty of statesmanship to supply the solid ground on which this hope may rise again and live. Today there is civil war in North China, a small war in Sourabaya, mounting tension in Palestine and India, and no evidence in a decrease of the suspicion that separates Russia from the Western Powers. We at home announce that our armed strength will be used to maintain peace. The Soviet Union plans to retain armed forces in excess of her prewar strength. The Czech radio speaks with gratitude of trainloads of arms supplied by the Soviet Union. While the Allied Control Commission in Berlin argues about how many German factories shall be dismantled and removed. No one can estimate with any assurance how many hundreds of thousands, or millions will die of starvation and disease in Middle Europe this winter. This crisis of confidence - this lack of ~~the~~ faith in the future - is the background for the meeting between President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee.

Mr. Attlee, at 62, is a cautious, a patient man, without very much personal charm. You can see dozens of his like on any commuters' train coming into London - most of them rather small, moderately successful lawyers. During the last Election Mr. Attlee was described as a sheep in sheep's clothing, and that description was far from accurate. He is a determined but rather shy man, but in the last two months he has combined tolerance with toughness in a manner that has considerably enhanced his standing in the

House of Commons. There have been small rumblings of revolt from the rank and file of the Labour Party, but these complaints have been aimed at specific legislation rather than at the leadership of the Party. There is no doubt at all that Mr. Attlee retains, and has indeed strengthened his control over this Labour Government. The British electorate is often disposed to distrust brilliance in its political leaders, except in time of crisis. Mr. Attlee has never been a rebel. His speeches have always been regarded as sound and lucid rather than brilliant. He is an Oxford graduate, a lawyer, one-time social service worker, and a lecturer in social science. He served throughout the last war, and has sat in Parliament since 1922. This Labour Prime Minister is in some ways Britain's nearest equivalent to Henry Wallace. He is a good listener; a versatile but rather hesitant conversationalist; he has a curiosity that covers many matters. He has none of Mr. Truman's bluntness and directness, and seems always to be slightly surprised and somewhat embarrassed that he should be placed in a position of prominence. One of the few unusual things that I have observed about Mr. Attlee in the years I have known him is his pipe. It is perfectly orthodox and rather small, but he seems not so much to smoke it as to wrestle with it. It never seems to draw properly, and he is constantly engaged in minor repairs and adjustments. Mr. Attlee is meticulous and patient about his pipe, as he is about affairs of State. I think he has gone to Washington with clear but rather general terms of reference about the atomic bomb. He can be expected to place more emphasis

upon the need for strengthening the United Nations Organisation than Mr. Truman has done so far. But he is unlikely to say that Britain is willing to sacrifice a degree of sovereignty that would be necessary for anything approaching a world government. Last week's debate in the House of Commons did not indicate that the Government is prepared to break with Britain's traditional foreign policy. But Mr. Bevin's statement was more loudly cheered by the Conservatives than by his own Party, and if Mr. Attlee should return without an ~~xxxxxx~~ Anglo-American agreement upon which hope for the future can be based, he is certain to face increasing criticism from the rank and file of his own Party. Many Conservatives would be satisfied with a tightening of the ties between Britain and the United States, but most of Mr. Attlee's supporters want to see the basis of agreement broadened. The advocates of a world government are to be heard here both in Parliament and the press. For example, Mr. Clem Davies, leader of the Liberal Party, in a speech which was scarcely reported over here, said he wished that President Truman had spoken as follows: "We desire that there should be one sovereign state in the world to which all nations shall contribute, to which all nations shall owe allegiance. Let that Sovereign State lay down the rule of law to govern all peoples and all nations. Let it, and it alone have the power to enforce that rule of law against any wrongdoer wherever he may be or whoever he may be, without any exceptions." And The Economist, more widely read in government circles than any other weekly magazine, echoes

that demand but doesn't think it has much chance of succeeding. Nevertheless the Economist concludes that perhaps the public, after it has brooded on the atomic bomb for a little longer and has realised how sharp the choice is between a world state and destruction, will change its mind. The only way of knowing is to find out; to ask the people to stand up and be counted. And The Economist, which is no sentimental sheet, says: "Herewith, for what it is worth, one vote is cast for the World State".

No one can tell what the total number of such votes would be in this country, but it might well be a formidable total if for no other reason than that many people here realise that their country has little chance of surviving a war that would result from an atomic armaments race. And they realise that that would be true even though Britain should be closely linked with the United States. The memory of V.1's and V.2's is rather recent and is more powerful than rhetoric.

During Mr. Attlee's absence affairs of State will be handled by Mr. Herbert Morrison, the son of a policeman who is Leader of the House of Commons. Already he is confronted with one problem of considerable magnitude. British ground forces, naval units and small air forces are in action at Sourabaya in Java. British reporters on the scene state that every care is being taken to avoid unnecessary loss of civilian life or destruction of property. It is stated that only twenty bombs have been dropped - all of those on clearly identified buildings or strong points. It is also

reported that in this operation out of number of Mosquitoes were damaged by ground fire. The Mosquito is the fastest operational medium bomber, and these reports indicate that they were putting them in low to ensure accuracy; and it also proves that the heavy machine guns on the ground are not manned by inexperienced boys. There has been no official estimate of the Indonesian strength, but most of the unofficial reports seem to agree that they have at least a hundred thousand rifles and machine guns, as well as plenty of small arms ammunition and grenades. The British position in Java has never been clearly defined. At one time it was stated that British forces were there to disarm the Japanese, and to free prisoners-of-war and civilian internees. The British forces were late in arriving, and it is clear that the Japanese surrendered many of their arms to the Indonesians. The London Times correspondent in Java reported yesterday that only 750 Japanese have so far been officially disarmed by the British. There have been other statements of British policy indicating that they propose to occupy certain key points, and to occupy Java and hand over the administration to the Dutch. The Indonesian Nationalists appear to be persuaded that strongpoints occupied by the British would merely serve as bridgeheads for the Dutch, who have demanded that the Nationalists give up their arms before negotiations can proceed. It seems likely that some of the arms in Java are in the hands of criminal elements. It is also true that many of them are held by patriots determined to secure independence from Dutch rule. It is certain that the Dutch themselves cannot restore

order. And it is equally clear that the British are now too deeply committed to withdraw. The Dutch offer of negotiation is widely regarded here as a temporising document, issued too late to have any effect. It is reported that the Indonesians desire American mediation, but the Dutch do not. So far as British policy has been demonstrated on the ground, and in the air, it has been in support of the Netherlands Government; but the Dutch press and radio complain that the support has not been sufficiently prompt or vigorous. The result of the whole thing is that a small war is now in progress in Java, and no one seems to be able to do anything about it. British and Indian troops are doing most of the fighting, but British policy in this area has yet to be clearly enunciated. If it is the purpose of the British government to restore Asiatic territories to the European powers which formerly controlled them, and to expend British lives in so doing, then it would seem that such a policy should be clearly stated. So far it has not been done.

There have been a couple of encouraging developments during the week. The Hungarian elections were clearly the fairest and freeest that that country has had for many a long year. The preponderance of Russian power was not used to determine the outcome. On the domestic side, Briton's were reassured by Lord Horder, the King's Physician, who told them that the danger of plague in this country this winter is not acute. Looking at the nation as a whole he finds it healthier and better nourished than it used to be. The rationing has been strict, but everyone has been able to afford to buy sufficient

food. Lord Horder feels that malnutrition will not determine the death rate from influenza or other diseases during the coming winter.

On the financial side the Government is to reconsider a matter which has come up several times during the present century - the question of a grant of twenty thousand dollars a year to the heirs of Lord Nelson. Since this grant was instituted in 1806, nearly three million dollars has been paid to the descendants of the great Admiral. It looks as though there will be a small saving in next year's budget.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY NOVEMBER 18, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: Today I should like to talk for a few minutes about British agriculture. I am aware that it is not an exciting subject, and am fully conscious that the events of the past week have produced matters of greater moment. There is a major political crisis in France; a Commission has been created to make recommendations regarding the future of atomic power; and another Commission to make recommendations about the future of Palestine. People are still being killed in Indonesia; and today Britain's oldest ally, Portugal, is holding what is called an Election in spite of the fact that there is only one list of candidates. During the week Prime Minister Attlee made his speech to Congress, which was regarded here as an able but uninspired presentation of the Labour Government's program. It is possible that some of Mr. Attlee's generalisations may have failed to make clear the degree of liberty that must be sacrificed in order to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ achieve the planned economy advocated by this Labour Government. I am sure that the financial and social implications of such measures as the nationalisation of the Bank of England, of the coal mines, and of civil aviation cannot be wholly clear on your side of the Atlantic; and I somtimes doubt that they are fully understood over here. The continuation of wartime controls over prices, wages and the movement of labour has already been decided upon. All of these matters are the subject of controversy, and probably compromise, but they are exceedingly complex and are not easy to understand. That is why I should like to tell you as briefly as possible about the Government's

plan for agriculture.

There is a certain pattern that is followed in all of the proposals made by this Socialist Government. If it is possible to understand what they propose to do about the land; what guarantees the farmers are to receive; and the controls to which they are to be subjected, it may be possible to comprehend more clearly the general principles that will be applied in other and more complicated fields of activity. The Government plans a system of assured markets and guaranteed prices. That arrangement will apply to milk, livestock, eggs, potatoes, cereals and sugarbeets. The prices will be fixed by the Government before the crops are planted. The prices for livestock, milk and eggs will be fixed two years in advance. For example, in February 1946 minimum price levels will be fixed for the two-year period ending in June 1950. That means that the farmer will know the minimum prices for livestock, milk and eggs three or four years in advance, and the actual prices from three to fifteen months in advance. The Government proposes to take steps to ensure that the land is not only properly farmed but properly managed and equipped. Farmers who fail to make the maximum use of their land will be subject to a period of supervision by a County Committee. During that time they may be told what to plant and where to plant it. If they fail to improve they may be dispossessed. The Government is also going to ask for legislation permitting it to acquire land by voluntary negotiation, or by compulsion where public ownership is deemed to be the only means of securing the full productive use of the land. The Government proposes to set up a Commission for the purpose of

managing and developing the land that is taken over from farmers that are judged to be incompetent. This does not mean that the land will be confiscated without payment. The price will be determined by an independent tribunal.

In view of the world shortage of food, the Government will continue for the time being to issue compulsory orders for the growing of sugarbeet and potatoes. But even after the present shortage has passed, these compulsory powers will remain. Normally the farmers will be able to grow what they want and know how to grow. But the Government is going to introduce legislation permitting it to give compulsory directions to any farmer, wherever and whenever it is deemed necessary and in the national interest. That is the plan. It is not yet law, but it probably will be. This is not speculation about possible policy. The whole scheme was outlined to the House of Commons by the Minister of Agriculture on Thursday. The effect is that the farmer gets an assured market and a guaranteed price, but in return for that he may be told what to grow, and if he doesn't farm his land efficiently he may be dispossessed.

The scheme may remove some of the uncertainty from farming, but it also eliminates a considerable amount of independence. In practice these powers may not be exercised to any large extent, for British farmers, like our own, are a pretty independent lot. But the important point is that this Labour Government is going to control the land as it is going to control the finance, the coal

the transportation and the power. And probably when they get around to figuring out a way to do it, they will control the iron and steel industry as well.

So far as the land ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ and those who work it are concerned, peace has not brought freedom. The essentials of wartime control and direction are to be retained.

From the control of farms it is only a short step to the control of films. The House of Commons is perturbed about the sixty to seventy million dollars a year being taken out of this country by American movies. The British are short of dollars, and one Member remarked during Debate that if faced with a choice he would prefer bacon to Bogart. Mr. Marquand, who is in charge of the Overseas Trade Department, advocated plain living and high thinking, and assured the House that the Government was helping British film producers to increase their ~~xxxxxx~~ output. An effort is being made, with government support, to produce more movies in this country, in order that fewer dollars will have to be spent on the products of Hollywood. Whatever happens to the current economic negotiations in Washington, things that have to be bought with dollars are going to be scarce in this country for some time to come. There is no precise information available here regarding the progress of the talks in Washington, but the general tenor of both public and private statements indicates that the British Government is preparing for the worst.

Whatever the economic relations between the two countries may b

there has been during the past week some slight increase in confidence that in the field of foreign policy some progress has been made. The Washington communique on the future of atomic power produced no excitement and considerable disappointment. Both the press and the public had been prepared for something more statesmanlike or audacious than the creation of another Commission. Mr. Attlee will have to face the House of Commons this week, and it will require more than his normal eloquence to convince them that his mission achieved anything of real significance. It is generally believed that he did a moderately successful job in persuading Congress that the Labour Government believes in progress by persuasion, and is determined to safeguard most of the traditional liberties of the citizen; but few people are convinced that he made much progress towards a solution of the major problem. Likewise Mr. Bevin's statement on the Anglo-American Commission has not produced any hope of an early settlement in Palestine. Such satisfaction as has been expressed is based entirely upon American willingness to participate in an effort to solve this vexed problem. The Labour Government has failed to fulfil the pledges it gave regarding Palestine when it was a Party rather than a Government.

There have been many enquiries into the conditions and possibilities of Palestine. This one has two new features: the United States Government is to participate in it; and the terms of reference have been broadened so as to include the position in the future of Jews in Europe. British leaders have admitted in private

for many months that Britain could not solve the problem alone. This Commission delays a decision. It has satisfied neither the Jews nor the Arabs, and the only reason it has given any measure of satisfaction here is that we have agreed to share the responsibility for the enquiry, and the recommendations, if not the carrying out of whatever measures the Commission may decide upon. Today's Sunday Times remarks that the best way to cure irresponsible politicians is to give them responsibility. And it adds: "Obviously it would be of great advantage to all concerned if the same cure for irresponsibility could be applied across the Atlantic". British satisfaction with our willingness to participate in this Commission is not based upon humanitarian or sentimental grounds. They fear Russian influence in the Middle East - the throat of the British Empire, as Mr. Bevin called it. They do not fear our influence, except in a purely economic sense. They believe that the more deeply committed we are in this area - whether by Commissions or pipelines - the greater ~~our interest will be~~ will be our concern to protect our own recommendations and investments, and at the same time protect the throat of the British Empire. The protection of what used to be called "the lifeline of Empire" is an obligation of which any British Government, whatever its political complexion, must always be conscious. In a very real sense, and certainly in the political ~~sense~~ sense, Suez is as close to London as Panama is to Washington. But Paris is closer to London than Moscow. That is why attention here tonight is centered on Paris and the political crisis there.

To people in this country, as at home, French politics have always been something of a mystery. Tonight France seems to be faced with a choice between Gaullism and Communism. The Socialists dominate the situation, and their action will be decisive. But the background of the present crisis is important. The Communist Party demanded one of three Ministeries - War, Foreign Affairs or the Interior. ~~Whyxthesex~~ De Gaulle refused, primarily it seems on the grounds that the French Communists took their orders from Moscow rather than from the French electorate. The Communist tactics are almost traditional. Why should they want one of these three Ministeries? The war is over; France's urgent problems are domestic rather than international. Were the Communists imposing impossible conditions in order to escape the responsibility that rests upon a Party that participates in a Coalition? If Communist action in other liberated countries is any guide, their real desire was to control the Ministry of the Interior, for that would give them authority over the police; that means control of the streets, and the certainty of being able to suppress demonstrations of any kind, and the assurance that they can handle the arrangements in connection with any subsequent election. General de Gaulle said last night that he could not see his way clear to give the Communists any of the three Ministeries which determine foreign policy, diplomacy, which formulates it, the Army which supports it, and the police which covers it. He announced himself as determined to maintain a policy of equilibrium between two very great powers,

by which he meant, of course, the United States and Russia. Tonight the French Socialists are in the middle, and they have the casting vote. The post-war history of political Parties in Europe is that those who occupy the middle ground are driven to the Left rather than to the Right. But in spite of that the opinion, or perhaps I should say the hope in London tonight is that the French Assembly tomorrow will choose Gaullism rather than Communism.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London. Now back to Columbia in New York.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY DECEMBER 2, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: There is an old political saying over here - that it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose." Mr. Churchill's Party - the Conservatives - are going to start doing just that this week. They have tabled a vote of censure against the Labour Government. The debate will last for two days - Wednesday and Thursday - and it is bound to be extremely bitter. The Conservatives have been slow to find their feet in opposition; they have long been accustomed to exercising power, (indeed some of them regard it as their right,) and they resent the emergence of another ruling class. They have also been waiting to observe the shape of the Labour Party's legislation. Now they have decided to attack. Mr. Churchill sounded the keynote last week in a bitter and brilliant speech in the course of which he attacked the Labour Party root and branch, asserting that its election was one of the greatest disasters that ever befell this country. Some of the members of his Party appear to be surprised, resentful, and alarmed that a Socialist Government should proceed to introduce Socialist legislation.

British politics are often confusing, even to those of us who have the opportunity of sitting in the House of Commons and of conversing with the leaders of both Parties. Parliamentary procedure is controlled by hundreds of years of tradition, and the clash both of policies and personalities is not always as clearcut and obvious as it is at home. During the coming week you will be hearing a lot about this two-day debate. I should like to try to

summarize the issues separating the two Parties, as well as some of the considerations that will influence Party tactics.

It is necessary first of all to remember, that this is the first time the Socialists, or the Labour Party, have ever had an absolute working majority. In the past the major Parties engaged in violent controversy about the rate of change, but not about the general direction. When the Opposition succeeded in ousting the Government there would occur changes in emphasis, priority of legislation and, of course, personalities. But the change was gradual and did not drastically alter the economy of the country, or the relation of the citizen to the State. That is no longer the case. ~~Much of the proposed legislation~~ Once the ~~mines~~ mines, inland transport and civil aviation have been nationalised, it would be difficult if not impossible for any subsequent government to de-nationalize them. After the domestic economy has been largely directed or controlled by the State for five years, it will be difficult to bring about a peaceful restoration of private enterprise. The more the freedom of the individual is limited, the harder it is for him to keep what is left. The experience of most European countries would seem to indicate that controls grow by contagion.

The Conservatives who will be attacking on Wednesday will maintain that the individuals freedom is being restricted beyond ~~the~~ what is required for sound, postwar reconstruction. They will say that the Government is failing to produce the necessary houses, or to expedite demobilisation of the troops. They will maintain that

British industry is handicapped by uncertainty and unnecessary controls. The Conservatives will claim that the Government is stifling individual initiative, and attempting - in Mr. Churchill's words - to achieve "Strength through Misery". In fact, about the only aspect of government policy safe from the Conservative attack will be foreign policy.

But it would be a mistake to assume that all of the Conservatives are agreed as to the wisdom of these tactics. Some of the younger Members are aware that their Party is in dire need of a constructive program, and are convinced that they should accept some of the Socialist proposals. The Conservatives fought the Election on a personality - Mr. Churchill - rather than a platform, and suffered the greatest defeat in their history. The local and municipal elections that have occurred since that time show that the electorate has not withdrawn its confidence from the Labour Party. It is true that men like Brendan Bracken and Richard Law have recently won bye-elections for the Conservatives, but in each case their majorities were less than those recorded by the Conservative candidates in those constituencies last June. In the Municipal and Borough elections, Labour has scored steady and often sensational gains. The result is that the Government is highly confident and there is no doubt whatever that they will win a substantial vote of confidence. As a matter of fact, Mr. Herbert Morrision, the Leader of the House of Commons, more or less prodded the Conservatives into asking for this debate. He has taunted them with ineptitude in opposition, deplored

the lack of first-class rows in the House of Commons, and even offered to instruct the Conservatives in the way an Opposition should be conducted. Mr. Morrison is probably the ablest Parliamentarian in this government, and generally knows what he is doing. It may be that he sought this debate in an effort to direct the anger and irritation of some of the rank and file of his own Party against the Conservatives rather than against the Government. Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Minister, in particular has been receiving more cheers from the Conservatives than from members of his own Party. An increasing number of the young men and women who sit quietly on the Labour side of the House have become impatient with what they regard as the policy of delay and compromise followed by their own government. If that impatience and irritation can be ~~aimedxx~~ directed towards the Conservatives it might serve to increase the unity inside the ranks of the Labour Party.

The debate will swirl around Mr. Churchill and Mr. Morrison. They do not like each other. Mr. Churchill is disposed to regard Mr. Morrison as a perky, cocky little cockney, unfamiliar with the traditions of statesmanship, and unduly influenced by an appetite for power. Mr. Morrison's opinion of Mr. Churchill is equally uncomplimentary. He regards him as an aristocrat,tied to tradition, out of touch with the people, and viewing the future with his head over his shoulder.

Mr. Churchill will command the rhetoric, but Mr. Morrison commands the votes. The outcome is not in doubt; but what is in

doubt is whether the Conservatives will come up with reasoned criticism and attractive alternatives. In other words, whether they can use this two-day debate to do anything more than oppose.

Probably the most important thing that was said in the long-range, non-stop international debate last week came from President Truman. In serious circles over here it overshadowed the resignation of Ambassador Hurley, the dethronement of Peter of Jugoslavia, and even the hoaxing of the psychiatrists by Rudolf Hess. The President's statement, that there should be no need for any more meetings of the Big Three, and that the United States is seeking to amend the Potsdam Agreement, came as a surprise. For months the Russian press and radio have been branding any group or publication advocating any change in the Potsdam Agreement as reactionary enemies of peace and unity. They have asserted over and over again that the Big Three is the real basis upon which understanding and unity can be built. # There does not seem to be any prospect of an early meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Conference. President Truman's statement would seem to rule out another meeting of the Big Three. There are Peace Treaties with several nations to be agreed upon. There is the matter of the Commission on Atomic Power, and the Trusteeship Council. It doesn't look as though the matter of atomic power or of trusteeship will be dealt with by the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization now meeting in London. Both matters are likely to be deferred till the meeting of the General Assembly, and I am told that it will probably be the middle or the end of February before that body can be expected to get around to dealing with these two

delicate and difficult subjects. Either one of them is capable of exploding the Organization before it begins to function. The prospects for immediate progress can hardly be termed good.

Mr. Ernest Bevin's suggestion of a Parliament of man, in which the people would elect their own representatives to an international body does not appear to have fired people's imaginations, perhaps because there are so many places where people are unable to elect freely the men to represent them in their own countries; that fact would make it rather difficult for them to elect someone to represent them in a World Parliament.

Ambassador Hurley's rather sensational resignation was reported over here without much comment. The only one I have heard worth repeating came from an experienced European diplomat who said; "If your State Department ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ contains a lot of people anxious to further Imperialism~~s~~ - Communist or otherwise - then they must have sent all of those so minded to the Pacific. I haven't encountered them in Europe." Frankly, outside of official circles there isn't a great deal of interest in our policy in Asia. Occasionally we are criticized for playing a lone hand in Japan, or for wanting bases without specifying which ones. But by and large, people over here have too many problems nearer home, such as how long they will have to stand in the fish queue; whether there is any prospect of wangling a turkey for Christmas; and how long it's going to be before the government allows them gasoline enough to drive more than 150 miles a month.

And wondering whether the dock workers will strike again; and what's to be done to make shoes and clothes last through the winter. There isn't even very much interest in the Nuremberg Trials. I should think you at home are hearing and reading five or six times as much about the proceedings there.

2'00

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In that period people lost hope that they could be saved from recurring crises and uncertainties except by entering upon a new and terrible war. They now appear to be convinced that peace cannot be protected except by demanding of the victors a new and, what would have been regarded in other circumstances, terrible sacrifice of sovereignty. Faced with this problem, debates in the House of Commons the dethronement of Kings, the resignation of Ambassadors fall into proper perspective. Those who say "a world state or none at all" may be as right as those who said: "Peace is indivisible".

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY DECEMBER 2, 1945.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: There is an old political saying over here - that it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose. Mr. Churchill's Party - the Conservatives - are going to start doing just that this week. They have tabled a vote of censure against the Labour Government. The debate will last for two days - Wednesday and Thursday - and it is bound to be extremely bitter. The Conservatives have been slow to find their feet in opposition; they have long been accustomed to exercising power, indeed some of them regard it as their right, and they resent the emergence of another ruling class. They have also been waiting to observe the shape of the Labour Party's legislation. Now they have decided to attack. Mr. Churchill sounded the keynote last week in a bitter and brilliant speech in the course of which he attacked the Labour Party root and branch, asserting that its election was one of the greatest disasters that ever befell this country. Some of the members of his Party appear to be surprised, resentful and alarmed that a Socialist Government should proceed to introduce Socialist legislation.

British politics are often confusing, even to those of us who have the opportunity of sitting in the House of Commons and of conversing with the leaders of both Parties. Parliamentary procedure is controlled by hundreds of years of tradition, and the clash both of policies and personalities is not always as clearcut and obvious as it is at home. During the coming week you will be hearing a lot about this two-day debate. I should like to try to

summarize the issues separating the two Parties, as well as some of the considerations that will influence Party tactics.

It is necessary first of all to remember that this is the first time the Socialists or the Labour Party have ever had an absolute working majority. In the past the major Parties engaged in violent controversy about the rate of change, but not about the general direction. When the Opposition succeeded in ousting the Government there would occur changes in emphasis, priority of legislation and, of course, personalities. But the change was gradual and did not drastically alter the economy of the country, or the relation of the citizen to the State. That is no longer the case. ~~Much of the proposed legislation~~ Once the ~~mines~~ mines, inland transport and civil aviation have been nationalised, it would be difficult if not impossible for any subsequent government to de-nationalize them. After the domestic economy has been largely directed or controlled by the State for five years, it will be difficult to bring about a peaceful restoration of private enterprise. The more the freedom of the individual is limited, the harder it is for him to keep what is left. The experience of most European countries would seem to indicate that controls grow by contagion.

The Conservatives who will be attacking on Wednesday will maintain that the individuals freedom is being restricted beyond ~~the~~ what is required for sound, postwar reconstruction. They will say that the Government is failing to produce the necessary houses, or to expedite demobilisation of the troops. They will maintain that

British industry is handicapped by uncertainty and unnecessary controls. The Conservatives will claim that the Government is stifling individual initiative, and attempting - in Mr. Churchill's words - to achieve "Strength through Misery". In fact, about the only aspect of government policy safe from the Conservative attack will be foreign policy.

But it would be a mistake to assume that all of the Conservatives are agreed as to the wisdom of these tactics. Some of the younger Members are aware that their Party is in dire need of a constructive program, and are convinced that they should accept some of the Socialist proposals. The Conservatives fought the Election on a personality - Mr. Churchill - rather than a platform, and suffered the greatest defeat in their history. The local and municipal elections that have occurred since that time show that the electorate has not withdrawn its confidence from the Labour Party. It is true that men like Brendan Bracken and Richard Law have recently won bye-elections for the Conservatives, but in each case their majorities were less than those recorded by the Conservative candidates in those constituencies last June. In the Municipal and Borough elections, Labour has scored steady and often sensational gains. The result is that the Government is highly confident and there is no doubt whatever that they will win a substantial vote of confidence. As a matter of fact, Mr. Herbert Morrision, the Leader of the House of Commons, more or less prodded the Conservatives into asking for this debate. He has taunted them with ineptitude in opposition, deplored

the lack of first-class rows in the House of Commons, and even offered to instruct the Conservatives in the way an Opposition should be conducted. Mr. Morrison is probably the ablest Parliamentarian in this government, and generally knows what he is doing. It may be that he sought this debate in an effort to direct the anger and irritation of some of the rank and file of his own Party against the Conservatives rather than against the Government. Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Minister, in particular has been receiving more cheers from the Conservatives than from members of his own Party. An increasing number of the young men and women who sit quietly on the Labour side of the House have become impatient with what they regard as the policy of delay and compromise followed by their own government. If that impatience and irritation can be ~~aimedxx~~ directed towards the Conservatives it might serve to increase the unity inside the ranks of the Labour Party.

The debate will swirl around Mr. Churchill and Mr. Morrison. They do not like each other. Mr. Churchill is disposed to regard Mr. Morrison as a perky, cocky little cockney, unfamiliar with the traditions of statesmanship, and unduly influenced by an appetite for power. Mr. Morrison's opinion of Mr. Churchill is equally uncomplimentary. He regards him as an aristocrat, tied to tradition, out of touch with the people, and viewing the future with his head over his shoulder.

Mr. Churchill will command the rhetoric, but Mr. Morrison commands the votes. The outcome is not in doubt; but what is in

doubt is whether the Conservatives will come up with reasoned criticism and attractive alternatives. In other words, whether they can use this two-day debate to do anything more than oppose.

Probably the most important thing that was said in the long-range, non-stop international debate last week came from President Truman. In serious circles over here it overshadowed the resignation of Ambassador Hurley, the dethronement of Peter of Jugoslavia, and even the hoaxing of the psychiatrists by Rudolf Hess. The President's statement that there should be no need for any more meetings of the Big Three, and that the United States is seeking to amend the Potsdam Agreement, came as a surprise. For months the Russian press and radio have been branding any group or publication advocating any change in the Potsdam Agreement as reactionary enemies of peace and unity. They have asserted over and over again that the Big Three is the real basis upon which understanding and unity can be built. There does not seem to be any prospect of an early meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Conference. President Truman's statement would seem to rule out another meeting of the Big Three. There are Peace Treaties with several nations to be agreed upon. There is the matter of the Commission on Atomic Power, and the Trusteeship Council. It doesn't look as though the matter of atomic power or of trusteeship will be dealt with by the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization now meeting in London. Both matters are likely to be deferred till the meeting of the General Assembly, and I am told that it will probably be the middle or the end of February before that body can be expected to get around to dealing with these two

delicate and difficult subjects. Either one of them is capable of exploding the Organization before it begins to function. The prospects for immediate progress can hardly be termed good.

Mr. Ernest Bevin's suggestion of a Parliament of man, in which the people would elect their own representatives to an international body does not appear to have fired people's imaginations, perhaps because there are so many places where people are unable to elect freely the men to represent them in their own countries; that fact would make it rather difficult for them to elect someone to represent them in a World Parliament.

Ambassador Hurley's rather sensational resignation was reported over here without much comment. The only one I have heard worth repeating came from an experienced European diplomat who said; "If your State Department ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ contains a lot of people anxious to further Imperialism - Communist or otherwise - then they must have sent all of those so minded to the Pacific. I haven't encountered them in Europe." Frankly, outside of official circles there isn't a great deal of interest in our policy in Asia. Occasionally we are criticized for playing a lone hand in Japan, or for wanting bases without specifying which ones. But by and large, people over here have too many problems nearer home, such as how long they will have to stand in the fish queue; whether there is any prospect of wangling a turkey for Christmas; and how long it's going to be before the government allows them gasoline enough to drive more than 150 miles a month.

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To London Feb. 9th

The Germans coined a word for the kind of power politics that made much of the news this week. They called it 'geo-politics'. And by that awkward but descriptive word, they meant the politics of geography--of strategic locations--of the land, sea and air power which lies behind economic and military power.

This week, the geo-political front was crackling with intense activity. And from that activity--in London, Moscow, Washington and a dozen minor capitals--two things emerged. Two opposite things--fear and hope. And both involved a choice, and a conflict, between the old and the new.

One of the fears was that the clash between an old empire and a new empire might be irreconcilable--that the conflict between Russian ambitions and British security requirements might be sowing the seeds of another war. One of the hopes was that these seeds might be plowed under and destroyed before they really germinate--that a new kind of internationalism might triumph over the old type of imperialism.

This week, an important aspect of the imperialist strivings of the three great modern nations began to take shape--began gradually to fall into a recognizable pattern. The atomic age has changed geo-politics. But apparently the fact that science has created new sources of power has not yet made the old sources obsolete. For most of the significant international news of the week pointed to one thing. The current item on the agenda of world politics is a jockeying for position in a contest for sea power, and for control of inland waterways.

The governments in London, Washington and--most of all--in Moscow made clear that they all share the same belief. Despite atomic energy, control of water is still a key to the old land power and to the new air power. Not only mobility in time of war, but activity in time of peace, depends on it. All the elements of prosperity--of the ability to have and enjoy peace--are connected with it. Sea power lies behind the amount of food supply and the development of natural resources, trade and technology, population and productivity.

The news of the week gave reason for anxiety. British Foreign Secretary Bevin and Russian Vice Commissar Vishinky finally agreed to disagree. But not until it was clear to everyone that they were disagreeing about more than the future of Greece, Iran and Indonesia. It was plain that

behind the debate lay a contest for control of seas, rivers and oceans--for the avenues of power in peace and war. It was clear that the old German "drive toward the east"--~~the really~~ one of the basic cause of both of the two world wars--has been replaced by a new Russian "drive toward the south." The Russians want access to the Mediterranean and to the Indian Ocean. Greece concerns them because it bars the way to the Aegean Sea. Iran interest them because it blocks their push toward the Persian Gulf.

But it would be a distortion to tear these Russian ambitions out of the context of the larger pattern of imperialist strivings. It was not only at the United Nations Assembly that control of waterways was in question this week. Other superficially unrelated news items fitted into the same pattern. In London, the Council of Foreign Ministers discussed the draft of a treaty with Italy. In Rome, the Russians showed a more conciliatory attitude toward the Italians. One word held the key to both events. Trieste. The future of that city spells control of the Adriatic--and access to the sea of the trade and commerce of the Balkan peoples.

In Lisbon, Don Juan discussed his chances of getting the throne of Spain. He would not be in Portugal on this mission if the British did not want him there. Or if we did not want him there. There are things more important to the Socialist government of Britain than ~~hatred of~~ the opposition to the Spanish brand of Fascism. And our own democratic government seems to understand that point of view. For Secretary Byrnes this week took a weight off General Franco's mind--if not off his conscience. Mr. Byrnes fully backed up Assistant Secretary Braden's attacks on the Argentine brand of Fascism. But he refused to make public Franco's embarrassing correspondence with Hitler and Mussolini.

The explanation is quite simple. The fate of the Spanish monarchy is linked with the future of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Russians are interested in the Straits. They want a finger in the control of Tangiers--the internationalized town on the African shore of the narrow passage. To the British and Americans, a Russian finger in that part of the world is quite enough. And too abrupt or complete a change in the political orientation of Spain might give the Russians a hand grip. Such a hand would be far too close to Britain's vital interest in the North Atlantic--and to our equally vital concern with the South Atlantic.

In Washington this week, the Army, Navy and Joint Chiefs of Staff were reported to have come to an agreement. They decided that the United

States must have absolute and complete sovereignty over the Marianas, the Marshall, the Caroline and Palau groups of islands in the Pacific. On the other hand, we would be willing to accept UNO trusteeship over the Ryukyus and other islands. The difference is illuminating. It is one of the week's lessons in geo-politics. Sovereignty over the first group of islands would mean complete domination of the South Pacific, and control of the eastern approaches to the Indian Ocean.

Thus, while Moscow was driving hard toward the south, London and Washington were looking ahead. They were foreseeing that the Russians would get access either to the Mediterranean or to the Indian Ocean--perhaps to both. So the British--with our consent--took steps to tighten their grip at the exit of the Mediterranean. And we--with British approval--did the same thing at the exit of the Indian Ocean. In the face of a common ~~threat~~ problem, the Britania which once ruled the waves, and the Columbia which now rules them, ~~must make~~ made common cause. Whatever concessions they must make to the Slavs, the Anglo-Saxons ~~are~~ were determined to remain masters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In Washington, the Colmer Committee reported to the House of Representatives on its trip through eastern Europe. It said Europe from the Baltic through the Balkans to the Black Sea is tied fast to the Soviet Union in economic arrangements that bar the rest of the world from trade with that area. Also in Washington, Secretary Byrnes announced he was proposing abandoning the March meeting of UNO. Instead, he wants to have all possible energy devoted to preparing the drafts of peace treaties with the Balkan nations.

Here too mastery of waterways lies behind the news. The life of six eastern European nations depends on the Danube River. This 1800-mile long stream is as important to Balkan Europe as the Mississippi was to our economy a century ago. Another great river--the Rhine--is equally important. Six western European nations depend on it.

Every one of these names--every place-name which hovered behind this week's news--has a long and grim history. And--odd as it may seem--that was one of the encouraging facts of the week. That fact gave reason for hope rather than fear. For dozens of wars have been fought during the last few centuries over the Adriatic, the Rhine, the Dardanelles, the Persian Gulf, the Danube. Britain and Russia started quarrelling about the Dardanelles

in 1809. They fought the Crimean War about that narrow strip of water. Russia and Turkey fought over it four times in the last century. Nations have been quarrelling and fighting for two and a half centuries over free navigation on the Danube.

And now--in the first year of what we all hope will be the long peace--all these blood-stained problems are being fought over once again. Fortunately, however, these legacies of centuries of war are being fought over with words--with the feints and stratagems of diplomacy. Now, in the infancy of UNO, there is hope that this device of international competition will provide the means for peaceful and lasting settlements. One of the most encouraging aspects of the week's news was the contrast between UNO and the League of Nations. There was no false sweetness-and-light, no mock brotherly love about UNO. But every nation with power to make war or assure peace was in it. Every nation was using it. Some observers thought a few nations were coming close to misusing it. But, even if that is true, it is less important than that no nation shows any signs of wanting to take a walk.

Of one comforting fact, there could be no doubt this week. The United Nations Organization was making a brave start toward solving one of the central problems of our time--the task of gradually changing the old imperialism into a new internationalism. However, there was plenty of news during the week to show that the job must be tackled outside as well as inside UNO. For another disquieting fear cast a dark shadow over the news. It was an old fear--one painfully familiar to the war-weary people of Europe and Asia.

Two generations of Germans had this fear--the dread that their nation might be surrounded by enemies. Whether or not the fear was justified--whether or not it was a fact or fantasy, it remains true that it was one of the causes of each of the two world wars. For two generations, the Soviet Russians also have had this fear. And this week it appeared that even now the Russians are not sure enough of their strength to shake off what Commissar Kaganovich called "vigilance against capitalist encirclement."

The Russians are voting today for members of the Supreme Soviet. It is the first election since the war. And all the speeches of major candidates during the week stressed the same grim note. Russia is encircled. Russia must be prepared--if necessary--to fight off the rest of the world. President

Kalinin spoke of Socialists and Social Democrats in Britain, France and western Europe in the same language he had once used about German Fascists. Commissar Molotov had similar things to say of so-called "adventurers and imperialists in foreign countries."

Yet Molotov also spoke hopefully about UNO and international peace. He warned against those who encourage dangerous talk of a third world war. And there seemed to be real sincerity in his words. Indeed, there seems every reason to believe the Russian orators were talking about war because they want peace. That is a paradox. And it leads directly to the other of the week's contrasts between fear and hope. The Russian people are hungry. Victory has given them no relief from hunger. So, their leaders try to use fear as an antidote against hunger--an enemy more dangerous to peace and stability than any imperialism. The Russian leaders try to explain and excuse hunger by telling their people the war is not over. Sacrifices are still needed. - The danger remains

President Truman took cognizance this week of one of the hardest facts of our time. We eat well while a large part of the rest of the world is terribly hungry. Millions of victorious Russians are eating less well than conquered Germans. The British are going back to the worst of war rations. The entire world is facing the worst food crisis in modern history. ~~Millions of our friends are facing mass starvation.~~

The President did not merely talk about the crisis. He did something about it. He instructed government agencies to save and make available for export wheat and other foods. If necessary, we will go back to meat rationing. The President said we must and we will make sacrifices in our eating habits. And that news contained more hope than any other event of the week. For his intervention to cope with the world food crisis was far more than a humanitarian gesture.

It was a step toward breaking the dangerous psychological isolation which is beginning to separate us from the rest of the world. It was also a political act--indeed, a geo-political act. The generosity of the American people was mobilized against hunger and despair. And, at the same time, it was a mobilization of the power of American democracy against the political forces that feed on fear, resentment, envy and hatred. President Truman ~~put all of us Americans in the ranks of the armies of men and women of good will fighting for peace--willing to make personal sacrifices for peace.~~ did what he could to persuade us that peace & stability depend, to some extent, upon willingness to make personal sacrifices.

That willingness to sacrafice was the principle ingredient of victory.. ...Last week millions of displaced persons in Europe and Asia must have become aware of the plight of the "about to be displaced" persons in the Stamford Greenwich area..Perhaps those miserable millions noted that the pleas for help were not excessively hysterical..But the rest of the world could hardly have been impressed with the example of self sacrafice, abnegation,comprehension and courage shown by those who seemed to feel that they were the victims of a tragic destiny..the need to give up a a certain amount of comfort and convenience on behalf of the future peace of the world..There are worse ways of loosing your home..as the people of Rotterdam,Warsaw, London,Hamburg and thousands of cities and villiages know..~~Maybe this will present another war maybe it not forty square miles of territory would not seem to be~~

This is E.R.M. in N.Y.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY FEBRUARY 24, 1946.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: The burden of Empire is heavy. It is unlikely that any British Government in the last hundred years has faced such a bewildering variety of problems, that are both complex and urgent. It is a new government, less than six months in power; and the people show the effects of accumulated fatigue. The problems result in considerable part from the accumulation of mistakes and procrastinations of the past; and they must be solved by a Britain whose contribution to victory left her much weakened in relation to the other members of the victorious coalition. Just in case you have a suspicion that the stories about the shortages of food, clothing and housing in this Island have been exaggerated, I should like to begin by reporting that the Catholic Church has decided that fasting and abstinence will not be required during Lent. In a pastoral letter read in all Catholic churches this morning, Cardinal Griffin said: "Because of the difficulties of the times, we are free to eat whatever we can obtain". But in spite of domestic difficulties, food queues, and the absence of nearly everything but essentials, it is from the outside that the problems press in upon this Island.

The rioting in India has, according to ~~unofficial estimates,~~ official figures resulted in 210 dead and 1,000 wounded. Next month three British Cabinet Ministers are going to India in an unprecedented effort to solve the constitutional problem. As one British writer puts it, about the only thing left to do is to send out the King and Prime Minister. But as another writer remarks, all efforts

at settlement will be impeded by generations of bitterness, and by the fact that most of the Indian leaders, from Gandhi down, have spent time in British jails, and have felt the clubs of British policemen upon their backs. It is said here that the Cabinet Committee takes no new proposals with it, and the announcement of their going has produced little or no optimism about an early or satisfactory solution.

There has been too much shooting in the past week for anyone to believe that the Peace is absolute. Britain has protested about the disorders in Cairo, but the protest brings that problem no nearer to solution. It now appears that the European Peace Conference scheduled to open in Paris on the 1st of May will have to be postponed. The Deputies of the Foreign Ministers' Council have been working here in London all week, trying to draw up an outline of the Peace Treaty with Italy. They have been trying to arrange to send a Four-Power Commission to the Trieste area, to determine just who lives where, and where the boundary should be drawn. After that there will have to be decisions about Italian colonies, reparations and control of armament. Since the Foreign Ministers could not agree on these things it would seem unwise to expect immediate progress by the Deputies.

British troops are getting out of Iran this week, but there is no word as to whether the Russians will stay or go.

Some progress has been made in the matter of repatriating Polish troops who fought with the Allies and then decided they did not

want to go home. The Polish Government has given Britain certain assurances regarding their treatment if they do go home, and Britain is now passing this information on to Polish troops here and abroad. Informed opinion in London seems to feel that a considerable number of the Poles will continue to refuse to return, and no one is quite sure what to do about it. One thing is certain - they will not be demobilised and placed in the category of Displaced Persons.

The American Loan continues to be the subject of cautious comment. There has been a theory advance in certain quarters here that a refusal of the Loan would produce an economic crisis which might result in the creation of another Coalition government. That is a most unlikely development; and people in a position to know have assured me that it will not happen. The British Government does not appear to be particularly pessimistic about the prospects, but at the same time they are taking precautions. Early next month there will be meetings with the industrialists and with the Trade Union leaders, to decide what will be done in case the Loan is refused. A refusal would hit hardest at British imports of tobacco, films and cotton. The political effect would be a weakening of the major stable Socialist Democracy in Europe, and would result, in the opinion of most observers ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and politicians, in forcing this country farther to the Left. Many Conservative Members of Parliament, who like all politicans out of office would like to be in, agree that financial pressure from the outside is unlikely to increase their chances of victory

at the polls.

But in the midst of all these problems that confront Britain, one stands out like a mountain. It is not India, or Egypt, or Iran. It is not the basis of relations, financial or otherwise, with the United States. It is the matter of re-establishing workable relations with the Soviet Union. And the problem here is not basically the ones that have made headlines during the past few weeks. It is not argument about Italian colonies, or Greece, The Dardanelles, Indonesia or Iran. Those are on the periphory of the problem. They are all being argued about, may eventually be settled or compromised; but the heart of the problem is in the heart of Europe - In Germany. Russia desires a weakened if not subservient Germany. Britain desires, wisely or unwisely, a Germany which can produce for peace. Mr. Ernest Bevin said in the House of Commons last week that: "You cannot alter history by a slogan". He said that in eastern Germany, "Russia, Poland and the satellite States have been given everything they wanted". But he said: "The heart of aggression in Germany is the Ruhr". He had not made up his mind about that, or about Germany's Western frontiers. He did not agree with those who said that the Ruhr should be deprived of its productive capacity for security's sake. In short, Mr. Bevin does not believe that in a world that is short of nearly everything, productive capacity should be destroyed. He thought a method might be devised whereby the products of the Ruhr in unfinished form might go east and west all over Europe, in order to improve the standard of life. His industrial instinct was to

place the Ruhr under international control, with each government owning a share in the concern, and with the products in a partially manufactured state to pour into Italy, Yugoslavia, Russia and everywhere else in Europe. The Foreign Secretary wanted Russia and the United States to accept his good intentions. He said: "Do not, please, accuse us who have shed so much blood in the last ten years, of wanting to create the very weapons that have bled us so bitterly during this period."

Mr. Bevin's survey of British foreign policy was exhaustive. He hoped that Austria and the States of the Danube basin would not go on creating tariffs and all the other restrictions against one another. And there again his working-man's background came out. He wanted that done, not for political reasons but in order that the standard of life might be raised. He felt the same way about the South Tyrol and Trieste. He wanted joint companies so that the power of the Tyrol could serve Italians and Austrians; so that the mines and bauxite around Trieste could serve Italy and Yugoslavia. He thought that people in these areas wanted homes, food, light, markets and the decencies of life. The drawing of an ethnic boundary ought not to mean poverty to them. Mr. Bevin didn't disregard nationalistic aspirations, but he didn't want them to result in a lower standard of living for the people concerned.

Britain's Foreign Secretary wanted the Dardanelles to remain an international waterway, and by inference he reminded Russia that Britain has a treaty with Turkey, and that Britain does not want

Turkey converted into a satellite state.

Mr. Bevin got into some difficulty about the Polish troops who declined to go home. He said: "When men have fought with you or stood by you, it is against our religion to let them down..... I cannot throw these people to the wolves". A Member said: "Who are the wolves?" And Mr. Bevin extricated himself nicely by saying: "If I threw them into unemployment; if I gave them a bit of money, if I just dismissed them; if I said you have finished your job, that's an end to it".

At the end Mr. Bevin came back to his favourite theme by saying: "I am more concerned with the economic rehabilitation of Europe than I am about geography". He was more interested in conquering hunger and misery than in arguing about 19th century Imperialism.

Mr. Bevin's statement of British foreign policy did not solve many problems. He was less pessimistic than some members of the House who saw the world drifting towards another war. It was the speech of a man who is often inclined to underestimate the bitterness of centuries-old quarrels in Europe, and who is inclined at times to think that when foreigners do not act like Englishmen they are somehow being unreasonable. But it was above everything else the speech of a man who believes that there can be neither peace nor stability in Europe while there is hunger and artificial barriers to trade. Mr. Bevin is keenly conscious of the conflict between Communism and Socialist Democracy. Years of

combatting Communist influence in British trade unions has made him suspicious of Russian tactics. Years of negotiating with British industry - generally successfully - has convinced him of the value of plain, forthright and on occasion dogmatic utterance.

He is beset by many major problems, and is at the same time one of the calmest, coolest men in this government. Under his direction British foreign policy has undergone a fundamental and important, but not altogether obvious change. History will decide whether than change was in line with Britain's long-range interests, but the fact of a change cannot be doubted. It is this: Britain has abandoned the role of mediator between the two greatest powers in the world - Russia and the United States. Britain has elected to oppose Soviet policy in the Middle East, in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Germany. In so doing she has placed herself very largely in the hands of the United States, because without our support her policy cannot prevail. It had been the hope of the last government, whose foreign policy was presided over by Mr. Eden, to act as the honest broker between Russia and the United States. It would now appear that Britain has abandoned any such policy. Under the pressure of events, and as a result of the emergence of Democratic Socialism on the Continent, she has staked out, and pretty clearly defined, her policy in Europe. In some ways it is traditional - conditioned by the facts of geography, but in others it is an open admission that there does exist on the Continent an uncompromising competition between Socialism and

Communism, with the remnants of reaction waiting to take over wherever either one falters. Or, when the balance between the two is so delicate, that neither is able to function effectively.

In the British view this places the United States in a new and all-important position. They feel that at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers we made a separate peace with the Russians - settled temporarily at least the problems in Asia, and, to put it bluntly, sold the British down the river in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. About that there is considerable bitterness. But the question that now arises is whether we support, and perhaps shape to a certain extent, British policy, or whether we don't. The feeling here is that so far we haven't. This is not a question of war, either now or later, with the Soviet Union. It is a question of bargaining. Without us. The British cannot bargain on equal terms because they have not the power. That is the real basis of British concern about American policy, political and financial. ~~There is less talk about war with Russia in London than there is in New York. It may be that that is because London has experienced war.~~

This is Edward R. Murrow in London.

CBS: LONDON: SUNDAY MARCH 3, 1946.
18.45-19.00 GMT.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THIS IS LONDON: This is the third day of the blizzard. There are places in southern England where the snowdrifts are five or six feet deep; and here in London the snow has served to soften the ragged outlines of broken buildings. But this is a week-end when calories are more important than the weather; when food and the lack of it overshadows the Briton's favourite topic of conversation. Sir Ben Smith, Britain's Food Minister is flying to Washington to talk about famine. He is coming to the best-fed nation on earth which still wastes more food than most people have to eat. He leaves a country which is not famine-stricken but to which peace has brought no relief from austerity. The other day the pride of the British Fleet, the K.G.5 - the great battleship King George the Fifth - dropped anchor at Portsmouth, and the thing that made news was not the fact that a great battleship was back from the wars - the important thing was that she brought several tons of food from Australia.

Yesterday the London Times ~~front-paged the announcement~~ announced that the government was concerned with how to maintain the fat ration of seven ounces a week. It was also announced that the Minister of Food might be forced to prohibit the serving of bread with meals. But there was good news too. There is to be an increase of canned fruit - maybe as much as one can for every three people. There will probably be some canned tomatoes too, one small can for every twelve persons.

So far there is no news of mass starvation in India, but the police have had to open fire in one or two places to prevent the looting of rice reserves.

Next week the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary and other members of the Government will address meetings of Trade Union officials and British employers. These sessions will be secret, and they will be so because the government plans to tell both labour and industry the economic facts that confront the country, and what additional sacrifices may be necessary in the event that the American Loan is refused.

British reaction to Mr. Byrnes' speech on American foreign policy was on the whole favourable, but there has developed a considerable scepticism about speeches of any kind, and the general opinion seems to be that it was a fine statement of policy, <u>if</u> it is acted upon.

No serious political observer here regards the proposed Three-Power condemnation of Franco's regime as anything more than a gesture of moral indignation - certain sections of the press point out that if the proposed statement should result in a rising by Republican elements, then the British, the French and ourselves would have a heavy obligation to intervene on their behalf. They seem to feel that non-intervention following exhortation would scarcely be a defensible policy.

So far as British policy is concerned there is an increasing disposition to believe that maybe the Lion has bitten off more

than he can chew. This government is confronted with a bewildering variety of problems all the way from Indonesia through the Indian Ocean, the Middle East to the Ruhr. But the heart of the problem, one which cannot be evaded, is in the heart of Europe where the last war began. Britain might in certain circumstances cut her losses and pull out of certain areas of the world, but she cannot for her very life do that in Germany. It has become necessary to cut the food ration in the British zone to a thousand calories a week - the bread ration has been halved - which means that the supply of food is dangerously near the starvation level. I have not been in Germany since last August, but my colleague Howard K. Smith has been there since the American Armies entered, and he has only recently arrived in London. So I want to take this opportunity to ask him a few questions. First of all, Howard, do you think the reduction in rations will increase the possibility of open opposition to Allied control?

SMITH: If the ration-cut sticks, Ed, Ithink it is likely to. Thus far we'vehad very little trouble with the civil population in Germany. There's a current joke-- which I thinkis not so funny-- that more people have been killed by trigger-happy GIs than by the German underground. ...Right now, there are dissident elements in Germany. Unreconstructed S.S. men are still scattered over the country. Down in the Bavarian alps and the Austrian Tyrol, I'm told there are lots of them moving around on falsified papers identifying them as former inmates of concentration camps. ...Also there are

the young men and boys with little or nothing to do but play at petty crime and semi-political sabotage. ~~Kmxxhxx~~ Neither has been an important source of trouble, thus far. They've been potential leaders of an underground withnobody tolead. But if the people get hungry, desperately hungry--- they may join these rootless young men and give us lots of trouble.

TURN[illegible]: What about the Nuremberg trials? You've been there since the beginning - wasn't there some nervousness for a while about some kind of rescue plot?

SMITH: You mean 'Operation Valentine'....Yes,we did have a scare in the court-house in Nuremberg. American MPs were tipped off to expect trouble around Saint Valentine's day. So ~~thxx~~ troops were ordered prepare operation Valentine to meet the threat. The story is this: Apparently after months of working at it, the S.S. men managed toestablish contact among the various prison camps in the Americanzone. We were tipped off that between February the sixth and the twentieth,they would make a break. There would be uprisings in prison camps in half a dozen 'sensitive areas' like Munich, Regensburg, and Hof, on the Czechborder. The main underground effort, however, was to take place in Munich. A number of S.S. men in allied uniforms were going to enter the court-house. S.S. prisoners of war who work in tha court-house under guard were to disarm their guards. Exactly what they intended todo after that, I don't know, but that was the essential plan as reported to American police. Well, the MPs turned the 'sensitive areas' into stream-lined

wild-west towns. The GIs were given tommy-guns in place of rifles. And they had to carry their tommy-guns everywhere they went-- even to the moving picture houses. The Red Cross centers, however, kept booths where they could check their guns at dances. In Nuremberg the court-house was turned into an improvised fortress, with tanks on the streets, klaxons on the roof. Walls were knocked out and machine-guns set up in the corridors. At the entrance to the court-room itself a steel-plate sentry-box was set up. I think we're pretty safe now--- only, I get a little nervous at the way those point those tommy-guns in your face.

MURROW: You have listened to all of the prosecution evidence. How many of the defendants do you think will be executed?

SMITH: I think the majority will be, Ed. The evidence against men like Goering, Hess and Frank has been overwhelming. On the other hand, I can think of two who will almost certainly get out of it alive. One's Hans Fritsche- Goebbels' deputy- and the other is, believe it or not- Julius Streicher, the Jew-baiter of Nuremberg.

MURROW: Why Streicher?

SMITH: Well, not even the Nazis liked Streicher, Ed. They never permitted him to sign an order or carry out an official act. If they had given him ten minutes of authority he would have committed enough crimes tobe hanged ten times. But they didn't and we have nothing on him -- except that he'sa nasty man.

MURROW: Have you got any idea what the German people think about these trials.

SMITH: Yes. The other day I was going through the court's fan-mail. letters from Germans. They were very encouraging. Out of a thousand letters, only about a dozen were opposed in principle tothe court. However, there were only a thousand letters-- from 60 million Germans. Another indication is this: Justice Jackson's opening address to the court-- a little masterpiece of political commentary-- has been translated into German and put on sale in the streets. When I left Nuremberg, not a hundred copies had beenbought.

MURROW: When I was last in Germany I was impressed with the absence of any feeling of guilt. There didn't seem to be any remorse or sorrow for what Germany had done to other nations. Has that feeling changed at all?

SMI[illegible]: I've seen noindication that it has, Ed. I'm sorry to say that, because I put more faith in an early regeneration of the German people than most Americans I know. But those I'vetalked to recently show that the worst ruins in Germany are those Germans carry around in their strange minds. You'd think they had had enough of war, but theydon't seem tohave. They still talk about how xx 'we' civilized nations -- including Germany-- should band together and destroy Russia while there's stilltime, using this atomic bomb which ' we ' invented. As a passing thought, they suggest Russia would make a fine colonial possession-- their sons in the Wehrmacht have toldthem. They show

little real aptitude for democracy. When we tell them to goto the polls and vote, they goto the polls and vote-- because we've told them, too. But precisely what they're voting for they don't seem to know. The other day, a middle-aged German acquaintance of mine came to see me and ask my advice. He said he had determined, after much consideration, tobecome a democrat, and he wanted to know which party he should join. I told him that was his problem. He answered: 'But it's so difficult. One doesn't know how long the Americanswill stay here. If you do, I should perhaps join the Christian Social Union. If the British should come in, it would be better if I were a Social democrat. But you can never tell. Perhaps the Russians will come. Then it would be advisable to be a Communist.' The idea that he should have convictions and join a party of like-minded people never occurred to him.

MURROW: We don't seem to be making much progress with this denazification business.

SMITH: Well, I sincerely believe that most of our military governors have been trying to denazify Germany. Regarding policy, I can only criticize them for their reluctance to grab the big business-men who financed Nazism and put them in power. In the war-crimes trial at Nuremberg, every category of Nazi authority is represented in the prisoners' dock except big business. But on the lower rungs-- among the people-- it's hard todistinguish little Nazis from ordinary burgers. Their minds have roughly the same odd contents whether they were in the party or outside it. We can'tarrest them all, so we

simply have to re-educate them. We've provided the kidswith new text-books, but text-books are pretty weak opposition to what they hear athome. The newspapers and magazines we give them are pretty good, too. But you just can't erase 12 years of intense totalitarian propaganda in a few months.

MURROW: What's the effect of all this on American GIs?

SMITH: On that, Ed, I think it's valid todmmxmxmxmxmxmx make a distinction. GIs who've been in combat are pretty correct but cool towards the Germans. They don't lend a ready ear towhat the Germans tell them. But combat GIs are becoming scarce now. And the new men don't seem to realize quite soclearly what Nazism was. The Germans, you know, are strange people. Collectively, they've been the meanest butchers in history. But individually, they are friendly hospitable and easy to like. They invite GIs to their homes, and make a lot over them. Soldiers come away with the impression that they'vebeen fed nonsense about these nice decent people. They're showing an ever greater tendency to fall for what Germans tell them. It's a sadfact and it's not just a generalization of my own. American Intelligence has made polls of GI opinion which show that there's adistinct trend among American occupation troops tobelieve that Germany and Hitler have been wronged.

URROW: It seems clear that in Europe at least the central problem remains what it has been for the last fifty years, which is: What

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MURROW: But now there is a difference of opinion between the victorious Allies as to what should be done with what's left. The Russians appear to want a weak, docile Germany. We do not appear to have made up our minds about exactly what we want; while a Socialist Britain, unwilling to see productive capacity destroyed in a world that is short of nearly everything, wants a prosperous Germany whose industrial products will be fed out to the rest of Europe. How do you think these varying point of view can be reconciled?

SMITH: Frankly, Ed, I don't know. And I don't think there's anyone else who does, before we've worked at it for a longtime...hard. But it's the central question in the world today. Persia, the Dardenelles, Trieste are merely on the xx periphery. It's xxxxxxx not too strong tom say that the unity of the United Nations will stand or fall in Germany.

to do with Germany? It is equally clear that no final or complete solution has been found. For the last few minutes I have been talking with Howard K. Smith, Columbia's Chief European Correspondent, who was in Germany before the war began, and who has just returned from covering the Nuremberg trials.

This is Edward R. Murrow in London.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

SPEECHES AND CABLES

Correspondence
and
Scripts

(Wartime and Postwar)

1941 - 1947

E.R. MURROW 31st December, 1940.

P.M. "PRESS TRANSFER. NEWSPAPER P.M."

THIS, IS LONDON. The year is ending unmourned and almost unsung. The fires in the city are out, though the odor of charred and smoking wood still hangs heavy over the heart of an Empire. The high clear flame of courage lighted by the words of Winston Churchill and the wanton destruction of German bombers burns undiminished. There will be few celebrations underground tonight, and no need for special New Year's resolutions. Britain begins the New Year minus the complacency with which she began it, conscious of the fact that she has faced no greater danger since the Armada wallowed up the Channel.

Many of London's refugees - Poles, Czechs, French Dutch and all the rest - will be drinking special toasts to the future tonight. Their war aims are clear. They want to go home and live in dignity, decency and peace. Many of London's Scotsmen have gone home to spend Hogmanay night north of the Border. It will be a little more riotous up there. They haven't been bombed so much, and traditionally New Year's Eve is the Scots' big night. They still remember the beating they gave the English at Bannockburn (?), but tonight Scotsmen will drink to the English in grudging admission that they're as tough as the Scots.

This has been a year to confound the experts and leave reporters gasping - gasping for breath in an effort to keep up with personal memories of tragedy and individual acts of heroism. The record of the year should have taught even the most conceited to venture no prophecies

about the year that is opening, but one thing may be said with certainty concerning 1941. The most important decisions in that fateful and famished year will be taken in Washington. Many people over here are asking themselves riddles of 1941. At the head of the list is the question "Will America enter the war?". Next comes "Will Hitler invade Britain?", and if you're interested in riddles here are a few more. "What next in the air war?", "Can the U-boat campaign be smashed?", "Can Britain take the offensive in 1941?", "What will happen in the Balkans?and to Europe's remaining neutrals?", "How will the world pay for the war?", "What will happen in the Far East?" and finally, "What do the democracies do if they win?" The answer to all those riddles depends upon the answer to the first.

~~Thixxxxxxmayxxhxxapxxxd~~ The old year may be bombed out and the new bombed in. The first sound we hear after Big Ben strikes midnight may be the sound of incendiaries and high explosives tearing through the tender roofs of London's old buildings. It all depends on the weather and the plans of the Luftwaffe. Whatever happens Britain will enter this year with a degree of unity seldom achieved by any other democracy. It is unity achieved through tolerance. They still hold to Cromwell's three hundred year old precept that "Notions hurt only those that have them." The Communist Daily Worker is still published, and its attacks against the Government are virulent. (It is of course true that distinguished citizens of India are being thrown into gaol for expressing less dangerous sentiments). But in Britain the individual is still permitted the luxury of a conscience and the opportunity to express his opinions. There may be more

compulsion in 1941.

Paragraph We shall have less food during the coming twelve months Stop but there is sound basis for the statements that the night bomber will meet more trouble over this island and most people would trade a few Brussels sprouts or slices of roast beef for communiques that reported night bomber losses at ten percent or better Stop

Paragraph New Year's thanks are due for the state of the nation's health. Stop It is almost as good now as at this time last year but it is inevitable that shelter life will reduce resistance, and the time may come when epidemics kill more people than bombs Paragraph One prophecy is certain of fulfilment Stop Those who were not here next New Year's Eve will have died with courage and dignity Stop These people are trying to live up to their history Stop Most of them fail to realise that they are themselves writing a chapter of English history that will be read with admiration so long as their language survives Stop They live surrounded by the symbols of their past greatness Stop For years before this war started many of us believed they were living too much in the past, facing a difficult future with their heads over their shoulders Stop We wondered if they'd grown soft, wondered whether their tolerance had turned into smug complacency with a liberal dash of hypocrisy Stop This year has given us the answer Stop A few at the top have certainly failed to understand or appreciate their heritage but the masses are as tough and as steady as they were in the days when Raleigh, Wellington, Drake and Frobisher walked occasionally through the narrow winding streets of London Stop It is

not only because our original language is the same that history belong s to Britain and it will be due to no lack of willingness to sacrifice, suffer, and if necessary starve, if Britain and her institutions are preserved only in history stop

Paragraph As these words are written darkness is settling down upon London stop in few hours year that was hitlers will be ended stop its grim record will ~~bx~~ baffle many historians and more schoolboys wholl have to read books they write stop Those of us whove tried report happenings of year must see it end with sense frustration and incompetence stop Weve not had words and even when we have comba the words havent meant to you what they did to us stop No reporter writing from London could better summarise this year thats dying than Wordsworth when he wrote Quote Another year another deadly blow another mighty Empire overthrown And we are left or shall be left alone the last that dare to struggle with the foe Unquote sto p and if want additional uppick more exmy broadcast sunday december 29th 1.30 pm Newyork time

Murrow

There is ~~an understandable inclination in London~~ apparent in whats generally called official circles in London some slight irritation with Americas censorship complex. stop It arises perhaps from conviction that there are more important issues plus belief that Americans arent entitled to substantially greater or more sensational news than British public stop London censorship is often slow and inefficient sometimesdownright ~~stupid~~ stupid but on basis of fair amount experience with totalitarian censorship am convinced Londons policy most liberal anywhere stop Tis obviously true that information designed aid assist Britains enemies is suppressed but no hardworking reporter in Britain is dependent entirely upon quote official spokesmen unquote for his information stop for example last july eye saw in detail coastal defences of most vulnerable English coastline was permitted talk with captains of guncrews told how much ammunition they had ~~saw pillboxes without~~ or rather didn't have dash saw seven miles of open beach covered by one antiquated naval gun pillboxes without bren guns and all other improvised and inadequate defences of this island. stop at the time twas forbidden reveal this information and indeed eye made no attempt do so but on basis of those observations and a knowledge of whats been done since then tis certainly safe to say without the assistance of this mysterious quote military spokesman unquote that if germans attempt invasion now twill cost them hundred men for every one they would have lost in june or july paragraph

duff cooper minister of information summed up position british censorship while talking with american correspondents other day stop he said quote if its question of providing americans with big headline or providing (germans) with useful information you wont get your headline unquote stop when censorship may mean preservation your own home your family or your friends you are disposed adopt more tolerant attitude towards it stop for example eyeve been permitted occasionally do adlib eyewitness descriptions london raids from rooftop stop no censor was present but for reasons of selfinterest eyeve censored myself rigoriously in effort avoid telling german high command where their bombs falling or where their fires burning paragraph censorship in wartime is inevitable comma tis irritating and unpleasant but it maybe useful remember that while british censors occasionally tell us what we cant say they never try tell us what we must say or write stop in this country the tradition of tolerance is strong stop so fars censorship concerned military secrets are sacred but comment is free stop for how much of rest of europe can same be said query paragraph in large measure of course one must rely on official communiques for military air and naval news stop no impartial neutral observers were there when the incident occurred ~~comma your reporters over here didnt see it~~ stop likewise american quote military experts unquote sitting in air conditioned offices werent there either stop but you in america hear both sides as we do in london stop the german communiques are still printed here and no one been beheaded or thrown into durance vile for listening to german broadcasts stop

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as English friend of mine said other day when we discussing censorship and communiques quote so fars the americans concerned they havent paid any money but they can still take their choice unquote paragraph no responsible reporter would wish be placed in position defending any censorship tis our job fight it but tis to be remembered that british censors are inexperienced dash censorship is not exactly in british tradition they lack practice ~~and~~ paragraph those who condemn british censors and eyeve done so with considerable freedom from london, might total up the startling quote tuppeny unquote revelations made by correspondents whove returned to america from here stop so fars we can ascertain theyve not been exactly worldshaking stop one suspects that they were able unleash most of their thunderbolts while still resident in this country stop end note this filed immediately upon receipt your cable will amplify tomorrow if desired but think robertson could infill gaps also suggest you contact shirer procomment regerman high command information derived examerican reporters in london

Murrow

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~~Exxis~~ Almost three years ago to the day I had the privilege to broadcast over the Columbia network from Geneva at the time of the crisis which led to the ill-fated Munich agreement.

I said than that the war could be avoided "if the nations that wish peace indicate they will be willing to fight" and I stated "If France and Great Britain declare that they are no longer interested in the fate of the nations of Central Europe, Central Europe will be thrown into a state of hopeless confusion."

At that time the nations would not indicate that they would fight to preserve peace. The United States clung to its fictitious neutrality policy. Today we have war.

At this moment dusk is falling over the city and curtains are being drawn for the blackout. This is the beginning of the third year of the greatest war of history. In this two year period there has been but one single constant and consistent factor upon which the world could count; British determination. France fell; Russia changed sides; the United States hesitated; but British courage never faltered and ~~x~~ British policy never shown any wavering. Through the dark days of Flanders and Dunkirk, through the air battle of Britain last year, and now as the fortunes of war somewhat change, the one single consistent fact that the world had to hold on to has been the courage and the determination of the British people. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Here alone have men consistently fought to destroy Hitler's threat. Had that courage flatered in that period civilisation would have been .....

/thrown

thrown back hundreds of years; and the United States confronted with world aggression.

And the threat of Hitler to Democratic civilisation is so great that it defies the imagination. Superaltives are inadequate. I doubt if all of the British people themselves understand the magnitude of what they are fighting against. Certainly many Americans do not. This is more than a struggle to protect the British Empire or the Western hemisphere from invasion. The Hitler war is an assault on the minds as well as the bodies of men; on their civlisation as well as their land.

There can be three outcomes to this war; one, Hitler can win. It would turn a large part of the world to an age of darkness lighted here and there by the sporadic fires of revolution. The instruments of modern science and applies psychology would be used to make resistance difficult. Generations might pass before an opportunity would come for a re-awakening of mankind to throw off its tyranny. Second. The war could be a stalemate with Hitler appeased. There is danger that if Hitler is able to seize the Ukraine and industrial regions of Russia he will pronounce the stablisation of the European continent under his authority, and tell Britain and the United States they can have peace if they will leave him alone in Europe and part of the French African Empire. It would mean a little food for starving people on the Continent if they would adjust their economies to Germany, be willing

that their people be agricultural serfs to maintain a German industrial system. It would relieve very temporarily the strain through which Britain is passing and the United States is approaching. But it would be very little better than a Hitler victory. The war of nerves would continue; all life in the Democracies would be regimented to manufacture more and more armaments, and to drill more millions of men for the inevitable day when the clash between the two systems would start again. It would be a system of prolonged agony in which the souls of the Democracies would starve as they prepared to meet the aggressor who was growing stronger in the consolidation of what he had already conquered.

The third outcome of the war, the only one that free people dare contemplate, is a complete victory over aggression. It alone offers the possibility for the continuance of civilisation. It alone relieves the world of the strain of militarism and aggression and permits men to turn to peace and an uninterrupted period of reconstruction. It alone offers the possibility of an international order, granting security and justice to all men.

Only a military expert could assess adequately the factors making for victory and defeat. On the side of the moral imponderables the most important factor for victory is the courage of these British people, who believe in their institutes, in human decency and the rights of people to be free.

I wish many Americans could see the British people in action; could understand a people who enjoy their fatigue at night because they have spent a full day working for victory; could understand a people to whom life is sweeter because they are not afraid to face death.

Another imponderable is the resentment in the occupied countries. It is one thing to conquer one hundred million civilised human beings; it is one thing to browbeat one's allies, in this case Italy; it is one thing to regiment one's own people. But it is another thing to maintain such a system of tyranny. This is the question that Germany is now facing. Daily, Europe is more restless.

On the side of the potentials is the strength and power of the United States, which if finally committed, would assure every person in the world, allies as well as enemies, that the allies would win the war.

I have tried to secure a comparison between the effectiveness of the Allied blockade at the beginning of the third year of the last war and the beginning of the third year of this war. Until the recent co-operation of the American navy, the British Navy has had to dothe job that seven navies did in the last war. Nevertheless, while the blockade will not in itself bring victory, I am assured that when the history of this war is written, assuming victory for the democracies, it will be found

that the blockade played as great a part in this victory as in the last.

The very outcome of this war may partially be determined by the ability of military strategists to appreciate the contribution which Russia has and is making. At the beginning of the German invasion of Russia few people hoped for more than several months respite for greater preparedness. The heroic Russian resistance has inflicted an unexpected blow to the German military machine; and this resistance now leads to the belief that if given sufficient help Russia can continue inflicting heavy losses on the Germans and immobilising a German army in the Russian snow. But from now on, every mile of territory Russia loses means the loss of valuable factories, power plants and eventually oil wells on which she could base her mechanised army. From now on she must have an increasing supply of war materials to compensate for these losses, and these materials must come primarily from the United States.

What are the factors working against the common enemy? First, 40 million people on these islands cannot be expected to mobilise the industries and man power to save the world alone. Germany has many more divisions that she can throw into the battle than have the inhabitants of the British Isles. From the enforced labor of the conquered countries Hitler can man his industries and farms and relieve most of his man power for his Panzer divisions. Today London estimates that there are 3,000,000 such slaves in

Germany. It is true that the population of the British Empire, including India, exceeds the population of Germany and the conquered peoples, but the Empire is widely scattered and many ships are necessary to maintain communications between its component parts.

Germany has had seven years preparedness of almost complete industrial mobilisation to prepare for an aggressive war.

Just as the potential strength of the United States is one of the imponderables on the side of victory, so the uncertainty as to whether the United States will use this strength to the full is one of the uncertainties that may mitigate against final victory. I sense in the press here a tone of disappointment at American industrial production. An editorial in a leading paper last night said... "America has sent us great supplies of other commodities. Yet the turnover of American industry from peace to war production has still to be achieved. Today it is estimated that the entire output of American defence industries does not greatly exceed 15 percent of American total production. Our share of this percentage cannot give Britain the required superiority in weapons at an early date."

The figure 15 percent probably is pessimistic, but when one realizes that a nation at war concentrates from 40 to 50 percent of its economic life for war purposes, the

figure 15 to 20 percent of American total production indicates how far we have to go before we are making the maximum effort to which the American people have pledged themselves. That marginal 20 percent effort which is yet lacking on our part makes the difference between enough planes, tanks, ships and guns to give the Allies moral superiority and thus finally to exceed Germany's 7 year total preparation for aggression.

In a narrow sense Britain cannot be defeated in that Germany cannot successfully invade the British Isles, but Britain cannot and should not be expected to bring victory over world-wide aggression without a much greater degree of assistance than she is receiving from the United States. The American people have indicated that Hitler must be defeated. They have gone far in the last year and a half in the waging of ideological, economic and industrial warfare and are now in a position of diplomatic and naval warfare. Each day indicates a greater and greater contibution that the United States must make. I have asked many people what will be the maximum military effort required of the United States to accomplish a complete defeat of the Nazi-Fascist aggressors. No one has been able to give an answer. I do not believe any one can. The one fact the American people must make up their minds to now is that from now on they must have no mental reservations concerning what they will do to defeat war. We Americans must not freeze at some given point and

say "we will do this but we will not do that." From now on, without any mental reservation whatosever, we must decide that the limitations of our efforts are only the limitations of strategy.

There is appreciation here, and I am sure that this word must have reached the conquered peoples, of the co-operation the United States is now giving on the seven seas, as the result of the President's statement of policy and Secretary Knox's orders to the Navy. There is appreciation for the industrial effort our country is making for production. But the one thing that the forces of right must know, and the one thing that could break down German morale would be to know that the American people set no limit on what they will do for a quick and complete victory; and that the United States is in the war to the end.

It is no indication of a lessening in British courage and determination to say that the people are tired. Two years of bombing, blackouts, preparation, the consciousness that their island is standing against an assault on civilization that means warfare throughout the world, cannot help but make people tired. I complimented a young woman who is helping me arrange mypapers on the smoothness and efficiency and good nature with which everything was carried out. She smiled and said, "We've been carrying on for two years this way, and we'll continue to carry on. We're a bit tired, that's all." Such fatigue can be endured indefinitely by

a people who may continue to believe as the British people do that full victory is ~~xxxxx~~.theirs. They have a right to expect, and the interests of the United States dictate, that we guarantee that confidence in final victory.

It is very important that the British and American people avoid the German effort to sow suspicion between the two countries. The Germans have been trying to make it appear that Lend-Lease material was being used for non-military purposes, and now that another Lend-Lease Bill is before Congress their efforts will ~~xxxxxx~~ become frantic. For illustration, to England the German broadcaster said, "Roosevelt has the impertinence to accuse Germany of interference in South America, while he is driving British commerce out of the continent and getting an economic stranglehold on it himself."

To the United States the German broadcaster said: "England goes so far in her requests for help from America as to prohibit the export of American goods to South America."

But to Latin America the German broadcaster said: "So the last barrier to the dollar domination of South America has been swept away. With the field to herself ~~xxx~~ America has tightened her grip and continues to take measures to make South America's position worse."

It would be a disaster unexcelled in history if at the close of the war the victorious nations would be too tired

to build or guarantee an adequate peace, the results of which would be that the world would sink into chaos. Secondly, it is very important that the war be won as quickly as possible, and that the American contribution to the war should be geared to this objective.

Yesterday I met two groups of prominent Englishmen who are already formulating plans for world reorganisation to follow the war. Their views are far-reaching, and I was pleased that they agree with many of the recommendations of the preliminary report of our American Commission to study the organisation of peace. The task confronting the nations at the close of this war will be much greater than last. The continent of Europe will be faced with social and economic bankruptcy. Rebuilding the structure of civilisation will be a task involving strength, wisdom and patience. Winning the war should be a job of a few years; winning the peace will consume the rest of our generation.

Here again the United States must finally indicate that it has no reservations . Victory in this war would be assured if the American people indicate that they have no further reservations as to the contribution they are willing to make which necessity requires for a speedy victory. Victory in the peace necessitates that the American people make up their mind that they will have no reservations as to the part they will play in formulating and guaranteeing permanent peace

based upon the Roosevelt-Churchill eight points.

The barrier to the sweep of world barbarism is today in the hearts and minds of the English people. The key to final victory must be in the hearts and minds of the American people.

xxxx

THE HEART OF BRITAIN

1... This is the heart of Britain...Where the winds of War blow across the hills and moorlands of Yorkshire and Derbyshire...They stir the grassx in the sheep valleys of Cumberland and ruffle the ~~xx~~ clear surface of Ullswater..They sing in the Cathedral towers of Durham, in the tower of Liverpool,still building,..in the spires of Coventry.....

2.....In the shadow of the hills lives a great ~~people~~ industrial people,thronging the valleys of power and the rivers of Industry, Filling the steets of great cities..They worked hard in peace time and then went out to enjoy life in their own way and in their own time...a people of strong able hands and warm hearts...And today their hearts and their hands also are being put to the test as never before...

3... In Black Sheffield, the flames of the steel furnaces scorch the mens faces night and day..When the days work is done the men who make Steel go out to protect their homes from the fire that comes down out of the night sky...Here is George Good..Steel Worker by day.. Air Raid Warden at night...

4....From Steel to Cotton..From Yorkshire to Lancashire...All day long the looms are weaving cloth for export..to pay for arms and food from over the Atlantic...But all night in Lancashire as in Yorkshire men must stay on the job..Must stand on rooftops looking out over their homes and their factories..watching for fire bombs... This mill foreman Frank Halliwell will be up there tonight...

5....

Once ,this was the playground of a school..Now its one of the places where Liverpool trains her rescue squads...Behind this grim work lie an infinite number of patient everyday tasks for the women....

6...Dull jobs,like typing lists of addresses..unending jobs like sorting clothes for the homelesss...Voluntary work..no pay..little recognition..done by women ..with love and devotion..And the simplest,most difficult task of all..just staying put,with the war around the corner...Just facing death by your own fireside.....

7....On a hazy day Jerry comesx droning over about three miles up.. When the roof spotters think he means trouble,they send the mill girls down to the shelters..You can see how these Lancashire girls cower before the mighty Luftwaffe

8....These are the folk who were to be bombed into xxxxxxxxxxxx capitulation..Terrorised into begging for peace...

9....In bombed and battered Manchester today they still respect the genius of Germany..the Germany that was..The famous Halle orchestra still plays in Manchester, bur no longer in the great Free Trade Hall..Modern German genius destroyed it shortly after this picture was made..

10..... Here in Coventry those everyday tasks of the women came right thru the fire and became heroic..These people you are meeting in this picture are just ordinary English folk fighting for their homes...Listen to Mrs Hyde of Coventry...

11....And even now in Yorkshire the people find time to sing... Look at those faces.. People who sing like that in times like these cannot be beaten..These people are slow to anger..not easily roused..Now they and their mates..their wives and children are being subjected to a most savage ordeal...As they look at their battered and blasted homes and cities,they may well recall the words of Wellington at Waterloo...Heavy pounding ,this Gentlemen we shall try who can pound the longest.....For these people have the power to hit back..And they are going to hit back..with all the skill ~~in~~ of their hands,the proud tradition of their crafts and the fire in their hearts.....

The answer to this German challenge will come out of these valleys of power and rivers of industry... And the Nazis will learn once and for all,that no one with impunity troubles the heart of Britain..

JOHN GORDON.

This is the story of a City and of how the plain ordinary people who live in it gave it a soul and immortality.

By June 1941 all Europe from the Russian frontier to the Atlantic coast had been at war for 22 months.

All the great nations of Europe from the Russian frontier to the Atlantic coast lay under Hitler's heel, save only Britain holding on to life by a hair line in the West, and Russia, protected by a Treaty of non-aggression in the East.

An early summer sun was warming Leningrad to life after the long winter snows. In factories and workshops, round its great quays and along its broad magnificent streets you could sense the vibrant eagerness of its citizens to push on with this fascinating new experiment in life to which the man who had given his name to their great City, had set them.

Then June 22.

In a ~~few seconds~~ Minutes, with the suddenness of a crashing bomb, for the second time for Russia within 25 years, a world died and a new world was born.

From the loud speakers along the streets came a voice from the Kremlin far South in Moscow. The voice of Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

> "Today at 4 a.m. without any claims having been presented to the Soviet Union, without a declaration of war, German troops attacked our borders at many points and bombed our cities from the air.

"This attack is perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilised nations.

"War has been forced upon us.

"Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before. Each must demand of himself and others the discipline, organisation and self denial worthy of real Soviet patriots.

"Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours".

The City sprang to arms. In the great factories like the Kirov impassioned speakers spread the call to duty.

The pick of the City's virile manhood went straight into the ranks of the Red Army. For young or old, the order was fight or work. All else in life was pushed aside.

The women took their place with the men in the human ring that was flung round the City.

Their battalions were organised by a famous woman warrior Natasha Matveeva, ~~(who had taken part in the war against Finland.)~~ 2.

In the first week of the war the enemy struck hard and deep into the Soviet lands. Men of the Red Army fought as men have never fought in history. They died in thousands where they stood stubbornly. They died but never broke.

Yet still the tanks came on. Still the bombers wave after endless wave of them, blackened the skies to break men's minds and bodies with their crashing bombs.

And still more and more of Russia passed into the black shadow.

The earth was scorched as the Red Army gave ground. Not a roof was left beneath which the enemy could shelter. The crops were burned. The cattle were driven back. The wells were blocked. Every stick and stone and piece of metal that might be turned to use against Russia was utterly destroyed. Over night a rich and flourishing countryside became an inhospitable desert. But hour by hour the menace came closer to Leningrad.

~~Inside~~ Around the City, its workers laboured night and day to strengthen it for the inevitable siege.

They resolved that, unlike Paris, Leningrad would be no open city thrown to the enemy without a fight to save its treasures and its ancient and historic monuments.

If it fell it would only fall stone by stone, and for every stone a life would be given and taken.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories formed the People's Guard. Out from their benches they marched to man the inner defences. Among them many men like Konstantin, Voytsev, the turner in the Kirov factory who had taken part in the storming of the Winter Palace in the Revolution of October, 1917.

Fortifications were thrown across the approaches to the town. Barricades sprang up at Squares and street crossings. Through the Nerva Gate poured a human horde that had in them something tougher than steel.

The City poured its warm clothing into collecting depots, so that winter would not find the Army ill-clad or ill-prepared.

And as the young skilled workers went to fight, their places at the benches and in the machine shops were taken by women. So quickly did they master their new work, with such a will did they labour, that the output of urgently needed munitions did not fall in the change over, but actually increased.

Daily, indeed almost hourly, the menacing shadow crept closer and closer to the City.

Then came the shrill wail which for nearly two years had been familiar to all the great cities of Europe outside Russia.

The bombers had been sent to break the spirit of the people.

In the Nazi way it was not factories and fortifications they sought as their targets but the beating hearts of the people.

Hospitals, theatres, homes and treasure houses - no target mattered. Only terror if it could be roused.

Even Betty, the elephant at the Zoo, had to die with so many of the children who loved her.

Night and day fires ravaged great areas of the City. But under the direction of ~~Popker~~ POPKOV, Chairman of the Leningrad Town Soviet, brigades of civilian workers quickly set about the tasks of rescue and reconstruction.

Not for a moment through all the terror did work cease. Men and women alike stood at the posts of duty until in some cases the factories crashed in on them. Throughout the raids the guns, the tanks and the shells poured out in a ceaseless flood. Often they were in action within minutes of completion.

Old, long retired men, like Bodin, of the Putilov factory, came back into the shop again to bear their share of the common burden. Guns ringed the City to take an increasingly heavy toll of the raiders. Up in the skies Soviet airmen - "our falcons" as Molotov named them - performed prodigious feats. High among them ranked Fighter Pilot Karasyan, who rammed a bomber in a night combat.

Closer and closer the ring tightened round the City. Jdanor, member of the Military Council, and Kuznetsov, Secretary of the City Soviet, bore the main burden of the organisation of the defence.

At Sea the Red Baltic Fleet hammered the left wing of the invading army while the land lines bent and buckled but never broke.

As Autumn advanced the battle came nearer and nearer to the gates. Out in front of the main line worked the snipers, watching every move of the enemy, striking swiftly then vanishing.

Tens of thousands of Germans fell to their sure bullets. They shot to kill and they rarely missed. Some of their bags were astounding. With this shot one of the most famous of them all Rastakhulin killed his 167th German.

In spite of the most stubborn defence, the slow retreat went on for weeks. Leningrad no longer merely heard the guns. It began to feel them.

The moment came when retreat must end and attack begin. From Stalin in the Kremlin facing himself an equally vital threat to Moscow, came the order. "No more falling back. In the offensive".

General Khosin, Commander of the Leningrad front is ready. Powerful artillery smashes a barrage down on the invaders. The airmen take up the attack from the skies. Every tank that can be sent to the front moves ahead to clear the way for the infantry.

The whole force and soul of the City goes into the battle. As the shock troops of the main Red armies hurled themselves on the advancing invaders, a second army, a hidden, mysterious and still more terrifying army struck at the Germans, far behind the lines. The guerillas. Out from the deep woods they came to strike, vanish and return to strike again, till no German knew the moment when death would come to him. Till no German took a step forward without a furtive look behind. Till no invader could lie down to sleep without the fear in his mind of the sudden blow in the dark.

These guerillas - men and women - skilled stalkers, deadly shots, destroyed the German communications. They blocked the highways with fallen trees. They ambushed till at every nook and corner on the road to Leningrad there was always a guerilla bullet waiting for a German.

From deep behind the German lines, from a village which the Germans had made a base of their defence system, One group of guerillas even brought a convoy of food into besieged Leningrad and also money collected for the National Defence Fund.

In front and behind blow after blow fell upon the invaders. In one month, the vital month for Leningrad, 37,000 Germans were killed and vast stores of invaluable war materials captured. These 37,000 now lie with hundreds of thousands of Nazis whose graves are spread over the approach to Leningrad.

That great offensive effort stopped the German advance and gave the City reprieve until the winter snow made further progress impossible.

The City and the Soviet Government heaped honours upon its great defenders.

Banners were handed to Stalin's Falcons for the great part they had played in the air. The guerillas came to the City to be honoured in their turn and the citizens lionised the heroes.

Hitler decided that if he could not take Leningrad he would invest it closely in the severe winter, and starve into surrender the people he could not beat in battle.

By land Leningrad was completely cut off from the rest of the country. Behind the City lay the only open door across vast Lake Ladoga, now frozen deep and hard.

Supplies of food and arms were dwindling. By Jdanov's order a road was driven across the surface of the Lake.

By night and day in all weathers, sometimes in frost such as men could barely endure, under shell fire and constant air attack, an endless stream of thousand upon thousand of lorries, trucks brought food, fuel and ammunition into Leningrad.

These drivers were heroes. Sometimes they worked for several days on end without a break. They knew that upon their exertions depended the life of Leningrad, and by them Leningrad lived.

Parallel with the road a railway was laid across the ice and across it hundreds of thousands of the City's women and children were evacuated to safety.

Tanks rolled across the Lake to the front line.

In its isolation indomitable Leningrad listened on November 7th to Stalin's inspiring message to the Soviet people.

The winter had brought relief from the pressure of attack. Moscow had not fallen. Leningrad though beleaguered was still secure. Work, work, work for the Spring and greater glory.

The people of Leningrad lifted up their hearts at the message. But their ordeal steadily increased. The Germans brought up field artillery and began to bombard the City systematically. One shell wrecked the Hermitage, Leningrad's

world famous artistic treasure house.

As winter increased in severity, life became almost intolerably harder. All mechanical traffic stopped. There was no fuel or power. Food supplies dwindled with such rapidity that the bread ration fell to oz. for men.

Then the water main system froze and every drop of water had to be raised through holes cut in the ice.

Every comfort of civilization seemed to have vanished from life but still the people of Leningrad bore their privations with determination and invincible courage. They did not break. Only in them flammed a deeper and deeper hatred of the enemy.

Amid the wreckage of life they clung to a thread of gold. Scientists, writers, artists and musicians, including Asafiev, the composer worked for civilisation while the barbarian battered at the gate.

The bombs, the guns, the fires never ceased through that long winter. No minute of the day was free, no hour of the night peaceful. But Leningrad in its white mantle never lost its confidence, never faltered in its courage.

The months passed to their inevitable end. The snows began to melt, the ice began to break. The road across the ice of Lake Ladoga was working until April 21st. When the last convoy crossed the icy water was wheel deep.

Three hundred thousand people a day turned out to clear the yards and streets and quays of the melting snow and prepare the City for the battle of the Spring.

The warships of the Baltic Fleet including the Cruiser Kirov and the battleship October Revolution, claimed by the Germans as having been sunk, were released from their ice shackles and prepared for new adventures.

From all over the Soviet Union came delegates of the people to greet the heroes of Leningrad and to bring them gifts. Some like these Kireizians came from as far away as the Steppes of Asia Minor.

One great day of Spring was the most joyous of all. The street cars began to work again. It was almost like a festival, as the torn strained City came to life in the first warm sunshine.

Outside the town life was stirring too. In the thin advanced line of defence and not very much further away, in the line in which the invader had spent his winter of cold and agony.

Life stirred again to resume its orgy of death.

That was the life they lived in Leningrad last winter while we in Britain, rigorously rationed as we were, lived well, worked hard and slept in peace.

That is what total war means. It does not mean a little less coal in the grate, a little less food on the table, a little more crowding in the train and a little rougher than usual scramble for the bus.

It means no trains, no buses, no coal in the grate, and only the barest minimum of food on the table.

But that way Leningrad found immortal glory as the City of great people. We salute them. And with them march on to victory.

It means no trains, no buses, no coal in the grate, and only the barest minimum of food on the table.

But that way Leningrad found immortal glory as the City of great people. We salute them. And with them march on to victory.

Norfolk House Norwich
St. James Sq.
Maj. Porter x

Indian
Ref. 4479
Ex. 9

Bread ration scale for December

Workers	250	grammes
Employees	125	"
Dependants	125	"
Children	125	"

Bread ration scale for April

Workers	500	grammes
Employees	400	"
Dependants	300	"
Children	300	"

Message from Mr. Paul Capon.

500	grammes	=	17 ozs.
400	"	=	14 "
300	"	=	10½ "
250	"	=	9 "
125	"	=	4½ "

P.M. January 3rd.

There is ~~an understandable irritation in London~~ apparent in whats generally called official circles in London some slight irritation with Americas censorship complex. It arises perhaps from conviction that there are more important issues plus belief that Americans arent entitled to substantially greater or more sensational news than British public stop London censorship is often slow and inefficient sometimesdownright ~~stupid~~ stupid but on basis of fair amount experience with totalitarian censorship am convinced Londons policy most liberal anywhere stop Tis obviously true that information designed aid assist Britains enemies is suppressed but no hardworking reporter in Britain is dependent entirely upon quote official spokesmen unquote for his information stop for example last july eye saw in detail coastal defences of most vulnerable English coastline was permitted talk with captains of guncrews told how much ammunition they had ~~saw pillboxes without~~ or rather didn't have dash saw seven miles of open beach covered by one antiquated naval gun pillboxes without bren guns and all other improvised and inadequate defences of this island. stop at the time twas forbidden reveal this information and indeed eye made no attempt do so but on basis of those observations and a knowledge of whats been done since then tis certainly safe to say without the assistance of this mysterious quote military spokesman unquote that if germans attempt invasion now twill cost them hundred men for every one they would have lost in june or july paragraph

duff cooper minister of information summed up position british censorship while talking with american correspondents other day stop he said quote if its question of providing americans with big headline~~s~~ germans or providing with useful information you wont get your headline unquote stop when censorship may mean preservation your own home your family or your friends you are disposed adopt more tolerant attitude towards it stop for example eyeve been permitted occasionally do adlib eyewitness descriptions london raids from rooftop stop no censor was present but for reasons of selfinterest eyeve censored myself rigoriously in effort avoid telling german high command where their bombs falling or where their fires burning paragraph censorship in wartime is inevitable comma tis irritating and unpleasant but it maybe useful remember that while british censors occasionally tell us what we cant say they never try tell us what we must say or write stop in this country the tradition of tolerance is strong stop so fars censorship concerned military secrets are sacred but comment is free stop for how much of rest of europe can same be said query paragraph in large measure of course one must rely on official communiques for military air and naval news stop no impartial neutral observers were there when the incident occurred ~~xxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ stop likewise american quote military experts unquote sitting in air conditioned offices werent there either stop but you in america hear both sides as we do in london stop the german communiques are still printed here and no one been beheaded or thrown into durance vile for listening to german broadcasts stop

as English friend of mine said other day when we discussing censorship and communiques quote so fars the americans concerned they havent paid any money but they can still take their choice unquote paragraph no responsible reporter would wish be placed in position defending any censorship tis our job fight it but tis to be remembered that british censors are inexperienced dash censorship is not exactly in british tradition they lack practice ~~and~~x paragraph those who condemn british censors and eyeve done so with considerable freedom from london, might total up the startling quote tuppeny unquote revelations made by correspondents whove returned to america from here stop so fars we can ascertain theyve not been exactly worldshaking stop one suspects that they were able unleash most of their thunderbolts while still resident in this country stop end note this filed immediately upon receipt your cable will amplify tomorrow if desired but think robertson could infill gaps also suggest you contact shirer procomment regerman high command information derived examerican reporters in london

Murrow

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DNB SAYS PLANES PENETRATED BALLOON BARRAGE COVENTRY TO DESTROY LARGE MOTOR FACTORY INGERSOLL SAYS FIRST TIME HE HEARD OF GETTING THROUGH SUCH BARRAGE FOR A SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE WHATS TO THE STORY WHAT WAS GENERAL EFFECT LORD HORDERS STATEMENT QUOTE THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS GOOD AIR RAID UNQUOTE MORRISON ANYTHING TO SAY ON SUBJECT

RANDAU..

No Inquiry respecting this Message can be attended to without the production of this form. Repetitions of doubtful words should be obtained through the Company's Offices, and not by *direct* application to the Sender.

FORM 2BB. (9/39.)

January 11th, 1941.

PRESS TRANSFER NEWSPAPER P.M. NEWYORK

WHEN BRITISH STARTED EXPERIMENTING WITH BALLOON BARRAGE LONDONERS WERE MILDLY CURIOUS AT SIGHT OF BIG AWKWARD LOOKING GASBAGS FLOATING IN PEACEFUL AIR OVER LONDON STOP FRENCHMEN WERE AMUSED AND THE GERMANS SNEERED OPENLY STOP SINCE THEN WEVE SEEN RED GLOW OF FIRES REFLECTED FROM BALLOONS BELLIES ~~GIVINGXTHEMXSTRANGEXAPPEARANCEXXXX~~ AND DOWN ALONG COAST MANY HAVE PLUNGED EARTHWARD DRIPPING FLAME AND MELTED RUBBER STOP GERMAN FIGHTER PILOTS WERE RATHER PLAYFUL ABOUT THOSE BALLOONS STOP ON WAY HOME THEYD COME SLANTING ~~XXX~~ DOWN ACROSS KENT AND KNOCK DOWN ~~XX~~ FEW BALLOONS SWINGING OVER DOVER OR FOLKESTONE JUST FOR PRACTICE BUT ALWAYS BRITISH PUT THEM UP AGAIN STOP BALLOONS HAVENT DONE EVERYTHING EXPECTED OF THEM BUT BRITISH STILL BELIEVE IN THEM STOP TWICE EYEVE SEEN GERMAN BOMBERS COME DOWN THROUGH BALLOON BARRAGE THE FELLOW WHO HIT BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND TWO DIVE BOMBERS THAT MISSED THE PORTLAND NAVY YARD STOP ON BOTH OCCASIONS AIR WAS CALM AND PILOTS PROBABLY WERE CONFIDENT COULD JUDGE POSITION OF CABLES STOP THEREVE BEEN ONE TWO CASES WHERE BRITISH HAVE GONE DOWN THROUGH BARRAGE TOO ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ INCIDENTALLY GERMANS WHO ONCE SNEERED AT BRITISH BALLOONS NOW BOAST EFFICACY THEIR OWN STOP DNB NOW CLAIMING PLANES PENETRATED COVENTRYS BALLOON BARRAGE AND DESTROYED LARGE MOTOR FACTORY STOP BRITISH COMMUNIQUE SAYS SINGLE AIRCRAFT DROPPED BOMBS DID SOME DAMAGE CAUSED NO CASUALTIES STOP EYE DONT KNOW WHETHER GERMAN CAME BELOW

BALLOONS BECAUSE EYE WASNT THERE BUT DO KNOW NO SINGLE AIRCRAFT CARRIES ENOUGH DYNAMITE DESTROY LARGE FACTORY STOP IN GENERAL BALLOONS GREATEST USEFULNESS BEEN IN KEEPING OFF DIE BOMBERS DASH THATS WHY BRITISH TOW THEM ALONG ABOVE CHANNEL CONVOYS DASH THEY ~~KEEPXTOOXINXKEEPINGXDAYXRAIDERSX~~ DONT KEEP DAY RAIDERS ABOVE EFFECTIVE HIGH LEVEL BOMBING RANGE ~~NETXARXNEXPHLXINXFOREINGX NOMEERX XTRX~~ STOP BALLOONS HAVE CAUGHT ONLY A FEW NIGHT RAIDERS BUT ADDED STRAIN ON CREWS RESULTING FROM PRESENCE OF BALLOONS IS TREMENDOUS STOP SIGHT OF BALLOON OR EVEN KNOWLEDGE THAT THEYRE THERE AND CANT BE SEEN OFTEN QUOTE JOGGLES THE BOMB AIMERS ELBOW UNQUOTE OR CAUSES HIM TO UNLOAD AT RANDOM AND GO HOME STOP BRITISH BOMBER PILOTS COMING HOME AT NIGHT PARTICULARLY WHEN NAVIGATION DIFFICULT HAVE NO LOVE FOR THEIR OWN BALLOON BARRAGE PARAGRAPH WHILE SPECTACULAR FIGHTING IS IN THE AIR A BATTLE OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE GOES ON UNDERGROUND WHERE GERMS MORE DANGEROUS THAN GERMANS STOP LORD HORDER PHYSICIAN IN ORDINARY TO KING BEEN TOURING AIR RAID SHELTERS IN NORTHWEST ENGLAND HE SAYS QUOTE PUBLIC SHELTERS MUST BE SLOWLY BUT INEVITABLY UNLOADED THATS KEY TO PROBLEM FROM POINT VIEW BOTH SECURITY HEALTH STOP TO SAY EYE CAN SHOW YOU A GOOD PUBLIC SHELTER IS RATHER LIKE SAYING EYE CAN SHOW YOU A GOOD CASE OF PULMONARY ~~TUBERCULOSIS~~ TUBERCULOSIS STOP THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS AN IDEAL SHELTER STOP UNQUOTE OVERCROWDING WAS THE CRUX OF HYGENIC PROBLEM DISPERSAL ITS ONLY REMEDY STOP LORD HORDER OBJECTED TOO THAT SOME BIG PUBLIC SHELTERS WERE UNDER MILITARY OBJECTIVES SUCH AS RAILWAY

STATIONS OR VULNERABLE PARTS OF A RAILWAY SYSTEM BUT HIS PRIMARY CONCERN WAS WITH XXX DANGER TO HEALTH STOP IN URGING DISPERSAL ADVISING PEOPLE REINFORCE ROOMS IN OWN HOMES OR SPEND NIGHTS IN OWN PRIVATE SHELTERS HE SUPPORTS DISPERSAL THEORY ADVOCATED BY HERBERT MORRISON MINISTER OF HOME SECURITY BUT DISPERSAL TO SMALL SHELTERS XNXØXXESX CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY WITH GREATEST DIFFICULTY STOP PEOPLES DESIRE FOR COMPANY THEIR GREGARIOUS INSTINCTS MUST BE OVERCOME BUT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT OF ACHIEVEMENT IS THE XXXXNØXMABIXAEXXX PROPER DRAINING CONCRETING AND HEATING OF SMALL PRIVATE OR COMMUNAL SHELTERS STOP THERES SHORTAGE OF LABOR FOR THIS JOB STOP LABOR SHORTAGE BEST ILLUSTRATED BY RECENT HAPPENINGS MANCHESTER MINISTRY LABOR SUPPLIED NAMES 800 MEN TO DRAIN AND CONCRETE SMALL ONE FAMILY ANDERSON SHELTERS STOP 400 MEN ARRIVED BE INTERVIEWED 150 WERE SELECTED AS SUITABLE BUT 50 OF THESE DIDNT TURN UP FOR WORK AND AT END OF FEW DAYS ANOTHER 50 HAD WALKED OFF BECAUSE THEY DIDNT LIKE THE WORK STOP LORD HORDER ASKING WHETHER THIS JOB CAN BE DONE BY CIVILIANS OR WHETHER THE ARMY AND POSSIBLY MEN WHO HAVE REGISTERED BUT NOT YET BEEN CALLED UP MUST BE USED STOP THE KINGS PHYSICIAN HAS BEEN SAYING PUBLICLY THAT IF ALL PEOPLE ARE IN FRONT LINE THEY DESERVE THE HELP THE QUARTERS AND THE HYGENIC ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO SOLDIERS SAILORS AND AIRMEN STOP THE PROBLEM IS BASICALLY ONE OF ORGANISATION WHICH INVOLVES CUTTING THROUGH MAZE OF LOCAL COUNCILS AND PRODUCING RESULTS AT MUCH GREATER THAN NORMAL CIVIL SERVICE SPEED STOP SO FAR THEREVE BEEN NO SERIOUS EPIDEMICS BUT THERES REASON BELIEVE THAT

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CUMULATIVE EFFECT SHELTER LIFE WILL RESULT IN SERIOUS DETERIORATION NATIONS HEALTH STOP FEBRUARY WILL PROBABLY BE MOST DANGEROUS MONTH IF EPIDEMICS OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES OCCUR TWOULD NOT BE SURPRISING TO SEE CONCERTED EFFORT GET PEOPLE UP FROM UNDERGROUND BACK INTO OWN HOMES EVEN AT RISK OF SOME INCREASE IN/CASUALTIES air raid

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1/14/41 TELEPHONED

NEWSPAPER P.M. NEWYORK

PERSONAL OPINION PEOPLES CONVENTION UNWORTH STORY BUT WILL WRITE FOLLOWUP IF YOU INSIST STOP TWAS BASICALLY UNIMPORTANT AND UNSYMPTOMATIC

MURROW

Edward R. Murrow.

To a broadcaster there is something rather frightening about being asked to write for print. It's such a cold, impersonal and permanent medium. I never read anything of my own in print without a rather hot, ~~guilty~~ embarrassed feeling. ~~Having read Notes on the Way regularly for more than four years~~ In four years of reading "Time and Tide" I have always been interested in what appeared beneath the Editor's intriguing little disclaimer of responsibility that heads this column. Upon asking for some terms of reference for this Note, the Editor merely promised that if I transgressed the bounds of tolerance the disclaimer would appear in a little larger type than usual. Therefore I take it that the size of the type will be the measure of my indiscretion.

Every night about midnight I go down to the basement of the B.B.C. and do a broadcast to the United States. Before the broadcast begins there is always five or ten minutes conversation between the engineers in London and New York, designed merely to test the quality of the Transatlantic shortwave telephone circuit. Some of those conversations are fascinating. There are discussions about the relative cost of Brussels sprouts in New York and London. The man sitting in Manhattan tells how he is getting on with the painting of his house; where he plans to spend his summer holiday; and similar personal items. They

never talk about the war. Often before the broadcast begins we can hear Cairo, Ankara, Berlin or Moscow also testing circuits to New York. From four or five points in Europe voices are going out across the Atlantic, preparing a fifteen-minute broadcast which may include originations from four warring capitals. The other night the following conversation took place between the London and New York engineers:

London: "How's the circuit from Cairo?"

New York: "Swell".

London: "What about the London-New York circuit?"

New York: "Not bad, but it seems to have suffered a slight degradation in the last few minutes".

I hope he meant the technical quality of the circuit had deteriorated; but whether he did or not the quality and volume of the Anglo-American exchange of ideas and information, if not actually deteriorating is certainly ~~not progressing~~ showing few signs of growth and maturity.

A considerable number of intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic are talking about Union; about joint meetings of the Commons and Senate; mergers of Air Forces and Navies. Such intellectual gymnastics may provide an escape from reality, equalled only by the phrase, "Peace in our time", ~~or the men propounding them may someday be hailed as major prophets.~~

If there is to be either Union or Peace in our time, it must be based upon considerably more frankness, honesty and directness than exists today. As a beginning we might severely ration the use of double negatives in this country, and try to persuade the Americans that the British stand in no need of advice and exhortations to be brave. We might admit openly that America and Americans are not universally popular in Britain, and that the war aim of a great many Americans is nothing more than a Europe that won't bother them.

The two greatest Democracies on earth ought to be able, without exhausting themselves, to organise a Transatlantic air service which would permit the interchange of ideas and individuals without subjecting Americans and British to the uncertain safari by way of Lisbon.

If the English-speaking peoples can't talk frankly across the Atlantic, they may one day be unable to talk frankly within their own countries. Why not let those persons in high places in this country who advocate a return to the principles of the Ottawa Agreement after the war, say so? Likewise the Americans who say "we must use this Hitler-sent opportunity to seize British markets." Both groups might find little support in their own country and none at all overseas.

It is perhaps too much to hope that the Foreign Office or the State Department could be persuaded that a little fresh air in the

form of plain speech and open dealing would not cause the vacuum in which they now operate to explode. The signing of the agreement granting the United States the right to construct bases in certain British possessions in the Western Hemisphere was held up for days by an argument about what postage stamps were to be used by the American troops garrisoned there. The American State Department asks that the biggest tanker in the world - the Scheherezade - be released in order that she might proceed with full cargo to Vichy North Africa. The Foreign Office hints broadly that it doesn't like the move, the Min. of Economic Warfare does more than hint, but the ship is released. I wonder what the effect would have been in the United States if the British had said: "No thank you; we won't release her at a time when our boys are being drowned in the Western approaches, trying to fight their way through with supplies for this Island. The world's greatest tanker is not a plaything for diplomats. We've got her; we shall keep her and use her." The American State Department might have been shocked, but the people might very well have set up a cheer from coast to coast, and said: "The British are getting tough - even though it's with us". Surely the record of diplomacy in wartime has not been so brilliant that the people who fight today, and those who will be asked to fight tomorrow, should be denied knowledge of what is being done in their name.

Maybe there is a sound and sensible explanation to this whole incident. The latest rumour is that the Scheherezade was traded not with oil but with American wheat longer ago yet. The important thing is that no explanation

has been given. The answer on both sides of the Atlantic probably is that the whole matter is a State secret. But the thing that isn't a secret is that General Weygand, was reported in the British press, shortly before the Scheherezade was released, as saying that Britain was the real adversary. The whole incident reminds me of those warm, pleasant days in Geneva, when the Democracies sought refuge on a mountain of resolutions, against the rising tide of totalitarian strength. Those who speak now of an Anglo-American Union that is somehow to be magically super-imposed upon the existing misunderstandings and suspicions, are as those who went about Europe preaching brotherly love from the windows of Pullman cars.

Britain is to expand its news and information service in the United States. Presumably with the object of speeding American entry into the war. That is a decision that will be taken by the people of the United States, as it was taken by the people of Britain. American correspondents over here are mainly concerned that they should have as complete and accurate information as possible, as a basis for that decision. Attention at home has for many months been centered on the Battle of the Atlantic. The figures of shipping losses are published monthly, but they are meaningless to millions of Americans. 200,000 tons of shipping lost conveys nothing to people who are a thousand miles from salt water, and have never seen a craft

larger than a punt. You can perhaps imagine the result if one were able to sit here in London and broadcast directly to aircraft workers in a given factory, with a few odd million Americans listening in, and say to them: "Look fellows - you worked overtime last month, and you built 60 bombers. You're paying taxes for those bombers, and your children will be paying taxes for them, too. They are now at the bottom of the Atlantic. The whole thing doesn't make much sense, does it? - Just thought you ought to know this, as you might like to do something about it."

I know all the security reasons against the release of such news, but it wouldn't be necessary to give details of totals, dates or anything else. It's a question of making the Battle of the Atlantic real to people who are three, or even six thousand miles away. Without ~~praising the~~ over-estimating the intelligence of the German High Command, it is reasonable to assume that they are aware that not all of the ships sunk in the Western approaches carry knitted garments or concentrated soup.

Let us be Gay! may be a good slogan. Let Us Be Frank would be better. General Wavell has said Britain must eventually have American manpower. That statement caused much discussion and controversy in the States. Excellent! Let's argue about it now, openly and honestly. That dangerous phrase "through normal channels" should be eliminated when two great nations discuss their common defence and destiny. After all, the "normal channels", and those who floated barges piled high with memoranda and minutes of pale circumlocution leisurely through those channels, are still functioning in France and in other countries overrun by the Nazis. In the days when France was dying, both Reynaud and Churchill broke through, but it was too late. Predicting the future is an unprofitable business, except for the "experts". But we on both sides of the Atlantic should at least be able to appreciate that the present relations between Britain and France were not brought about entirely by the Panzer divisions and the Luftwaffe. "Normal channels" have something to do with it.

TIME AND TIDE
An Independent, Non-Party Weekly Review
VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA

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32, BLOOMSBURY STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.

3rd July, 1941.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Confirming our telephone conversation this afternoon, if you can manage two sets of Notes on the Way as suggested, it would be for the issues of July 19th and 26th: copy preferably on Monday 14th and 21st, dead-line Tuesday 15th and 22nd.

It will be very nice indeed if you can manage this.

Yours sincerely,

Jane O'Malley

(PS. 1200-1500 words, appnx.)

Sub Editor.

Ed Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.,
14, Langham Place,
W.1.

Flat 71,
49, Hallam Street,
London, W.1.

26th August, 1941

Arthur Hayward, Esq.,
Cassell,
210, High Holborn,
LONDON, W.C.1.

Dear Mr. Hayward,

Enclosed are the galleys 1-210 of "This is London" duly corrected. We hope to get the remaining galleys off to you tomorrow.

Yours faithfully,

Flat 71,
49, Hallam Street,
London, W.1.

29th August, 1941

Arthur Hayward, Esq.,
Cassell,
210, High Holborn,
LONDON. W.C.1.

Dear Mr. Hayward,

Enclosed herewith the last of the galleys.

You will notice that in the section called "Impressions" there are extensive alterations. A large piece was somehow left off the talk of February 19th, 1941. We have now added this. "This is Dublin" now on page 259 should be put immediately preceding "This is Manchester" on page 254. We notice that the talk of March 9th, 1941, the very last thing in the American edition, was omitted altogether, and Mr. Murrow would like this put in. I have therefore marked the galley for the March 9th piece to go in immediately ahead of April 24th, 1941 now on page 258. Finally, we did not intend that the first part of the June 15th, 1941 talk (about Russia) should be included at all, and we have therefore cut this and marked the galley for the piece to begin with "The necessity for more adequate defence of British aerodromes is generally agreed to have been one of the lessons learnt in Crete."

I hope this is all quite clear, and am sorry that we have had to keep the last set of galleys so long.

Yours sincerely,

AMERICA AS AN ISLAND

by

Edward R. Murrow

It would be easy enough to tell you the traditional stories, - how I remember nothing of the Commencement address to which I listened seventeen years ago -- and that would be true enough. I remember nothing at all about it, except that the speaker -- like so many Commencement speakers I have heard since -- informed us that the making of the future world was in our hands. Well, it wasn't. I remember, too, that we were addressed as a sort of collective corpse. No one talked to us. We were just there as a sounding board for oratory. Maybe there was some rhetoric in it too. But rhetoric, after all, is merely a means of conveying conviction without being impeded by logic. Therefore, I trust you will permit me to speak directly to you, the young women - who are leaving this institution with memories - memories in order that you may have roses in January. I wish that I might inflate myself in order to have merit in your eyes, and to do you credit. I wish that I might speak with the eloquence of the ancients; but that is denied me. So let me just talk to those of you who are leaving, those who are going out into what has traditionally been called the adventure of life. Permit me to tell you that the rules for that undertaking were set before you were out of the cradle. Your betters -- old folks (and that almost includes me), do not give up easily. We are a stubborn lot. If you have read your history you will know that after every war the old men return and attempt to rebuild in the image that they knew. And in the last two years history has taken its revenge, and retribution has not limped.

When I left college -- that was shortly after the beginning of the depression, or, if you prefer, the great recession -- we were all imbued with the idea that society owed us a high standard of living. After all, we were college graduates. We were entitled to expect a higher standard of living at the expense of the society

INSERT:

But I can't help wondering what, beside beauty and intelligence and a certain degree of intellectual discipline, you are taking with you as you leave this institution. You are the favored few - in this country and in this tired world. At worst, I suppose you will have memories to sustain you while you wash the dinner dishes. You have had four years of relative comfort and complete security. I presume that you have learned something, but this is not the place to inquire into that. Your formal education, your ~~petty~~ tuition, factual examinations are over. It is unlikely that anyone in the future will ask you the real meaning of Bismark's KULTUR KAMPF. You will hardly be expected to write a precise piece on the significance of Bretton Woods, but there are some things which you cannot escape - which any society automatically imposes upon an elite -- obligations. You have been trained for leadership. You are part of the luxury fringe, for our society does not dispose of facilities adequate to provide such training for more than a ~~pitiful~~ very few.

All right, you have had the training, and you are all in debt - in debt to the society which made that training possible. Most of you will spend the rest of your lives paying off that debt, and much of it is ~~un~~likely to be neither pleasant nor easy. I am of a generation that had a rather easy time. After all, we faced only a disasterous depression, a general retreat from decency in international affairs, and finally a war which has left a desperate and disillusioned world behind it. That's a nice present for any graduating class. It isn't your fault and it's rather too bad, but it will probably get worse. And what can you do about it? After all, you've got to live in this world we have ~~left~~ fully left for you.

Permit me to make a few more suggestions. You can defend the right to dissent, and that is today in great danger. You can do your best, wherever you are, to see to it that children are better educated than you were. You may be able to do something about an interpretation of democracy which includes economic as well as political freedoms.

You can certainly involve yourself deeply in local politics. That may be less exciting and more exacting than taking refuge from reality in international organizations, but it happens to be the basis of democracy. You can fear the future and conclude that effort is futile, but if you do you will have less courage, less faith than your contemporaries in Europe who suffered more, who lost everything but hope, and who now repose much of that hope in you. You are really very important people.

which had made possible our education. You are leaving one of the best educational institutions in the world; but I beg you not to forget that no one of you paid your freight. No one of you paid more than a fraction of the cost of your education. If you propose to make personal profit at the expense of the society which made possible your education, then good luck to you. If you do that, the society of which you are a part will soon be finished.

This nation is more than an economic plot. It is a place where personal liberty and state control are at war. Even though your elders have made the rules, you, in the end of the day, will have much to say about the outcome of that war. So, I beg you, also, not to be misled by phrases; not to reach conclusions simply because ready made slogans fall easily from men's lips. Please understand that you are betting your lives, and those of your children, on your ability to remain sane. Try as best you can to divorce yourselves from the prejudice and the slogans which make up so much of our daily life. Either you are thinking persons capable of making decisions; or you are mere human animals due to be pushed around by events.

And now -- enough of these generalities. Let's talk about the world as you will meet it. In the first place it is not a world governed by ethics or by men who know history. It is a world run by old men, and they are accustomed to look over their shoulders. Most of their future is behind them. They are ill equipped by training or temperament to deal with the world in which they find themselves. Most of them fail to understand the world that is emerging from this war; but -- make no mistake about it -- they are running this show. Right now, they are trying to remake things in the image that they knew. And you can't do much about it, unless you are prepared to start in a small way. The best way to start is to realize and recognize what you <u>can</u> do - and what you <u>can't</u> do. This is not easy. Most of the answers elude me. Most of my friends who saw and met the problem ten years ago are now dead. They knew only that there was something in this world that was worth getting shot for. That happened in Spain, Austria and Germany, to the people of your age who decided to oppose the development of Totalitarianism. I suggest in all seriousness that it is

time you began to give consideration to the same problem. This is not an idle suggestion. Many of my friends in Germany and in other countries of Middle Europe were dead before this war began. They had made their decision. And I tell you that you, too, may have to make that decision. We are now living in a time when it is fashionable -- and indeed accurate -- to discourse upon the possible destruction of this minor planet. But there is still time for salvation. Through all the troubled history of mankind there has never been an invention which could not have been safely misused or abused. That was true of electricity, of steam, of the internal combustion engine. All of these might have been let loose without control, and civilization as we know it would have survived. But now we are confronted with a condition where humans, having discovered a method of destroying humanity, may use that power. What can you do about it? Die with dignity? Certainly, that's easy. Physical courage is a cheap commodity. But first of all you must decide what can be done short of dying. You must determine the ground upon which you stand. That is why I chose the altogether serious title, "AMERICA AS AN ISLAND", for today's talk. I desire desparately that you should understand the world into which you are going. It is not a pretty place. It demands men and women who are both earnest and anxious. There was a time before the war when many of us suspected that the youth of this country was living on the reputation for hard work, industry and honesty created by our grandfathers. The events and deeds of those who dared and died during the last few years have dispelled any such illusions. After all, the men and women who built this country were made of stern stuff; and those who went from here to the wars were worthy of their heritage. But those who went out to the far corners of the world to fight that it might continue to exist, undertook a task that was simple when it is compared to the one that confronts you.

You are entitled to ask for the credentials of anyone with the temerity to take up thirty minutes of your time discussing AMERICA AS AN ISLAND. I am -- or at least I was -- a reporter. Most of the last ten years have been spent in Europe.

This is sufficient time to develop a full appreciation of one's native land -- and not, I hope, long enough to become denationalized. I can claim a certain acquaintance with statesmen whose names make headlines, and I have not forgotten altogether the history learned from learned professors at American institutions. Study and observation combine to persuade me that we are entering an era wherein America will be tested as never before -- and it will be a new kind of test. I suggest that it will cause us to dig deep into our history, and to re-examine familiar premises, for whether we like it or not we have finally come into our full inheritance. We have had leadership thrust upon us. We created a continent. We wasted our natural resources. We were a people who turned our back upon Europe and its quarrels. Nearly thirty years ago we fought a war in Europe. It was primarily an effort to secure a Europe that wouldn't bother us. We failed. Now another bitter war has ended. Europe is exhausted. Its social, economic and political fabric is in tatters. The old guide posts are gone. This country has become the world's banker, and the principle source of food in a world that is hungry. In Europe today, as in the dark days of 'forty and 'forty-one, the question is being asked: "What will America do?" Europeans are asking, "Can we expect leadership as well as largesse?" We cannot lead with dollars alone; and we cannot lead with bull-dozers or supersonic guided missiles. Our technological advance is demanding new answers. Let us first state the problem and then search for a few answers.

America is fat; and the rest of the world is lean. You and other classes like you are the best fed, best clothed graduates of any university in the world. Most of you do not doubt the fundamental basis of American democracy. But many of the youth of other lands doubt it - profoundly. There is real danger that we in America are moving in one direction and the rest of the world is moving in another. There is real and urgent danger that we shall be isolated. That is something which we cannot afford. It would threaten our very lives. There is in Europe and in Asia a demand that <u>all</u> shall have bread before <u>any</u> has cake. There is a demand that the land shall be used

to produce for the people. There is a demand for economic equality and for economic security. And the price is merely the sacrifice of personal liberty. Believe me, the phrase "personal liberty" is a hollow one to people with hollow bellies. There is a demand in Europe and Asia for racial equality and for a system which offers the individual something which is out, above and beyond personal gain and comfort. There was a time when religion was a stronger force than nationalism. Then came the time when nationalism overshadowed all else. Now the world has reached the state where loyalties cross national boundaries; where change is welcomed -- any kind of change; where most of the world is in fact "four f" -- suffering from fear, famine, fatigue and frustration. And in this chaos that follows conflict the United States is regarded with a mixture of fear and admiration. In many nations the fear outweighs the admiration. We are regarded as a giant test tube. The world knows that we can produce the weapons of war and the men to use them. But it is less certain of our ability to create here in this continent a society which men of all races and creeds can admire and imitate. Can we -- dare we -- save our traditional liberties and still meet the challenge of those who, now as in the past, are prepared to live dangerously? Or is our brand of democracy merely a luxury to be afforded by a country that is fat, with its industries intact, its population untired, its strength increased -- a country where war did not walk down our streets? Believe me, the rest of the world -- which interprets democracy differently -- doubts us.

In the years since the war ended, our leadership has been erratic. We have veered from firmness to complacent indifference in international affairs. There is an armament race in progress and we have allowed our army to disintegrate. We are unrationed, while the world starves. When the war ended, we shouted "Off with all controls! We must go back to pre-war practices." We failed to realize that there can be no going back. (Lot's wife) The nations that were near the fire just don't want to go back, for the heat opened up too many cracks in the old order. We continue to give advice and seek to escape responsibility for implementing our advice. We are

concerned about the hundreds of thousands of Jews still living in concentration camps in Germany, and we say, "Send them to Palestine", while this generous and capacious land is unwilling to welcome them. Are we trying to bury our conscience in the sands of Palestine? It is true that we are a young nation, unaccustomed to dealing with foreign affairs. This reputation for youthfulness is one of the oldest things about us. If we are to live, we must grow up in a hurry. We must recognize that there is no reason in history for that bit of mythology which holds that we are always out-smarted at the conference table. Other nations with less power have made greater mistakes. The importance of our position now is that if we make a mistake it may be our last. I know full well that this is not a bright picture I am painting, but believe me, the colors are sombre. It is a darkening scene. We are in some considerable danger of becoming the best hated nation on earth. We don't deserve to be. But remember that grievances are no less real because they are imagined. We are in danger of becoming a great straggling island off the coast of Kamchatka with most of the world united against us.

If that analysis is correct, what can we do about it? Or to put it more bluntly, what can you do about it -- for I am verging upon the generation that will do all it can to prevent you doing <u>anything</u> about it. Above forty the familiar is the most attractive, even though the familiar may lead to a repetition of the last few terrible tragic years. I can offer -- with all humility -- only a few suggestions. And remember that I am of a generation which did little or nothing to prevent what has so recently happened. I hope that no one of you will stand here seventeen years from now and confess that <u>your</u> contemporaries have failed so miserably. If you fail, there may be no ground on which to stand. Yours is the last chance. And that is why I propose to say a few things which our elders will hardly like. After all, this is no time to use phrases that have lost their cutting edge.

Firstly, do not respect those elders too much. They have made a pretty thorough going mess of things. Learn from them, if you can, but remember always that they may be wrong -- and that you may be, too.

Secondly, place not your faith in dollars. They are useful and pleasant to spend, but they will not buy friends either at home or abroad. Money will not buy greatness for a nation or for a man. American loans will not alter the course of the political tides that are running all over the world. We can not buy our way out of responsibility, and if the world judges us to be bankrupt, it will be because we lack the essentials of leadership and have failed to understand that the nature of power has changed. The currency that counts today is courage. There is a form of indifference, - of mental and moral stagnation, that is worse than war. I suspect that the end will have come for us when we flinch, and fail to be willing to resort to arms, no matter how new or terrible they may be.

Thirdly, have an opinion and don't be afraid of expressing it. I am no advocate of government by public opinion polls, but to me the most unworthy members of a democracy are those who when queried regarding matters of great moment to the health and well-being of the state, reply, "No opinion". But you may ask, "How am I to form an opinion upon matters that baffle statesmen and scholars?" "Why not leave it to the experts?" That is what the Germans did. I was there and watched it happen. It is so terribly easy. You, if you are to succeed, and indeed survive, are going to have to work harder than did the men and women who built this great nation. You are going to have to make decisions that never confronted them. You require to know more than they did. If you stop learning and questioning, if your curiosity curdles, if you mistake slogans for logic, if you believe nothing and reverence nothing, then surely the pigs will inherit the earth -- if there be any pigs left.

I remember standing in the ruins of my third office in London. The air was still heavy with cordite fumes. While attempting to salvage a few papers, I came across the charred page of a pamphlet. It was written by an old professor of mine. The final sentence read, "The most urgent problem in the world today is education." The sirens sounded for another raid. That sentence seemed to me to be utter nonsense, but it remained in my mind. And today I am convinced as never before that the professor was right.

You must examine anew such phrases as "free enterprise." How free is it, and how enterprising? "Socialism" - what does the individual give up and what does he gain? "Educational equality" - what kind are the students in your community receiving, and what can you do about it? "Racial and religious tolerance" - how much do we have in fact and practice? "State medical aid or private practice" - which is best for the nation's health? On all of these matters you may change your minds. You probably will, but before the end of the day you must make up your minds. You are now like a bomber over enemy territory. You can weave and jink and take evasive action, but the time comes when you are in the bomb run and must fly level and straight. That is the time when your mind is made up and the objective is clear.

Fourthly, in the field of international affairs do not look to the United Nations for salvation. Ultimate failure, in the form of the veto power, is written into the charter. If we want a world organization that will work we will have to pay a bigger price in terms of national sovereignty, and other nations will have to do likewise. There was a time in our nation's history when men who ran for office were questioned about their stand on slavery, states rights and prohibition. Surely it would be fitting for graduates of this institution to insist that candidates who offer themselves for election should state where they stand on the matter of world government. You have the right and the duty to enquire whether they propose to pursue policies which will make America an Island. (Don't juggle continents)

Fifthly, be always conscious of your good fortune. Much of the world is wandering in the ashes of a civilization that was great. Many of their colleges and universities have been destroyed. There has been no education for seven or eight long years. Professors and students of promise have been slaughtered or starved. The red hot rake of battle has left behind it an intellectual desert. I am not trying to make phrases. For these things I have seen -- in places like Belsen and Buchenwald -- those institutions of infamy -- I met men whom I had known in happier times in Prague and Warsaw and Vienna. Their minds had been better than mine -- or yours. They had been the custodians

of the culture of centuries, and when they came out of those concentration camps they were shuffling, stumbling wrecks, men who had fought each other for rotting potatoes. Most of those who survived -- and they were not many -- look to the west, to you and your elders. You have the strength. You are full of vitamins. And if you fail to defend decency and human dignity, then those who have already died in its defense will have done so in vain.

Sixthly, and finally, I would urge that you be not dismayed by the problems that press in upon us; that you "greet the unseen with a cheer"; that if you desire to reform the community or the country, you set about it with high resolve and vigor tempered with courtesy and humor. I remind you that your opportunity to serve your country in peace was purchased at a great price. You are citizens of a great nation. You are the fortunate few who have received superior intellectual training. You are about to leave Smith College. I hope that you will return often, and that you will think to thank your professors for their efforts on your behalf. And to you of the class of nineteen hundred and forty-seven, I offer congratulations, and an expression of confidence -- confidence that the society which has made possible your education -- up to this point, will, as the years unfold, receive from you steadiness, service and, if need be, sacrifice.

.....

Flat 71,
49, Hallam Street,
London, W.1.

6th October, 1941

James King, Esq.,
Messrs. Hamish Hamilton Ltd.,
90, Great Russell Street,
LONDON, W.C.1.

Dear Mr. King,

Many thanks for despatching the 31 copies of "Berlin Diary" to our friends and for sending 6 copies to us. Our cheque for £12. 9. 4. is enclosed herewith.

We note that you deleted three names from our list, and would suggest that you send copies to the following:

Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Houbert,
Athenaeum Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.1.

Captain Stefan Zamoyski,
Polish Ministry of Information,
Stratton House,
Stratton Street,
LONDON, W.1.

Yours faithfully,

NOV. 7. 1941

Voice of England has an American accent

Ed Murrow

TO meet the man who made the man every one is talking about is a humbling experience. Kingmakers are greater than kings.

Kingmaker extraordinary of news-casting (the new art of summing up the events of the day on the radio) is Ed Murrow, a tall, gentle American with a solemn sense of humour. (I mean he gives you the feeling he likes to know what it's all about before he laughs at it; then he laughs plenty.)

Ed Murrow discovered, nursed and projected William Shirer, whose book "Berlin Diary," recently serialised on this page, is as sturdy an indictment of Nazism as any man bar Churchill has yet managed. . . .

Th stener's own drama

MURROW found Shirer adrift in Europe without a job, put him to work on the short waves to America. He taught him to be casual, factual, objective. He taught him to be subtle with his sensations, so that it was always the listener, sitting in an armchair 3,000 miles away, who made the drama for himself.

He taught him to be staunchly independent of all succulent news items, however tired or tempted he might be, until he had quite convinced himself that his informant was a disinterested party.

Murrow knew in the early days of radio what kind of people were interested in getting sinister little snippets of news on the ether—and who paid them.

He knew all this because he has been for the past three years the head European radio commentator for Columbia Broadcasting Service from Europe. He works in London.

Ask any visiting American or homing Englishman how they have had news of Britain since the war started and they'll say Murrow to you. The Ministry of Information doesn't seem to be running. The voice of England has an American accent.

The truth is not dull

MURROW and Shirer together have done a good job of making the American nation aware of what has been going on in Europe.

They have had their part in mobilising New World thought to the anti-Nazi front. The jobs have been exactly opposed. Shirer had to fight the might of the Nazis to get the truth across. Murrow had to fight the might of Britain not to be dull.

He has found the British censor a most obliging person. Stupid sometimes, sinister never. In all his experience he only had his broadcasting script altered once. An enthusiastic censor wrote something into his prose, but promptly apologised when he protested. He said that he would broadcast the following night that his talk was only made possible by the collaboration of the authorities.

England is the only place

MURROW goes home this week-end. He will find there a great, avid public, many offers to lecture, broadcast for commercial corporations. But he is determined to come back to London in February. His reason is enlightening.

He says quite sincerely that England, these days, is the only place to be. We lead this brave new world. All the social experiments that will influence society for generations to come, Murrow says, are being tried out here right now.

Murrow, keenly conscious of the significance of the English way of life, doesn't want to miss it. He'll be back.

Paul Holt

NOVEMBER 11TH 1918

Armistice Day, which is observed by all the Allies of the last war on November 11th, is for Poles their Independence Day as well.

The trumpet call which gave the signal "Cease Fire" to the combattan on the battle field at Compiegne and announced the victory to the Allied peoples, summoned the Polish nation to an independent existence. On this day Poland was to regain the position due to her amongst the free nations of the world.

The Polish nation stood in spirit at the side of the Allies throughout the Great War, and by the time of the Armistice a Polish Army was actually fighting on the Allied side, an army containing a very large contingent of American Poles. The German collapse in the West therefore afforded the Polish nation the opportunity of realising its rights and of profitin by the fruits of the common victory. So finished the hundred-year old episode in the 1000 years of the history of the Polish Commonwealth, during which she had played a decisive role in the historical and cultural development of Eastern Europe.

This trumpet call in the West, which announced the victory of the Allies, was for Poland therefore a call to take up arms for the realisation of the principles of freedom laid down by President Wilson as the aims of the common victory.- Poland, after shedding her blood for the common cause, had now to shed it again in order to seal her own rights to freedom.

Poland's eternal enemy, Germany, had capitulated in the West, but in the East, German troops remained on Polish territory, as occupants and oppressors of the most ancient parts of Poland, the cradle of the Commonwealth.

Thus on this day the whole Polish nation rose as one man, arms in hand, to expel the invader. The preparations long made in secret now bore fruit. Every underground organisation sprang to activity. Within almost a few hours the

people ~~[illegible]~~ of the towns and villages had seized all the German posts. The German officers and soldiers were disarmed. Boys of 14 took over guard-posts and sentry-boxes. Young men flocked to the recruitment offices. Military units sprang up throughout the Commonwealth, from the Baltic to the Carpat ians, and from Wilno and Lwow to Posnan.

Thus on November 11th began the long drawn out struggle, as a result of which the Polish nation, by its own spontaneous efforts and by shedding its own blood, drew the frontiers of the Polish State.

And today Poland stands in the ranks of those same Allies in the struggle against the eternal and rapacious imperialism of Germany. Her ~~[illegible]~~ war-aims are the same - and the common victory will give her the opportunity of achieving her rights, but this time for ever!

S. J. DEMBINSKI

priv. BAT. 1610

Rank PAD 4207

Soviet Film Agency

at the Embassy of the U.S.S.R.

Studio:
DENHAM LABORATORIES, DENHAM, Nr. UXBRIDGE, MIDDLESEX.
Telephone: DENHAM 2323.

5, Kensington Palace Gardens,

Office:
~~40, BEDFORD GARDENS~~,
LONDON, W.8.
~~Telephone: PARK 4662.~~ BAY:3214
Telegrams: SOVFILM LONDON.

23 October, 1942.

Edward Murrow, Esq.
Flat 71
49, Hallam Street
London, W.1.

Dear Sir,

"LENINGRAD FIGHTS"

I should like to thank you very much indeed for your kind co-operation in the preparation of the above film.

I do not wish to take advantage of your great courtesy but I should be obliged if you would help us to complete this picture before November 7th which, as you undoubtedly know, is the celebration og our 25th Anniversary.

I am hoping that I will again have the pleasure of meeting you and again thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

Representative of Soviet Film Agency
in Great Britain,
P. Brigadnov

Soviet Film Agency

at the Embassy of the U.S.S.R.

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Office: 5, Kensington Palace
~~40, BEDFORD~~ GARDENS,
LONDON, W.8.
Telephone: ~~PARK 4662~~ Bay: 3214.
Telegrams: SOVFILM LONDON.

5 November, 1942.

Edward Murrow, Esq.
Flat 7,
49, Hallam Street
London, W.1.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

"LENINGRAD FIGHTS".

I wish to thank you very much indeed for your valuable cooperation in the work on the above mentioned film. Thanks to the prompt way in which you have treated this matter it was possible to complete the film for the 25th Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you again, I am,

Yours sincerely,

P. Brigadnov,
Representative of Soviet Film Agency
in Great Britain.

Navigator - Richard O. Stein
Capt. (age 21)

19 Harper St
Worcester, Mass

Co-pilot - 1st Lt. Joseph B. Leeper
(age 25)
179 Montgomery Blvd.
New Concord, Ohio

Bombardier - 1st Lt. James C. Dunn
Alice Texas (age 26)

Tail Gunner - S/Sgt James C. Edwards
(age 23)
510 East 2nd St.
Drumright, Okla

Radio Gunner - S/Sgt. Alfonso E. Tomassi
Gallup, New Mexico

Engineer - Gunner - S/Sgt. James P. Fann

3800 Mc Kinley St
El Paso, Texas

Waist-Gunner, S/Sgt - Marvin H. Bryant
109 East Herman St.
East Syracuse, N.Y.

HEADQUARTERS
NINTH AIR FORCE
Public Relations Office

TO:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A Ninth Air Force Medium Bomber Station, England.....A Hoosier whose Army Career has taken him far and frequently from Indiana fulfilled another ambition in that career recently when he assumed command of this B-26 medium bombardment group stationed "somewhere in England." He is Colonel Joe W. Kelly --- Kelly without the "e", denoting Shanty Irish, he says, as distinct from the Lace Curtain Irish whose Kelley is e-embroidered.

The Colonel was born in Waverly, Indiana, a village not far from Indianapolis which he says no longer exists, so he has gotten in the habit of saying he's from Martinsville. His Army records give Paxton, Illinois, as his wife's legal residence, but she and their two children are living at present in Urbana, Ill. (Any other Indiana towns claiming Joe W. Kelly, Colonel, Air Corps, as their native son may Queue up to the left.)

It was just a little over a year ago that Colonel Kelly got the yen to lead a B-26 bombardment group. He had just returned to the States after serving three years in Chile on a special military mission. Assigned to the Third Bomber Command as Air Inspector and A-4 Officer (Engineering and Supply), he had been at MacDill Field for just two days when he flew the Marauder for the first time.

"I was sold on it from the first," he says. "Then and there I wanted to lead a B-26 group in combat."

But that was before 26's had made their operational appearance in the European theater, and Third Bomber Command had other things in mind for Kelly from Indiana. After a month at MacDill Field, he was put in command of the Third Provisional Staging Wing --- last port of call for Air Corps combat units leaving the States for foreign theaters. It was here that Colonel Kelly first had dealings with the group of which he has just assumed command.

In the process of staging, the group had been issued a special piece of equipment for which they would have no use. The mistake was discovered and the equipment called in. But one item of it appealed strongly to the fliers, and they held it out. Then came the order, direct from the commanding officer, that no ship would take off from the field until the missing items were returned. The boys coughed up. They were still griping about it when they got to England.

"That so-and-so Kelly," they said, without malice. "I'd like to meet him agaiax some day."

Now that they have, the resentment is forgotten, but the incident is remembered as one more instance of strange meetings in the Army.

The Colonel was not long in following his future group to England. He led a flight of B-26's over for the Air Transport Command that spring, then returned to the States to assume command of the 355th Bombardment Group at Barksdale Field, La. In November of last year, he was ordered back to England, where he became Air Inspector for the Ninth Bomber Command.

His chance to lead a Marauder outfit of his own in combat finally came when the commanding officer of this group was ordered to assume the duties of Chief of Staff at Bomber Command.

The new Old Man is peculiarly suited for his job. He knows flying, inside and outside the cockpit as his 4000 hours of logged time would indicate. He knows equipment and supply, from long experience in testing it in peacetime and procuring it in wartime. He has had experience in command, and three years of Good Neighboring in Chile devloped his flair for dealing with people to a fine art. These same three years gave him invaluable knowledge of the enemy mf and of the enemy's equipment. As a special advisor to the Chilean government, he flew German planesx belonging to the Chilean Air Service, planes which were the immediate forebears of those the Luftwaffe puts into the air to oppose the Marauder offensives.

He has spent half of his 36 years gathering that experience. For his Army career may be said to have started when he entered West Point at the age of 18. He had had one year at DePauw University, a year to which he owes his affiliation with Beta Theta Pi Fraternity. At West Point he was a member of the varsity basketball and track teams for three years, and acquired an extra-curricular education in shooting craps. His experience with the galloping dominos since coming to this base leads most of the boys to suspect that he didn't get his degree in the latter course.

From West Point he went directly to flying school at Randolph Field, Texas, thence to advanced flying at Kelly, from which he was graduated in September, 1933. There followed two years with the 1st Pursuit Group at Selfridge Field, Mich., flying P16's, P12's, and P26's. When the Army undertook to fly the mails, Kelly had the New York to Cleveland and the New York to Pittsburgh hops. He still recalls as his worst scare, to that date, the night his single engine failed and he made a forced landing in a vacant lot at Linden, N.J.

"I saw a black spot below and brought the plane down without damage to it or injury to myself, but I was pretty shaken by the experience," he says.

That period of flying the mails which proved such an expensive lesson to the government was also a valuable one to the young pilot. He saw more clearly than ever the necessity for having proper equipment for flying. The lesson did not end there. After the mails were turned back to private airlines, he became one of General Royce's "Snowbird Fliers," spending two months in Minnesota and Montana testing 18 separate items of winter flying equipment, many of which are now in use by the Army Air Forces.

School reclaimed Kelly in 1935. He took a year's course in communications at Chanute Field, then spent the next four years as an instructor at Randolph Field, where he was also engineering officer and later commanding officer of the 46th School Squadron.

In March of 1940, he was sent by the government on the special mission to Chile. There, attached to the American Embassy, he and two other officers served as technical advisors to the Chilean minister of defense. It was a job for a diplomat as well as for an experienced airman. Chile, in common with all the other South American countries, had been overrun with German missions, German agents, German salesmen and just plain Germans. The Chilean Air Service had German, French and Italian equipment, including airplanes, obtained in exchange for Chilean nitrates.

Flying German planes left no doubt in the Colonel's mind about the excellence of German equipment. They were good planes, he says, but they were developed from American ideas. And he proceeds to name specific items introduced by American manufacturers which had been produced in Germany under German license. It was up to the three American officers to prove to the Chilean government and Air Service officials that American equipment was better.

American instruments, he says, were what really sold them. Acting as instructors and advisors at the Chilean Air Service flying school, the Americans introduced instrument and night flying into the course of training. They further served in a supervisory capacity for the Chilean National Airlines.

The success of their mission may be judged from the fact that Colonel Kelly was decorated by the Chilean government with the Con Decoracion al Merite in grade of Officer and in grade of Commander.

Chile turned out to be quite an experience for the whole Kelly family. It was a household of conglomerate tongues --- International House on a family scale. The cook was French, the governess, German, the housemaids Spanish, and the Kellys American out of Ireland. Since it was important for the head of the house to know Spanish, that became the top tongue in this tower of international babel.

Michael, now age six, and Katherine, three and a half, emerged from the cradle chattering in everything except English. When their Dad took the family back to Indiana, Mike first attempted an entry into the neighborhood gang with fluent greetings in Spanish. No good. So he sounded the boys out in German. Still no good. When, as a last resort, he switched to French, the boys hooted him as only little boys know how to hoot. Since then, he has steadfastly refused to utter one word in anything but his re-acquired native tongue, and not even visiting South American dignitaries can lure him to commit himself in Spanish.

His young sister is still ridden by the Spanish influence, however, in the form of her nickname. It is "Kita," which in addition to being a diminutive of Katherine, is a hangover of her nurse's frequent admonition: "Qhita se," which means nothing less in English than "Shut up."

A Gallup poll of the fliers in the group would probably reveal that Colonel Kelly is already considered a right guy --- Sir. He's always around --- at his office in headquarters if weather is bad, at briefing if there's a mission, whether he is scheduled to fly or not. He eats his meals in the officers mess, and his progress to his table is frequently interrupted by stops to talk to this officer or that. This awareness of his presence serves a twofold purpose so far as his officers and men are concerned: it keeps them "on the ball," and makes them feel that he takes an interest in what goes on. He's the Old Man, all right, but an approachable one.

One of his officers, having been absent on leave when the Colonel took over the group, showed up for briefing his first morning back with sleep still clouding his vision. The first person he bumped into was a strange officer who nodded a brisk but amiable greeting. The exchange was too brief for the sleepy one to observe the stranger's insignia of rank. Puzzled, he turned to a friend standing nearby.

"Hey, Joe, who's the new Personality Kid? Anyone I ought to know?"

"Yeah," was his friend's rejoinder. "You'll probably be seeing him around. He's your new commanding officer."

30

smoking. He's your man comes to Joe's office."

"Yeah," was the lightning's response.

"Ah! Yes, Joe, who's the man behind this Bulgar on Kiev Yiddish?"

"Yes, I know Yiddish, I speak Yiddish

Kiev Yiddish...."

St. Trout.

Mrs. Joe H. Kelly
Belmont Court
1501 Vermont Ave.
Urbana, Ill.

Parents: Mr. & Mrs. J. R. Kelly
1712 Franklin St.
Columbus, Indiana

not even funny papers x—

Fighters — Over channel — Norman Polish — over to you old boy x — Life insurance — 48 off this field — around hundred on Target. — Enemy action at destroy — Navigator in now & Bombadier trying to sell you something — laying — little left. — 6 rockets x—

Instrument let down x — get now down thru it x

---

(1) Poppies coming up out of sea of Mud — Spitfires

Flash light. — 3

Target. — 4

Ryuels & antwerp. 20 miles from germany, lots of country towns dead — no traffic x

---

(1) Cardfall near Ostend —

Coulnde —

Taking off again as I left. —

{4 4" name}

Fly three a day when days longer - daylight to dark —

~~Forts fly pretty stiff formation~~

— 18 hours for ground crews. —
work while others on air. —

~~Pang~~ Pull a Tony — Capt. Perkins. —

No funny ropes to-till day R
Week. x. f — ~~hydraulic pressure x~~
tail turret worked manually - turret
gunner had only one - but no going
back x. — except flak formation. —

Formation flying over target. —
No wood found. —

German fighters standing off. —

Rudbart. – Cock crow – "dont know
when going & dont care"x

This is what happened when about a hundred twin-engined American Marauder bombers attacked the German airfield at St. Trond in Belgium the other day. St. Trond is only about twenty miles from the German frontier - it was the deepest penetration yet carried out by Marauders. About two hundred American fliers sat on little wooden benches while the operation was explained to them. They were told about altitudes, weather and the time and place of the rendezvous with the fighter escort. The Intelligence Officer traced out the route on a map; it passed through several red circles which indicated concentrations of anti-aircraft guns, and each time his indicator moved through one of those red circles, the fliers laughed.

The Marauders took off, climbed up through the overcast, and soon we were flying in tight formation over the Channel. Just before we make our landfall - not far from Ostend - we hear the Allied fighters talking to each other. They're driving off a few German fighters that have cut round behind our formation. We hear Norwegian, Polish, French and American being spoken by the fighter pilots. It is the voice of the whole United Nations' war effort passing through the air high over the Channel.

We went straight in between Burssels and Antwerp. The countryside below seemed tired and cold. There was no traffic on the roads, and Brussels seemed a dead city. There was no smoke from its chimneys. The same was true of Antwerp. We could see the frost on the ground between the rows of trees in the orchards. The flak began coming up at

us. It burst in dirty black puffs, and seemed to build a fence in front of the formation on our right. But they flew straight into it The formation looked very tight and every bomber held to its position. Occasionally the whole formation would weave and dip in evasive action, but it seemed that all the planes were tied together with invisible chains. Suddenly Colonel Kelly, the leader of our formation which would be the first over the target, said to me "The bomb bay doors are open." I stumbled back and stuck my head down through the open bomb bay. I saw the edge of the airfield come into view and our bombs were released. Visibility was perfect and I could see the whole mass of bombs plunging earthward. As they struck, it was clear that our salvoe was a little long. We had caught the edge of the target, but that was all. But as I continued to look down I saw the bombs of the following formation strike the exact centre of the target. The headquarters buildings fell outward as though someone had placed a good charge of dynamite in the basement. The buildings seemed to erupt in a great flash of fire and smoke. Off to the right I could see the bombs of another formation blasting the perimeter track and falling on an ammunition dump.

As we left the target one of the Marauders began to smoke and lag behind. Half a dozen Spitfires dropped back to protect him. None of us knew whether those Spitfires were flown by Frenchmen, Dutch, Norwegian, Poles, Englishmen or Americans, but we were sure that they would beat off the German fighters that were circling overhead. It was the great example of the allied partnership in the air.

Flying back to our home field, we watched huge four-motored bombers starting out on the eleven-hundred mile round trip to Stuttgart and Regensburg. The sky seemed to be filled with aircraft, and all of them were friendly.

After we had landed, we sat and watched the other Marauders come in. Forty eight had gone out from our field and forty eight returned.

At the headquarters building they told us that a second flight was to be made that day, against the military installations in Northern France. The mechanics swarmed over the aircraft, checking guns and motors, and refilling the petrol tanks. The flying crews had a hasty lunch and soon the Marauders were roaring down the runway for the second time in one day. As the days lengthen they may launch three or even four attacks during the hours of daylight. M

Marauders based on Britain have flown more than twelve thousand sorties and their losses have been approximately three-tenths of one percent. And I know from personal experience that the confidence and skill of the men who fly them is increasing every day.

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Flying back to our home field, we watched huge four-motored bombers starting out on the eleven-hundred mile round trip to Stuttgart and Regensburg. The sky seemed to be filled with aircraft, and all of them were friendly.

After we had landed, we sat and watched the other Marauders come in. Forty eight had gone out from our field and forty eight returned.

At the headquarters building they told us that a second flight was to be made that day, against the military installations in Northern France. The mechanics swarmed over the aircraft, checking guns and motors, and refilling the petrol tanks. The flying crews had a hasty lunch and soon the Marauders were roaring down the runway for the second time in one day. As the days lengthen they may launch three or even four attacks during the hours of daylight. M

Marauders based on Britain have flown more than twelve thousand sorties and their losses have been approximately three-tenths of one percent. And I know from personal experience that the confidence and skill of the men who fly them is increasing every day.

COMMENTARY FOR THE FILM "LENINGRAD FIGHTS!"

Written by Mr. John Gordon,
Editor of the Sunday Express.

This is the story of a City and how the plain ordinary people who live in it gave it a soul and immortality.

In June, 1941, an early summer sun was warming Leningrad to life after the long winter snows. Along its broad magnificent streets, in its factories and workshops, round its great quays, you could sense the vibrant eagerness of its citizens to push on with this fascinating new life, made possible by the man who had given his name to their great city.

Then June 22nd.

From the loud speakers along the streets came a voice from the Kremlin far south in Moscow. The voice of Molotov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs -

"Today at 4 a.m., without any claims having been presented to the Soviet Union, without a declaration of war, German troops attacked our borders at many points, and bombed our cities from the air.

"This attack is perfidy unparalleled in the history of civilised nations.

"War has been forced upon us.

"Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before. Each must demand of himself and others the discipline, organisation and self-denial worthy of real Soviet patriots.

"Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated. Victory will be ours."

Zhanov, Secretary of the Communist Party, Leningrad District, and member of the Military Council, and Kuznetsov, Secretary of the City of Leningrad Communist Party, bore the main burden of the organisation of the defence.

This stirring message appeared in all the newspapers and on the walls of Leningrad -

"Comrades of Leningrad, my dear friends -

"Our beloved city is threatened by the Fascist armies.

"The enemy hopes to destroy our homes, our factories and workshops, he would rob us of our national property, he would shed our blood in the streets, enslave the free sons of our country.

"This shall never be.

"Be steadfast to the end. We shall fight, smash and annihilate the enemy. Death to the Fascist robbers! Victory shall be ours!

This message was signed by Commander-in-Chief Marshal K. Voroshilov, and by A. Zdanov and P. Popkov.

The pick of the City's virile manhood went straight into the ranks of the Red Army. For young or old, the order was fight or work. All else in life was pushed aside.

The women took their place with the men in the human ring that was flung round the City.

Their battalions were organised by a famous woman warrior Natasha Matveeva.

In the first week of the war, the enemy struck hard and deep into the Soviet lands. Men of the Red Army fought as men have never fought in history. They died in thousands where they stood stubbornly. They died but never broke.

Yet still the flood poured on.

And still more and more of Russia passed into the black shadow.

The earth was scorched as the Red Army gave ground. The cattle were driven back. The wells were blocked. Not a roof was left beneath which the enemy could shelter. The crops were burned. Every stick and stone and piece of metal that might be turned to use against Russia was utterly destroyed. Over night a rich and flourishing countryside became an inhospitable desert. But hour by hour the menace came closer to Leningrad.

REEL 2.

Around the City, its workers laboured night and day to strengthen it for the inevitable siege.

They resolved that, unlike Paris, Leningrad would be no open city thrown to the enemy without a fight to save its independence, freedom and honour, its treasures and its ancient and historic monuments.

If it fell, it would only fall stone by stone, and for every stone a life would be given and taken.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in the factories formed the People's Guard. Out from their benches they marched to man the inner defences.

Fortifications were thrown across the approaches to the town. Barricades sprang up at squares and street crossings.

And as the young skilled workers went to fight, their places at the benches and in the machine shops were taken by women. So quickly did they master their new work, with such a will did they labour, that the output of urgently needed munitions did not fall in the change over, but actually increased.

Daily, indeed almost hourly, the menacing shadow crept closer and closer to the City.

The bombers came to break the spirit of the people.

In the Nazi way, it was not factories and fortifications they sought as their targets, but the beating hearts of the people.

Hospitals, theatres, homes and treasure houses - no target mattered. Only terror if it could be roused.

REEL 3 -

By day and night, the raids went on.

Not for a moment through all the terror did work cease. Men and women alike stood at the posts of duty until in some cases the factories crashed in on them. Throughout the raids, the guns, the tanks and the shells poured out in a ceaseless flood. Often they were in action within minutes of completion.

Guns ringed the City to take an increasingly heavy toll

of the raiders. Up in the skies, Soviet airman - our falcons, as Molotov named them - performed prodigious feats. High among them ranked Fighter Pilot ~~Karasyan~~, who rammed a bomber in a night combat.
Kakashan

Even Betty, the elephant at the Zoo, had to die with so many of the children who loved her.

Closer and closer the ring tightened round the City.

At sea, the Red Baltic Fleet hammered the left wing of the invading army, while the land lines bent and buckled but never broke. As Autumn advanced, the battle came nearer and nearer to the gates.

REEL 4 -

In spite of the most stubborn defence, the slow retreat went on. Leningrad no longer merely heard the guns. It began to feel them.

The Germans brought up field artillery, and began to bombard the City systematically. One shell wrecked the Hermitage, Leningrad's world famous artistic treasure house.

The moment came when retreat must end. From Stalin in the Kremlin, himself facing an equally vital threat to Moscow, came the order: "No more falling back!"

The enemy is at the gates!

The people of Leningrad lifted up their hearts at Stalin's message. But their ordeal steadily increased.

As the winter grew in severity, life became almost intolerably harder. All mechanical traffic stopped. There was

no fuel or power. Food supplies dwindled with such rapidity that the bread ration fell to nine ounces for workers, and to four and a half ounces for everyone else.

Then the water main system froze, and every drop of water had to be raised through holes cut in the ice.

Every comfort of civilization seemed to have vanished from life, but still the people of Leningrad bore their privations with determination and invincible courage. They did not break. Only in them flamed a deeper and deeper hatred of the enemy.

Amid the wreckage of life they clung to a thread of gold. Scientists, writers, artists and musicians, including Asaf'ev the composer, worked for civilization while the barbarian battered at the gate.

The bombs, the guns, the fires never ceased through that long winter. No minute of the day was free, no hour of the night peaceful. But Leningrad, in its white mantle, never lost its confidence, never faltered in its courage.

Hitler decided that if he could not take Leningrad, he would invest it closely in the severe winter, and starve into surrender the people he could not beat in battle.

REEL 5 -

By land, Leningrad was completely cut off from the rest of the country. Behind the City lay the only open door across vast Lake Ladoga, now frozen deep and hard.

Only planes could reach the beleaguered city, and planes came, bringing supplies.

From General Zhukov came a message to the people of Leningrad from their comrades in Moscow, thanking them for their help in the fight against the Hitlerites, and, presently, also from Moscow came the news of the defeat of the Germans - they had been driven back hundreds of miles, and Moscow was safe!

But in Leningrad, supplies of food and arms were dwindling. By Zhdanov's order, a road was driven across the surface of the Lake.

By night and day in all weathers, sometimes in frost such as men could barely endure, under shell fire and constant air attack, an endless stream of thousand upon thousand of lorries brought food, fuel and ammunition into Leningrad.

These drivers were heroes. Sometimes they worked for several days on end without a break. They knew that upon their exertions depended the life of Leningrad, and by them Leningrad lived.

Parallel with the road a railway was laid across the ice, and hundreds of thousands of the City's women and children were evacuated to safety.

Tanks rolled across the Lake to the front line.

Leningrad, though beleaguered, was still secure.

REEL 6 -

Out in front of the main line worked the snipers,

watching every move of the enemy, striking swiftly then vanishing.

Tens of thousands of Germans fell to their sure bullets. They shot to kill and they rarely missed. Some of their bags were astounding. With this shot, one of the most famous of them all, ~~Rakhmatulin~~, killed his 167th German.

Rackmatulin-

General Khosin, Commander of the Leningrad front, is ready. Powerful artillery smashes a barrage down on the invaders. The airmen take up the attack from the skies. Every tank that can be sent to the front moves ahead to clear the way for the infantry.

The whole force and soul of the City goes into the battle. As the shock troops of the main Red Armies hurled themselves on the advancing invaders, a second army, a hidden, mysterious and still more terrifying army struck at the Germans, far behind the lines. The guerillas. Out from the deep woods, they came to strike, vanish and return to strike again, till no German knew the moment when death would come to him. Till no German took a step forward without a furtive look behind. Till no invader could lie down to sleep without the fear in his mind of the sudden blow in the dark.

These guerillas - men and women - skilled stalkers, deadly shots, destroyed the German communications. They blocked the highways with fallen trees. They ambushed till at every nook and corner on the road to Leningrad, there was always a guerilla bullet waiting for a German.

From deep behind the German lines, from a village which the Germans had made a base of their defence system, one group of guerillas even brought a convoy of food into besieged Leningrad and also money collected for the National Defence Fund.

In front and behind, blow after blow fell upon the invaders. In one month, the vital month for Leningrad, 37,000 Germans were killed and vast stores of invaluable war materials captured. These 37,000 now lie with hundreds of thousands of Nazis whose graves are spread over the approach to Leningrad.

- Hitlers warriors!

The City and the Soviet Government heaped honours upon its great defenders.

Banners were handed to Stalin's Falcons for the great part they had played in the air. The guerillas came to the City— to Jdanov, to be honoured in their turn, and the citizens lionised the heroes.

REEL 7 -

The months passed to their inevitable end. The snows began to melt, the ice began to break. The road across the ice of Lake Ladoga was working until 21st April. When the last convoy crossed, the icy water was wheel deep.

Three hundred thousand people a day turned out to clear the yards and streets and quays of the melting snow and prepare the City for the battle of the Spring.

× The bread ration for workers is doubled and for others more than doubled.

The warships of the Baltic Fleet including the Cruiser Kirof and the Battleship "October Revolution," claimed by the

Germans as having been sunk, were released from their ice shackles and prepared for new blows against the Fascists.

From all over the Soviet Union came delegates of the people to greet the heroes of Leningrad, and to bring them gifts. Some like these Kirghesians came from as far away as the steppes of Asia Minor.

One great day of Spring was the most joyous of all. The street cars began to work again. It was almost like a festival, as the torn strained City came to life in the first warm sunshine.

Outside the town, life was stirring too. In the thin advanced line of defence and not very much further away, in the line in which the invader had spent his winter of cold and agony.

Life stirred again to resume its orgy of death.

That was the life they lived in Leningrad last winter, while we in Britain, rigorously rationed as we were, lived well, worked hard and slept in peace.

That is what total war means. It does not mean a little less coal in the grate, a little less food on the table, a little more crowding in the train and a little rougher than usual scramble for the bus.

It means no trains, no buses, no coal in the grate, and only the barest minimum of food on the table.

But that way Leningrad, immortal as the City of a great man, found glory as the City of great people. We salute them. And

with them fight on to victory.

The day is not far off when the tremendous forces of the Allies, Great Britain and America, will hurl themselves against the common enemy, Fascism, and help free their comrades from its grip.

The Message on the lid reads -
Comrade-fighters -
Destroy the Iron Ring of the Blockade.

Today it's my turn to talk about War Bonds. I know that you don't crave advice from this distance; maybe you're tired of being told to buy bonds - to join a ten percent club - to help yourself and your country at the same time - for every three dollars invested you get back four. Those may all be good arguments, but from over here things look a little different. Did you ever see an army...a battered, broken, beaten, bitter army come home? Did you ever hear strong men with the mud and blood of battle still on them asking: "Where were our tanks? Why did we have no planes? Why no armour-piercing ammunition?" Well, I have, twice - when friends of mine came home from Norway..... and from Dunkirk. There are a lot of American boys over here now - hundreds of thousands more are coming; together with their Allies they must undertake the most difficult of all military operations - a seaborne landing on a hostile and heavily defended coast. Those dollars of yours will give them the gear; will bomb out bridgeheads for them; put a fighter umbrella over them while they land. Deny them the equipment and you deserve their curses. It is literally a question of your money or their lives.

This reporter doesn't understand very much about financing a war - doesn't know anyone who can today tell him the value of money tomorrow or next year. But there were people in France who thought to save their money -- and look at them now. There were those in this country who thought the same....and the Germans

came and cast down bombs, and their bankbooks were no protection. You can't stop tanks or bombs with dollar bills. The Germans did these things without much money; they substituted police power for it. We can have it our way....or we can adopt their way. Maybe some of the money will be wasted - sending the wrong material to the wrong front and having it sunk on the way; that's happened before, but that's not a problem that money can solve. That's a question of planning production and strategy; but it can't be done without money - unless we want to do it Hitler's way.

Maybe I'm wrong, but from here it appears that the whole world has now bought chips in this game for survival. The bets are down...and anyone who keeps a stack in his pocket won't have a chance to cash them in later.

Before the war began you, Munfro, knew more about producing television programs than anybody in the country.

MUNRO: We weren't doing television in color, Mr. Murrow, otherwise you'd see my blushes.

MURROW: I didn't know Scotsmen ever blushed.

MUNRO: Well, there are Scotsmen and Aberdonians... Let's get on with it.

MURROW: Well that means we're both foreigners here in London.

MUNRO: Well we both appear to thrive on it anyhow. They must like us.

MURROW: I came over here seven years ago - that was just before the Coronation. I seem to remember that you had something to do with televising that, didn't you?

MUNRO: Yes, at the Alexander Palace end. The main work was of course done by research engineers of EMI and the BBC, in rushing through the first mobile television gear in the world. Gerald Cock, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Director of Television, was responsible for the production of this landmark in radio. You heard him in the first talk of this series. Freddie Grisewood who spoke to you a fortnight ago, was our commentar ... Douglas Birkenshaw, our chief engineer, and I sat eagerly watching the screen in Alexander Palace, praying that rain would not come.

MURROW: What did you learn from that experience?

MUNRO: That special events on vision had most definitely come to stay, and you couldn't shut your eyes to it. Of course, we were to a certain extent compelled to work within a ..... radius of central London. Our chief engineer last week has explained why to American listeners. But don't you think, Ed, that they will be interested to know something about the studio side of our post-war work. After all, the high definition service has officially opened in November, '36.

MURROW: Yes, I remember that. You may know a lot about producing television programs, but I've looked at more of them than most people.

MUNRO: I agree, from an outside viewer's point of view. But this television got you. It's rather a bold statement to make but as you've rather challenged me, I will parry by saying that Peter Bax, one of the original BBC television staff, and I did not miss a single program that went out in the three years the public service was on the air. What do you feel about that, Peter?

MURROW I've often wondered how the people who started television went about the business of finding a staff. Bax, what did you do before you became involved in this racket?

BAX:

MURROW: Well, before the war I saw television in this country, in France, in Germany and at home in the States. You fellows have certainly led the world when it came to producing programs. How d'you do it?

MUNRO: Well, I think the answer to that is the extreme care which the pioneer staff, both technical and creative, were selected. As an example, Ed, there were over a thousand applications for the posts of the two women announcers, and you would scarcely credit the trouble we took to find Jasmine Bligh and Elizabeth Cowell. And everyone who saw television will agree that after they'd taken their first few hurdles, both girls were grand.

MURROW: Yes, the ~~xkm~~ selectors certainly did a good job there. But Munro, what about the boys and girls in the back room?

MUNRO: I think there the simplest example is to quote the staff required for any feature film. Naturally, we had to begin

MUNRO; in a very small way. But, by every man, woman and boy pitching in and doing the work of three or four, we were soon able to form an opinion of what the ideal television crew comprised.

MURROW: Where did you get most of your technicians?

MUNRO: Strangely enough, from the London West End Theatre. For example, our two master carpenters were stage men . Our two senior electricians were stage men ... Our senior make-up assistant, the wardrobe mistress, property master ... all theatre people.

MURROW: What, no movie people?!

MUNRO: Yes. For brevity let's say ~~forty~~ 35 percent of the crew.

MURROW: Who were the others?

MUNRO: Roughly speaking, fifty percent theatre, thirty five movie and fifteen ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ percent radio-trained amateurs.

MURROW: I'd like to ask you, Bax, to tell me something about the differences in designing stage or film sets and designing them for television?

MURROW: Most of your sets would be what is called in wartime, 'utility sets'.

BAX: Hardly, we always managed to keep a few shillings in the kitty for experimental work.

MURROW: When did you start using coloured backgrounds?

BAX:

MURROW: Why did you use color, you couldn't see it .. the whole thing was black and white.

MUNRO: We mentioned the Coronation procession at the beginning of this discussion. We had done several outdoor events in the immediate vicinity of our studios and transmitter, by hooking our cameras on to a long length of cable. And the results, given reasonably good light and a natural coloured background of trees, flowers, etcetera, quickly proved to everyone viewing that we got more depth, better definition, and quite frankly a more restful picture. Bax's studio technicians therefore quickly seized on this, and began to use color in the studio.

MURROW: When did you first start using two camera - one inside the studio and one outside?

MUNRO: You mean on the same event?

MURROW: Yes.

MUNRO: September, 1936. Roughly a month (check dates) before the station officially opened. We new boys and girls were almost at a week's notice asked to provide a daily service, mainly for the benefit of the general public and the trade, at the annual exhibition of the radio industry. Our first program consisted of an outside event .. A camera on the balcony of Alexander Palace showing the scene in the grounds of the park below. And I can well remember the excitement of artists, staff and, I hope, you Ed, as one of our earliest viewers, when the little boy on the bicycle cycled along the path. Next day we had staff cars running backwards and forwards. The movie part of the first program consisted of a half-hour feature, in the form of a preview of six of the current leading American and British films, And a studio presentation, a revue called "Here's Looking At You".

MURROW: What background did you use for that studio show, Bax?

BAX:

MURROW: How much rehearsal time did you have in front of the cameras in the early days.

MUNRO: We have often wished we had the rehearsal time "Here's Looking at You" had when the regular service began in October. You see, that revue was repeated every day for 14 days. In fact, we were rather bored with it after 3 days, but that boredom did not last long. as from the moment the public service was officially opened by the Postmaster General on (check date) life became gloriously hectic. Scene staff, make-up staff, cameramen, lighting engineers, control room operators, soundmen .. in fact, the entire production and engineering staff saw the show for one run-through only, the dress-rehearsal. Whether it was Dwight Fiske at the piano or Greer Garson in Bernard Shaw's play "How He Lied to Her Husband". Could I ask you a question, for a change? Did you, as a viewer, ever experience anything of a first night thrill watching a television production?

MURROW: Well, not exactly, because a first night thrill requires a lot of people around you - or at least, that's a necessary part of it for me. But I have become as excited watching a boxing match on television as I ever have sitting at the ringside. Part of that, I think, was due to the quality

MURROW: of the sound. You could not only see more than at the ringside, you could hear more.

MUNRO: Yes, I'm rather sorry that our engineer in charge made no reference in his last week's talk to the excellent quality of ultra shortwave sound, but as neither you nor I are technicians, our listeners will have to accept our word for that.

MURROW: One thing that used to impress me very much was the way you combined the use of film with live program. It seemed to me that you were sometimes using a short piece of film just to to create atmosphere in the presentation.

MUNRO: Yes, the earliest example of that was that I personally used was in a floor show called "Paris Londres". In the actual floor show the girls stepped out of a dummy airplane ... In television, during the orchestral overture, the plane left Le Bourget, flew across the Channel and arrived at Croydon. And by careful superimposition the girls actually appeared to from an Imperial Airways plane somewhat scantily dressed of course, onto the screen and into the viewer's sitting room. There are many other instances, where movie film was used, I think correctly, as a production accessory.

MURROW: Well, as just one viewer, I hope when you start producing television again you won't forget to give us a chance to look at the ballet.

MUNRO: Well, if I've anything to do with it you won't be disappointed. That is one medium where television by its instantaneous nature can beat both theatre and film. But I understand that Marc Blitzstein is to try and wrest some secrets of ballet production from me and another ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ed-televisionary in a forthcoming interview in this series. Meanwhile, I hope we, Mr. Murrow, will meet again when we televise an even bigger procession than the Coronation... seven years ago today.

(NOTE: CAN BE FILLED OUT IF NECESSARY BY QUESTIONS ON MAKE UP AND WARDROBE)

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
Broadcasting House, London, W. 1
TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

Reference: 01/S/JCT 9th February, 1943

Miss K. Campbell
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Flat 71
49 Hallam Street
W.1

Dear Miss Campbell

As promised on the telephone, I enclose a proof of Mr. Murrow's article for the BBC Year Book.

May I also take this opportunity of seeking Mr. Murrow's approval for a footnote on the first page of the article? Something on the following lines:-

"In this article Mr. Murrow tells the story of Transatlantic Broadcasting as seen by a distinguished American broadcaster who, as European Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has since the beginning of the war spoken and arranged for others to speak many messages to audiences in the United States. These have reached America by the transatlantic beam telephone, to be picked up and broadcast by American stations. The BBC's own

1st proof

10 DEC 1942

TRANSATLANTIC BROADCASTING

BY

EDWARD R. MURROW

Transatlantic broadcasting is changing; that is perhaps the most hopeful thing about it! For nearly ten years after the first transatlantic broadcast in 1926 the spanning of oceans by radio was something of a stunt. The listener was impressed by distance, and by the technical ingenuity which made long-range broadcasting possible. He was not very much interested in the technical quality of reception, or in the content of the programme—distance was enough. That is no longer true. Americans who sat by their radios had a better view of the Coronation of King George VI than did many who sat in Westminster Abbey. People who heard the sound of German boots on the streets of Vienna, who travelled from London to Godesberg, to Munich with Mr. Chamberlain, who have listened to the speeches of statesmen and puppets from nearly every corner of the world for the last ten years, have come to expect of transatlantic broadcasting something more than stunting or transatlantic trickery. They expect to hear not only the news and the speeches of statesmen. They expect to hear the authentic accent of their allies. They want to hear not only the news but the political, social, and economic climate in which it is made. Transatlantic broadcasting is becoming more and more a job of transportation. Transporting the individual listener from his home in Maine or Idaho by saying to him: 'Look, if you were over here this is what you'd find. This is the sort of thing you would hear, see, and smell. The kind of food you would eat; the people you would meet; the books you would read, and all the rest.'

The advantages of broadcasting over the printed word are too numerous to permit of debate. There is no chance of misquoting or distorting a statesman's speech if you place him behind a microphone and have him read it himself. From the beginning of this war listeners on both sides of the Atlantic have heard the principal speeches of their nations' leaders; and both British and Americans have been fortunate in having spokesmen who appreciate the power of broadcasting, and who have been able to reflect with fidelity and clarity of language the determination and the hopes of their people. The Prime Minister and the President, thanks to the microphone, both wield great influence in the other man's country. And the broadcasting systems on both sides of the Atlantic have consistently been available to both of them.

But the volume of transatlantic broadcasting has not been made up entirely of public speeches. Since American listeners heard Mr. Chamberlain announce that Britain was at war, approximately 558 hours of broadcasts have been relayed from Britain to the States; while listeners in this country have heard [redacted] hours coming from America.

close up

~~Copy to come~~

But most of the time has been devoted to news.

You in this country will have heard the broadcasts relayed from the States by the BBC, but you will not know of the programmes that have left this country at all hours of the day and night, to be relayed by the three American chains. Most of them have originated in a small studio in the basement of the BBC. It was formerly a caterer's store-room. And for those of us who have worked in it since the beginning of this war it will always be our favourite studio. The plate-glass and the chromium, the thick carpets, and the fancy leather furniture of New York and Hollywood studios can't compete with it. For it has been from that converted store-room, sometimes filled with the odour of frying cabbage from the nearby canteen, at other times permeated with the smell of disinfectant, at other times littered with the bodies of sleeping colleagues, that we have tried to tell America something of [illegible] today, often at times [illegible] in the [illegible] loyalty, [illegible] ministers, flyers fresh from Berlin, sailors up from the sea, taxi drivers, firemen—in fact a cross-section of the people of Britain to talk to the people of the United States.

The engineers who control the transatlantic radio link are out

regular service of broadcasts by short wave, many of which are also rebroadcast by American stations, are described elsewhere in this book."

Yours sincerely

D. Burrows
for W.C. Thornton

Enc.
DB

worked in it since the beginning of this war it will always be our favourite studio. The plate-glass and the chromium, the thick carpets, and the fancy leather furniture of New York and Hollywood studios can't compete with it. For it has been from that converted store-room, sometimes filled with the odour of frying cabbage from the nearby canteen, at other times permeated with the smell of disinfectant, at other times littered with the bodies of [illegible] we have tried to tell America something [illegible] often at times [illegible] in the [illegible] royalty, cabinet ministers, flyers fresh from Berlin, sailors up from the sea, taxi drivers, firemen—in fact a cross-section of the people of Britain to talk to the people of the United States.

The engineers who control the transatlantic radio link are out of sight—some of them in another building—and before each broadcast leaves London to be picked up in New York, the engineers on both sides of the Atlantic hold a brief conversation in order to test the technical quality of the circuit. Some of those conversations have seemed to me of greater interest than the material actually broadcast. For weeks we heard each night of the progress being made by the New York engineer in painting his house, interspersed with conversation about the cost of brussels sprouts in New York and London, reminiscences of holidays at Brighton and in Maine. The engineers are the people who see that a programme leaves and arrives intelligibly and on schedule. They never receive praise or recognition. And they must listen to every broadcast whether they like it or not. To me the engineers are the greatest people in broadcasting—talking a jargon all their own, and performing miracles nightly. A broadcast that will wring a word of praise from an engineer is a very superior effort indeed.

Many broadcasts have originated outside the studio. There were roof-top descriptions of air raids in progress. The Prime Minister and the Queen of the Netherlands received honorary degrees from American universities by transatlantic radio. Broadcasts from the top of an hotel in Dover; programmes travelling round Britain from Glasgow to Bristol, to Plymouth and Manchester; half-hour programmes from London with microphones on a fire-boat on the Thames, in an hotel kitchen, at the Hammersmith Palais de Danse, and at Piccadilly Circus. One night just as one of these 'Round London' programmes was scheduled to begin, the sirens sounded for one of the first night raids. A microphone located at St. Martin-in-the-Fields was held level with the pavement, and listeners all over America could hear the calm, unhurried footsteps of Londoners while the sirens howled in the background. That combination of sound did more than pages of print or hours of radio news reporting to convince Americans that Londoners took their air raids without excitement or panic. It wasn't possible to argue with the sound of those footsteps, or with the man who could be overheard asking for a light for his cigarette. All these broadcasts both in and out of the studio were 'live', that is they were transmitted instantaneously. No recordings were used.

The volume of transatlantic broadcasting is increasing steadily. Recently both the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company have been relaying half-hour programmes weekly from Britain, portraying in dramatic form Britain's war effort; and plans have been made for a considerable expansion in the exhcange of programmes between the BBC and the American broadcasting organizations.

Broadcasts from Britain have become part of the programme planning in New York. Since long before the war began it has been common practice for news about Britain to be broadcast direct from London; but now information about Britain is finding its place in a wide variety of American programmes. For example, a regular American broadcast aimed at farmers will switch to London for five or ten minutes to hear from a British farmer what the crops are like, what fertilizer he is using, or how he is solving the shortage of farm labour. An American programme about the American Navy will include a talk from London by a British Admiral about the British Navy. An American programme about lease-lend food will include an interview with a couple of British housewives, asking them what they think of it. In other words, the American networks switch their controls to London with as much ease as they used to switch from one studio to another in New York.

Before this war began it was freely predicted that the outbreak of hostilities would end international broadcasting; that jamming would make the air a howling wilderness; and that there would be too much danger of the enemy gaining information from such a rapid method of communication. But it didn't happen. We are talking to each other more now than ever before. We are listening to each other's music and humour. At times we are criticizing each other.

The weekly American commentary, at present contributed by Raymond Gram Swing and Ernest K. Lindley, has its counterpart in several weekly commentaries broadcast by American reporters from this country. Not a single day passes without at least four news broadcasts being relayed direct from London to listeners in the States. Most of the news broadcasting from this country is done by Americans. I refer to the relays arranged by the American broadcasting companies in London, as distinct from the regular service of short-wave broadcasts transmitted from this country by the BBC in its North American Service.

Transatlantic broadcasting, like any other kind of broadcasting, best fulfils its function when it is subject to the least possible government interference. The radio links between Britain and the United States should not be a method by which Government speaks to Government, or Foreign Office to State Department, nor yet Ministry of Information to Office of War Information. It ought to be possible, and to a very great extent it is still possible, for listeners in each country to hear what their contemporaries are saying, doing, and thinking—not what the government of the day wishes overseas listeners to believe they are saying, thinking, and doing.

No one has had the temerity to draw up a code of fair practice for translatlantic broadcasters. There are no trades-union regulations for those who sit behind microphones in New York and London. No one has defined precisely the objectives. Therefore one can express only a personal faith in a method and an objective. We are engaged in something more complex, and at the same time more important than the mere dissemination of factual news. It is necessary to report the news accurately and fearlessly, and to be concerned that the news is placed in proper perspective. It is important to state not only what happened, but why it happened. It is necessary that listeners in America should be told on occasion how their country looks from the outside; what the impact abroad may be of a decision which was taken on the grounds of purely domestic reasoning. I believe that transatlantic broadcasting if properly used is capable of bringing about a real cross-fertilization of the culture of two countries. I believe that it is even to-day demonstrating that the common man on both sides of the Atlantic shares the same hopes and fears, and wants to live in the same kind of world. It is arousing curiosity in one country about the other. It is a constant process of introducing people, and that's about all there is to it. It is no part of the task of the introducer to insist that they love each other. Indeed, it is essential to point out peculiarities of mind and manner; to expose prejudice resulting from the false teaching of history and the island mentality that exists in both countries—our island differing from yours only in that it is larger.

The broadcasters are alive both to their opportunities and responsibilities. We are learning from each other, and most of us approach our task with a sense of humility, never forgetting that a loud voice which reaches across oceans is no guarantee of wisdom or infallibility. Those of us who have lived and worked in this country during the war years have had the high privilege of portraying through sound a country and a people unknown to the pre-war American tourists, and only dimly recognized by those of us who had spent several years of peace in your midst. We have had the unfailingly courteous and efficient co-operation of the BBC. We have at times washed your dirty linen in public. But if we have failed to give American listeners an accurate and sober account of this change in Britain, it has not been for want of trying. Most of us think that broadcasting is important; and that transatlantic broadcasting is beginning to grow up. I for one do not believe that a people who have the world brought into their homes by a radio receiving set can remain indifferent to what happens in that world.

I removed some of the illustrations + maps from this series. J.S.

By Ben Robertson, Jr.

To the Censor:- Please read the personal clippings about Ben Robertson before censoring these clippings.

British Colonial Imperialism and Four Freedoms Clash in India; United Nations Are the Losers

You Can't Rule a Country Forever With Airplanes and Rifles

Ben Robertson, Jr., foreign correspondent and author of I Saw England *and* Red Hills and Cotton, *recently returned to the United States from India, where he covered the war fronts and political scene for PM and the Chicago* Sun. *Robertson, who also covered the siege of Britain and the fighting in East Africa for PM, is now on the foreign staff of the New York* Herald-Tribune.

By Ben Robertson, Jr.

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For four months I was in India and I want to say here and now that neither I nor many of the other Americans out there like what is going on. It is a sad and bitter experience to be in India when we are fighting to save the Four Freedoms. India today makes you almost physically ill. You feel from the day you get there that you are enclosed in a solid circular wall and, day by day, this wall presses closer and closer. Getting out of India was like breaking out of jail.

For three months I traveled about the country from the Himalayas to the sea. I worked hard, talking and listening.

I was in a town where men and women were being beaten and shot at in the name of the Four Freedoms.

I was in another town whose poor, half-starved citizens were having to raise thousands of rupees as a collective fine for civil disobedience.

Once in a jail, I was told by six Indian girls that they considered this day to be the proudest of their lives—they had been arrested because of their deepest convictions.

They said, "How proud our mothers will be when they hear."

How Would You Feel?

I was on the defensive constantly. I had to explain. What could I say to the Indian who said to me, "How would you feel if Roosevelt were put in jail by some overlord in your country?"

On purely imperial grounds, this situation can be justified, but in India at present it represents failure, for this war is not being fought even in India for imperial reasons—it is being fought even in India in the name of liberty. In India, imperial methods are resulting in failure for the Allies for the reason that imperialism does not produce co-operation among citizens nor does it turn out the maximum number of guns and tanks.

However, the men who rule India believe in "a firm hand," in what they call "a strong government." They had rather deal with the situation as it is now than with any sort of Indian peoples' government.

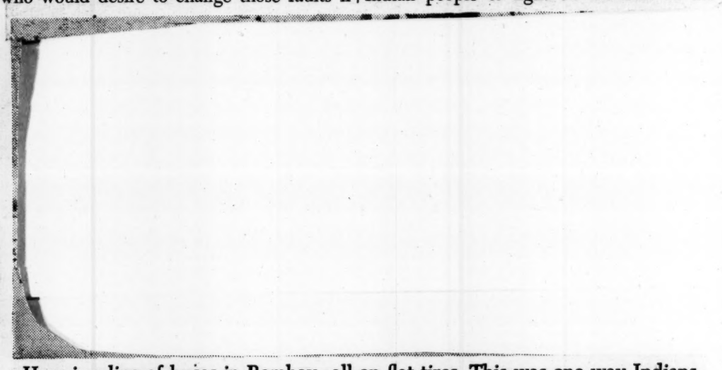
Constantly the British talked to me about law and order. Constantly the Indians talked about freedom and the human spirit. The British kept saying that everything was under control, that the situation was in hand. They were satisfied.

Well, I am not satisfied. I want the Indians to help us win the war and except for certain elements of the community the Indians are doing no more than they have to. Frankly, I don't blame them much any more.

My opinion of India is that the people who rule it today are following the same British colonial policy that their brothers followed in Singapore and Burma. They are following a policy that has resulted in defeat, that has brought about the alienation of Oriental people, that has demoralized Allied fighting units, and that has tried to hide and cover up every Allied fault. Those who would desire to change those faults if they knew about them are kept in ignorance. I don't like what is going on, and furthermore I think it is dangerous.

India is still a backwater colony, part belonging to the reign of Queen Victoria and part to that of George III, and the worst thing about it from an imperial standpoint is that it is a failure. The cynical men who rule the country with airplane patrols and rifles tell us we are getting as much from India by force as we would get by any other method. The people who have been in India for 200 years make such a statement as that in the midst of a war for the Four Freedoms. What else can they represent but failure? Who in India under the circumstances has dared to appeal to the Indian people to fight on the side of the

The arrest of Gandhi last August after his call for a new non-violent campaign for Indian independence touched off disorder throughout India. Here is a Bombay crowd trying to avoid smoke bombs thrown by police.



Here is a line of buses in Bombay—all on flat tires. This was one way Indians protested against Gandhi's arrest. If his present fast results in his death, there is likely to be a much more serious eruption than last August.

The Greenville News Greenville, S.C. Feb 27, 1943.

Robertson Kept Mind Clear In Midst Of Furies Of War

Returned Thrice To Keowee Valley To Put Feelings In Books

(Harry S. Ashmore, staff writer of The Greenville News now on leave for Army service, knew Ben Robertson well. He wrote the following here yesterday while home on a short furlough with his wife after learning the news of his friend's death.—Ed).

BEN ROBERTSON

By CAPT. HARRY S. ASHMORE

Nobody should have been particularly surprised when the newspapers reported that Ben Robertson was aboard the Atlantic clipper that disappeared in flames in Lisbon harbor. His friends were accustomed to having him turn up unexpectedly in far places, and the thoughtful ones knew that Ben lived on the thin edge of danger with death always standing by.

The sentimental ones will say that Ben Robertson died with his boots on, his typewriter shoved under the seat of the plane, his wallet stuffed with a newspaper's expense money, a hot assignment in his pocket. And Ben will like that, for all his life he was, first of all, a sentimental South Carolinian who carried his dreams on the tip of his tongue.

FOLLOWS URGE TO WRITE

The trail that led to Lisbon was long. Ben Robertson went to Clemson College and studied horticulture (all his life he could rattle off the Latin names for the plants that flourished in the Keowee valley), and then, feeling a thrusting urge to write, went on to the University of Missouri and studied journalism. When he finished school he heard there might be an opening on the Honolulu Advertiser, borrowed a few dollars and left for Hawaii and the beginning of the Great Adventure. He went on to Australia and Java and came back to Charleston, which he always said was the most foreign city he ever visited; he went to South America and came back to New York and prowled through the East Side with Joe Mitchell and lived in Greenwich Village and wrote charming little pieces about ferryboat captains; he went to Russia on a cattleboat to take a look at the revolution; he came down to Harlan County, Kentucky to cover a bloody miners' strike; he went to England for Associated Press and came home with a contempt for the British he kept until he went back years later and found them facing Adolf Hitler's planes with quiet, absolute courage.

WRITES FIRST BOOK

Between times Ben Robertson came home to Clemson to check up on the dream he always carried around in his heart. He used to say that the main stream of American literature came down through Hawthorne and Walt Whitman and Thomas Wolfe, and always he dreamed of diverting that stream through the Keowee valley of South Carolina and damming it up between the covers of a book. In Russia, in England, in Java, he thought about upcountry South Carolina and the Robertsons and Bowens and Odells and Boones who had always lived there, and sometimes he made notes. One summer he came home and brought his typewriter and settled down in the ramshackle old house where his father had always lived and told his friends he thought he was ready to write a novel. He would sit at the big round dining room table and hammer away at his typewriter until his eyes began to hurt, then he would go out and walk around and talk to Doc McCullom and John Lane and Bo Williams, or he would sit on his porch and listen to the night sounds and think about the roots that bound him to his valley. Ben never quite finished that first book; he sent it to publishers and they kept sending it back and telling him to rewrite it, and finally he announced that he couldn't write another damned word and he and his friends put up the money and had the book privately printed in Columbia. The book was "Travelers Rest," and some of the language shocked the printers so much they almost refused to set the type; the DAR engaged in quite a controversy over it, a good part of it slyly stirred up by Ben's newspaper friends; the governor's wife said she wouldn't let her child, who was then two years old, read it.

"Travelers Rest" wasn't a very good book, but there were passages in it that sang, that demonstrated Ben Robertson's fine ear for the speech of upcountry South Carolinians. And a good part of the dream that Ben Robertson carried around over the world was written down in "Travelers Rest," the dream of the tough, sentimental Scotch-Irishmen who fought their way down the Blue Ridge to settle Upcountry South Carolina, who sent their sons west to shove back the frontiers of the new world, who inched their way across the broad land under the tall skies.

IN MIDST OF WAR

When the war started Ben Robertson was halfway across the Atlantic; he was a good newspaperman, he knew what Munich meant, he had anticipated Armageddon. He lay in a haystack at the edge of London and watched the tired pilots of the RAF blast Messerschmitts from skies slashed by searchlights and poked by anti-aircraft fire and then he cabled the Newspaper PM: "It looked like something out of the Old Testament." When he came home to rest after the Battle of Britain he wrote another book. It was called "I Saw England," and more than anything else it was an apology to the British for the things he had once said about them and an appeal to America to wake up before it was too late. He was on fire then, and he made speeches to Rotary clubs and Bundles for Britain benefits and to people he met in drugstores, telling them that this was the final test between progress and reaction, that this was America's fight, that Britain must not founder.

Ben Robertson kept on covering the war. He went to Russia and India; he wrote for PM on the far left and for the Herald Tribune and the Saturday Evening Post on the far right, and it is a tribute to his integrity, his professional honesty to say that he wrote just the same for all of them. He stubbornly clung to his South Carolina accent and his South Carolina outlook; even after he took to spending week-ends at Clivenden with Lord and Lady Astor and became a personal friend of Eleanor Roosevelt and Winston Churchill he worked hard at keeping his mind clear, unsophisticated, almost naive.

WANTED TO RETURN

Ben intended to come back to Pickens county some day and run for Congress. He figured he had enough kinfolks to swing the upper part of the district for him, that with luck he could swing the other counties in line. That was part of his dream too, for he believed that he could find fundamental truths in the Keowee valley; he believed that his people, with their ingrained love for the soil and their burning belief in freedom, had kept the true faith alive in their isolated valley while the rest of the world rocked through industrial revolution. He believed that, in the fullness of time, history would swing around in full circle and the Jeffersonian concept would rule America again.

On one of his last visits to the valley, Ben Robertson wrote another book. He called it "Red Hills and Cotton — An Upcountry Memory," and in it the dream he first sketched in "Travelers Rest," the dream he carried around the world with him, emerges in full relief. It explains the aching loneliness that never left him, the urge that sent him to the far corners of the earth, the deep, sincere love for the South Carolina hills that always brought him home again. It makes a fine epitaph.

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EBRUARY 24, 1943

Rommel Halted on Entire Line; Reds 82 Miles West of Kharkov; 24 Lost in Yankee Clipper Crash

Submerged Clipper Comes Up; Tamara, Ben Robertson Missing

Gypsy Markoff, Yvette, Jane Froman, 12 Others Are Rescued at Lisbon

Herald Tribune—Kavallines
Ben Robertson jr.

Search for the bodies of twenty more persons believed to have been killed in the crash of the flying boat Yankee Clipper on Monday at Lisbon, Portugal, was carried on yesterday after the swift waters of the Tagus River had washed the giant ship to the surface in two battered sections. Four bodies were recovered on Monday.

Among the missing are Tamara, widely known singer, and Ben Robertson jr., thirty-nine years old, New York Herald Tribune correspondent proceeding abroad on his first foreign assignment for this newspaper.

Tamara was one of a group of stage, radio and night-club stars on the way from New York to four overseas Army camps for the United Service Organizations Camp Shows, Inc.

Among the theatrical troup who were rescued were Gypsy Markoff, night club accordionist; Jane Froman, singer, and Yvette, night club singer. Miss Markoff's condition was reported fair, that of the others good.

Lists issued by the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington and by the Atlantic division offices of Pan American Airways at La-Guardia Field showed that fifteen of the thirty-nine passengers and crew members aboard the plane were rescued. The identity of two of them was not disclosed.

BEN ROBERTSON

BEN ROBERTSON MISSING IN CRASH

Clemson Author-Reporter in Lisbon Tragedy—No Word of His Fate

Ben Robertson, author and foreign correspondent, a native of Clemson and a former reporter for The News and Courier, was aboard the fated Yankee Clipper, but was not listed among the survivors of the crash near Lisbon as announced yesterday by the civil aeronautics board.

The thirty-nine-year-old Robertson was on an assignment abroad for the New York Herald Tribune, which he joined a month ago after leaving the New York newspaper PM. The son of B. F. Robertson, of Clemson college, he was graduated from Clemson in 1923 and after a season in the school of journalism at the University of Missouri he came to The News and Courier in 1924. In 1926 he completed his course at Missouri and continued West.

He worked for a time on the Star-Bulletin in Honolulu, then for a year on the Adelaide News, Adelaide, Australia. Later he was employed by the consular service in Java and passed a year in Egypt and India. He joined the staff of the Herald Tribune in 1933 and then went to The Associated Press in 1934. He served the A. P. in Washington and London before resigning in 1936 and later joining the staff of the new publication, PM.

Book on South Carolina

While working for PM he went to England, Russia and India. He did quite a bit of free lance reporting until he joined PM in 1940. It was during the period of free lance work that he took time out to write "Traveler's Rest", a book about his part of South Carolina, the Upcountry, its history and pioneers. The book created a controversy with the Daughters of the American Revolution and several book clubs bitterly attacking Robertson's work. Time magazine and other periodicals took notice of the controversy and Robertson's literary career started with a burst of brilliance.

While the squabble still lingered concerning his book, Robertson packed up and went to England where he wrote several articles for magazines. The Saturday Evening Post carried "King George Strives to Please", a story which pointed out that the British king strives and survives on an allowance of more than $2,000,000 per annum

(Contilnued on Page Nine)

BEN ROBERTSON, JR.
(The New York Herald Tribune)
N. & C. Feb 25th.

Ben Robertson, Jr. was a Carolinian and a newspaper man. His rather soft Southern voice concealed the acutness of his understanding, the toughness of his courage and his limitless curiosity. These may seem to have been somewhat harsh and astringent qualities; but in him they were mingled with a quick, warm sympathy for all classes and kinds of mankind —a sympathy which made him as good and careful a reporter of some dull local story as of the clash of empires. He roved the world, always quietly alert to its infinite variety and peculiarity. His apprenticeship was served in Hawaii and Australia; he returned to this country to join the staff of this newspaper and for five years to do much good work for it; later, as a correspondent for PM, he reported the progress of the world struggle from London and Cairo, from Moscow and New Delhi; and having rejoined the Herald Tribune, he was setting out upon a new assignment when death suddenly overtook him in the crash of the Yankee Clipper at Lisbon.

His manner was modest and unassuming; but among the corps of American foreign correspondents —a corps distinguished for its high standards of competence and devotion—he held an outstanding place. He could talk as easily and as sympathetically to a bomber crew flying over Afica as to a commander in chief on the Burmese border, to a bombed-out British family as to a prime minister, and always with a sense of the values latent behind the most casual word. His gayety and warmth of affection commanded friendship wherever he went. The same qualities gave his writing a rare spark of human understanding. His real monument, as with all newspaper men, is in the files; looking back over them, one finds many things that might be quoted, but perhaps as good an example as any is in an article on Pearl Harbor written ten years before the Japanese attack.

Its efficiency, its pace, bring to us a pride in our country's achievement. None the less, the sight of it leaves one with a peculiarly depressing feeling—if only it were not so idyllic in appearance . . . . if only like Gibraltar, there were the glint of iron in its eye.

That is a small example; but it is an example of observation, of reporting, of the sensitivity to the underlying realities which typifies the American newspaper man at his best. One can readily say that American journalism is the poorer for his death; one cannot so easily express the sense of personal loss which he leaves among his devoted friends and fellow workers.

The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C. Feb. 28, 1943

Ben Robertson

Like the kinsmen he wrote about in "Red Hills and Cotton". Ben Robertson, who has been reported missing in a plane crash, was always ready to go some place, and in his crowded lifetime he has been to most parts of the world. He went as a newspaper reporter, bursting with curiosity about places and people. People were his particular hobby; he collected friends as others collect postage stamps or antique furniture. He had an endless flow of smalltalk that served to strike up an acquaintance with anybody from an elevator boy to a grand duchess; and with it went a memory for names and details.

"How is your cousin Susie, and did she ever marry the tall boy she had a date with when you introduced me to her that cold day six years ago?" he was apt to inquire of a friend on one of his return visits to South Carolina, after a voyage to the Orient or Europe or the Dutch West Indies.

Ben always liked everybody and everybody liked Ben. He hadn't a mean streak nor an unkind word. His ambition was to return to his native Piedmont and run for congress, but he had too many other places to go first. His first newspaper job was as a reporter for The News and Courier twenty years ago; he stayed about a year, then struck out on a trip that carried him around the world, via the University of Missouri, Honolulu, Australia, Java and New York, with stops of six months to several years duration. When he crashed in Lisbon harbor, with a distinguished career behind him and an even more promising future, Ben was still on his way, covering an assignment.

Ben had made clipper crossings many times before by way of Lisbon. In the opening of his second book, "I Saw England", he tells about the nervousness of his first ocean flight. As he undressed for bed the thought struck him that it would be embarrassing to crash without his pants on. Next day he landed safely in Portugal, on his way to cover the blitz in London.

Fellow newspapermen can sympathize with Ben, because he apparently won't be there to cover the ending of this war that was his biggest story. He had grown with the story of the war. In England, Ben Robertson was more than a reporter; he was an unofficial ambassador of America, a symbol of the courage, the goodwill and the gallantry of the United States both before and after Pearl Harbor. He was on first name terms with the mighty and the humble, and the people who knew him in foreign lands will love Americans the better for having met him.

When Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, Ben was sent to cover the war, but he was held up by complications in London and the campaign was over before he reached the front. And so now, a new and tragic complication has kept Ben away from his return to London. Though he never may write again one of those moving and often beautiful stories of the things he saw and heard, wherever things are happening, there will be the spirit of Ben Robertson. Whatever new land he may now be visiting, he will be making friends.

(Thomas R. Waring) T. R. W.

By Ben Robertson, Jr.

Gandhi–Alive or Dead–Holds Key to India

British Government, Civil Service, Represent Static Forces

Ben Robertson, Jr., who wrote this story on Gandhi and the Moslem movement in India, is believed to have been killed in the explosion of a Pan American clipper at Lisbon, Monday. Robertson, who covered most of the war fronts for PM and the Chicago *Sun*,, was en route to London for the New York *Herald-Tribune*, which he joined last month. His series of articles on India now appearing in PM was written after four months in that country. The full story on Robertson and the Lisbon accident appears on page 17.

By Ben Robertson, Jr.

(Copyright, 1943, by Field Publications)

The situation in India has changed considerably since Gandhi and Nehru and all the thousands of their principal followers were arrested in early August. The big riots have subsided and sabotage since then has gone underground.

Sabotage now is conducted secretly by small groups of men, is organized, and is far more difficult to deal with than big riots. The government over the years has developed a riot technique—as one of the rulers explained it to us, "You shoot."

Throughout the crisis the government in Delhi has had to depend on the loyalty of 29,000 local Indian constables who throughout have remained "loyal to their salt." This salt is their monthly pay of $6, augmented by extra pay for extra work or for extra ability.

One high ruler of the government of India told us, "These constables in addition have other ways of adding to their salaries—it is a custom among all officers of lower ranks in India." He then added, "I assume this is so in all governments everywhere."

Gandhi Still Dominant

Though Gandhi is fasting in the palace of the Agha Khan at Poona, he still is the most powerful man in India. The Congress Party still is dominated by him. Nehru gives in to Gandhi. Even Indian maharajahs who object to the Mahatma's politics respect him as a religious man.

No deadlock in India can be solved without Gandhi's participation, and Gandhi at the present time is incommunicado.

Gandhi fasts in his prison palace. The Viceroy sits in his. Almost every leader in India tried to get the two together again to consider current developments, but none succeeded.

Mukerjee, the leader of the Hindu Mahasdha, tried. So did Tara Singh of the Sikhs, so did Fazlul Huo, the Moslem premier of Bengal; and so did Allah Bux, the Karachi Moslem whom the Viceroy recently deposed as the people's premier of Sind.

Educators tried, editors tried. Even in England such newspapers as the London *Times* and the Manchester *Guardian* expressed apprehension over the deadlock. Nothing happened. India drifts.

Two Great Indians

The two great Indians who are doing all in their power to create some sort of working understanding in India now are Sir Tej-Bahadur Sapru and Rajagopalachari.

Even the British respect these two Indians. Sapru, an independent and a liberal, is a solemn old man who dresses in European clothes. When he sits down he leans on a cane which he places under his armpit. Often his lips are stained from chewing betel. Rajagopalachari is a small, thin nonviolent man; a frail human being who wears thin cotton robes and dark eyeglasses and who takes off his shoes when he sits.

He possesses a keen calm mind and he has a glow about his face that makes you think of the saints. He made me think of Savonarola. He also is a leading Indian man of the world, a politician, formerly premier of the province of Madras. Rajagopalachari is a remarkable man, for he is one of those rare souls who gives you the impression of having conquered himself. His daughter is the wife of Gandhi's son.

To everything that Sapru suggests and to everything that Rajagopalachari suggests, the Viceroy says no.

As I see the situation in India, the static forces include the government of India, the Indian princes, who are protected by their prehistoric British treaties; the Indian Civil Service, which is run by some thousand Englishmen; the Indian Army, led by British officers; and the British Industrial community, centered in Clive St. in Calcutta. All these are opposed to change.

Indian Industry

Against these forces is Indian industry, Congress with all of its liberal, reactionary and radical elements, and the Indian minorities—the Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians, the Christians, and the untouchables, all of whom want change. Somewhere between these two is the Moslem League. I don't know whether Mohammed Ali Jinnah actually wants a change or whether he doesn't.

* * *

Jinnah is the perpetual president of the Moslem League and he never was more powerful than he is today. He is an intellectual man, a quiet, cool individual, with many enemies and few close friends—some say he has no friends at all—but he is so astute that he has forced the entire Moslem community of India to recognize him as absolute leader.

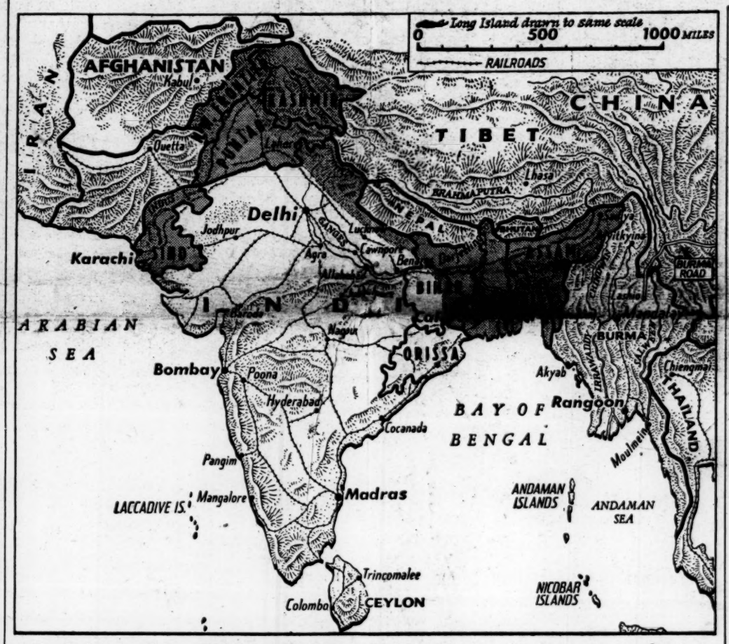
His strength is based on religion, but it also is economic—he trades on the fear that the 100,000,000 Mohammedans have of the 300,000,000 Hindus in India. One of the British rulers of India told us once that Jinnah was not a big man, but that he had a big idea.

Jinnah's big idea is Pakistan—an independent Mohammedan India that would include the extreme northwestern and northeastern frontiers of India. Jinnah is a bargaining man and he is too clever thus far ever to define the exact borders of his shadowy domain.

However, Herbert Matthews of the New York *Times* and I did get him once to indicate what it might include with a wave of his slim long hands, Jinnah told us Pakistan would incorporate the cities of Karachi, Lahore and Calcutta; it would stretch through Sind, the Punjas, the Northwest frontier and possibly Kashmir, where Mohammedans predominate, and it would further include all of Bengal, possibly parts of Orissa and Bihar, and all of Assam, where there are Mohammedans mixed with many tribes.

Jinnah told us a corridor would join these two regions—the longest and most fantastic corridor in the world, a strip of territory somewhere north of the River Ganges. (We told Gandhi's son, Devidas, who at the moment, was out of prison, about this corridor. Laughing, he said the Hindus would have to have a corridor or at least an underpass under Jinnah's land).

Jinnah's fear of the Hindus is real, for there has been economic persecution of certain Mohammedan minorities in some of the Hindu-run provinces. But no one knows how serious Jinnah is about wishing actually to split India.



Shaded area shows Pakistan, the name India's Moslem leaders give to the independent state they would found to avoid Hindu domination in an independent India.

Nonetheless, Jinnah has maneuvered the Moslems into the most powerful position they ever have held in the British Indian Empire. Jinnah goes up and down India telling Mohammedans they are misunderstood. He fans the flame of Moslem independence.

"We want our birthright," he says. "We want to be independent in our own states and we cannot agree to any united democratic constitution for a united India."

This makes Gandhi furious. Gandhi was terribly incensed when Sir Stafford Cripps granted recognition to Jinnah's idea of Pakistan.

Jinnah says the British are using him, that the British are taking advantage of his opposition to Gandhi's conception of a single Indian state.

"I am like Turkey in this struggle," he says, "I am neutral."

He adds, "It is for the British to make up their mind about India. Britain should seek allies. I am willing to do my part, but England is not willing. At present, England has no ally in this country."

Jinnah says if the British would give him authority he would crush "the Congress rebellion" in three months. Often, of late, Jinnah hints of civil war.

A Politician

Jinnah is a thin, silky man with silky skin and long silky gray hair. He lives in a big Delhi house with gilded walls and black waxed floors. There are books in his bookcases. He speaks English as his native tongue and only recently has he learned to address Mohammedans in poor Urdu.

His face makes you think of a squirrel—of a quiet squirrel. He is an exquisite man and you constantly think of his clothes. He wears faun and pearl gray suits and sometimes uses a monocle. His shoes are often made of suede.

When he goes off to make speeches to Mohammedans he puts on long skin tight white breeches and a long form-fitting black coat with a cap of brushed fur. Once at a festival at the great Delhi mosque, we saw Jinnah all in white, elevated above the crowd on a platform like a god.

Personally, I like Jinnah very much. He talks to correspondents by the hour. He is a fascinating person and none of us can really fathom his purpose. We cannot understand why he seems never to be anxious, never to seem hurried. He is growing old and if he really meant to create an independent Pakistan, then why does he not show some impatience?

I have a feeling that it is not Pakistan that he is seeking. I feel he is a politician and that what he wants for the Mohammedans is a maximum bargain. If he keeps on talking as he now talks, however, he may have to see his ideas through.

The British are not very concerned, but many Indians are extremely anxious about the trends of Jinnah's mind. The British, it seems to me, are living from hand to mouth in India. They will deal with tomorrow when tomorrow arrives.

TOMORROW: Why India Looks to America for Help in the Future.

31st August 1943

FOREWORD FOR PAMPHLETS BY LORD VANSITTART.

Lord Vansittart has written here of Germany's record "Five wars in the last 75 years, besides four near misses". It is indeed a "Black Record". Are we, after this war is over, going to overlook what Germany has habitually done to others? Not if Lor Vansittart can help it. The bitter memories of two wars, German wars, are in this man's mind. Nor does he forget the wishful, wasted years between.

Lord Vansittart is a controversial character in Britain today. He believes that Germany, and Germany alone, is responsible for this war; and he believes that she will be responsible for another one unless we learn the lessons that are written on the blackened buildings, the twisted bodies and the tortured minds of Europe.

As Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Foreign Secretary during the years 1938 to 1941 his advice was seldom sought and never heeded. There were few men in England who saw as clearly the inevitable consequences of Hitler's rise to power. Frequently in the years before Munich I sat in his big room at the Foreign Office, and heard him explain what consequences would flow from certain policies, and generally he was right. Britain might have been more in his debt had he resigned from the Civil Service and given the country and the world his warnings and counsels before the war began. But Vansittart chose to remain trying desperately to convince the Chamberlain Government that the hour was later than they thought, and that re-armament should be the nation's business. Now Vansittart is out in the open, using his pen and his voice in an effort to prevent this happening again. His right to speak is unquestioned. He knows

Germany and the Germans, and is not unaware of their contributions to science, the arts and literature. But he writes here of their preference for getting things by blood rather than by sweat. It is, after all, small comfort for those who have their homes destroyed, their countries enslaved and their children starved, to reflect that the nation responsible for all this has from time to time produced men who enjoyed the respect and admiration of civilised nations. You may disagree with Vansittart's conclusions, or with his interpretation of history. You may call him a Francophile, and he will admit it with pride. You may accuse him of condemning all Germans and he will deny it, asserting that he requires more proof than is yet at hand that the German nation has a record that entitles it to be treated as other nations are treated. He would gladly deal harshly with the Germans rather than risk an early repetition of the horrors of a German-made war. Not knowing what the Germans may be in the future he prefers to judge them by their past.

Victory in Europe will find the United Nations facing the same old problem: "What to do with Germany?! Upon the answer to that question rest Europe's chances of survival. Lord Vansittart holds that the record should be studied; that it should be remembered when the decision is made. Being a firm believer in Democracy he desires that decision should be preceded by discussion and debate. These two pamphlets, "Black Record" and "Roots of the Trouble", have had exactly that effect in Britain. It is to be hoped that they will achieve a similar result in the United States, for whether we like it or not our policy - or even our refusal to adopt a policy - must exercise a powerful if not decisive influence upon the future of European civilisation.

Edward R. Murrow.

London: August 28th, 1943.

For News Chronicle: Review of "Transatlantic" by Edward R. Murrow.

Britain and America profess the same faith - that it is the business of political organisation to build a better world for the individual citizen, and that the building shall be done by free consent. TRANSATLANTIC is designed, and attractively designed, to assist British people in understanding the American effort to achieve that objective. It is edited by Geoffrey Crowther who knows America well, and who has a healthy distrust of emotion and sentiment in international affairs. Most of the writing is by Americans, about America; but the magazine is British owned, British controlled and British edited. It might almost have been called MID-ATLANTIC. The first issue cannot but cause an American in England to hope that a similar publication may soon be undertaken in the United States.

The editor has assembled a first class list of contributors, and if the standard is maintained TRANSATLANTIC will offer as good a cross-section of American writing and thinking as may be found in any publication in the United States. There is, however, one danger. The American writers cannot but be conscious that they write for British readers; that may cause them to "pull their punches", to write with less than their accustomed frankness. It will be the difficult, long-distance duty of the editor to insist that his American contributors employ words that have not lost their cutting edge - just as they do when writing for their own fellow-countrymen. If this important venture is to succeed it must come closer to brutal frankness than has been the custom of Anglo-American publications in the past. It must provide an opportunity for British readers to overhear the great American debate on politics and policy. Incidentally, if you are confused and vague about "Who Speaks for

America?", read the leading article in this first issue and you will appreciate that many Americans share your uncertainty. Read also "The American goes to the Game" by Paul Gallico: there is a model which might well be followed by those who write of politics and economics. And if you would understand American attitude towards the Pacific, there is a first class article by Nathaniel Peffer who has spent most of his life studying the Far East, and has not forgotten to take an occasional look at his own country. Mr. Milton MacKaye, who is Assistant to the Under Secretary of War, is responsible for "The Man from Tennessee", a pen picture of Mr. Cordell Hull, our Secretary of State. Mr. MacKaye was a good journalist - but would you expect a man who held an official position in the War Office to write a frank, incisive and objective account of the policies, character and personality of Mr. Eden? The article on Mr. Hull bears too many marks of the "Export for good will" brand of writing. Our Secretary of State and his policies, and his department are the centre of great controversy in the States. It is an important controversy and it will continue. That the controversy, one of the most important in American public life today, was not set forth blunt and clear can only cause regret to anyone who is sincerely concerned that Britons should understand the basis of American policy.

Mr. Crowther hopes that TRANSATLANTIC "may help you to base your likes and dislikes on knowledge instead of ignorance". He has made an auspicious beginning. But as editor of this ambitious undertaking he faces a task that is in many ways unprecedented; for as the English editor of a magazine written mainly by Americans he must be ever vigilant that his writers remember the

words of Emerson, one of the greatest writers on England, when he wrote: "They do not wear their heart in their sleeve for Daws to peck at...they have that phlegm or staidness which it is a compliment to disturb". It might be useful for the editor of TRANSATLANTIC to send this notice to all of his contributors in America: "They dare to displease, they do not speak to expectation. They like the sayers of NO better than the sayers of YES. Each of them has an opinion which he feels it becomes him to express all the more that it differs from yours. They are meditating opposition". That was Emerson's estimate of the British, written something like one hundred years ago. Let the editor of TRANSATLANTIC tell his American contributors to ponder those words, and to write to that text - and then this new magazine, in which even the advertisements seem somehow attractive, may fulfil the hopes of those who believe that Anglo-American understanding is the first charge upon the honesty and the energies of men of good will.

22

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News Chronicle

12/22, BOUVERIE STREET,
LONDON, E.C.4.

Telephones:
CENTRAL 5000
(40 Lines)

Telegrams:
NEWS CHRONICLE
LONDON.

YOUR REFERENCE
OUR REFERENCE

3rd September, 1943.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

With this note a messenger is delivering a copy of "Transatlantic" which you were good enough to tell me on the phone this morning you would review for the News Chronicle. I shall leave space for 500 words for Monday's paper and shall be pleased to get the copy on Sunday afternoon.

May I say how glad the News Chronicle will be to get a contribution from you.

Yours sincerely,

Ralph McCarthy.

Ralph McCarthy.
ASSISTANT EDITOR.

E. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting,
Flat 71,
49 Hallam Street, W.1

Van Doren on Racial
discrimination –

Vague & Confused –

Too Cousins of Writing for
British readers –

4th September, 1943.

Ralph McCarthy, Esq.,
Assistant Editor,
News Chronicle,
12/22, Bouverie Street, E.C.4.

Dear Mr. McCarthy,

Here is Mr. Murrow's review of TRANSATLANTIC. It is just about the length you asked for, and we hope you will find it satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,

B.T.H. (RUGBY) FOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

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THE BRITISH THOMSON-HOUSTON CO., LTD.,

RUGBY.

INSPECTION DEPARTMENT
(EBT) - - -

7th December 1943

Mr.E.R.Murrow,
European Director,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
Slot 71,
49, Hallam Street,
LONDON.W.1.

Dear Mr.Murrow,

As I promised during our conversation on Wednesday, 24th November, I am writing to you to confirm the invitation for you to visit Rugby and address this Association early in the New-Year.

The dates we would suggest are as follows, all of them Wednesdays :-

9th, 16th, 23rd February.
29th March.

We appreciated that your duties may make it difficult for you to fix any particular date immediately, but we should be pleased if you could let us know which date would be suitable as soon as possible.

CONT'D OVERLEAF....

I need hardly say that we are all looking forward most keenly to your visit.

Yours faithfully,

E B Taylor.

JOINT HONORARY SECRETARY - SOCIAL ACTIVITIES SUB-COMMITTEE

EBT/JP:

....

23rd December, 1943.

Dear Mr. Taylor,

It seems probable that I can come to Rugby on February 16th. The only thing that would prevent my doing so, would be a trip to Italy. But unless something unforeseen develops, I shall see you on the 16th.

Yours sincerely,

E.B. Taylor Esq.,
The British Thomson-Houston Co. Ltd.,
Rugby.

B.T.H. (RUGBY) FOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

PRESIDENT: A. P. YOUNG, O.B.E., M.I.E.E., M.I.A.E.

Chairman . . . . . H. W. MALIN
Hon. Treasurer . . F. A. SKIDMORE
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RUGBY.

Our Reference : Inspection Dept. (EBT)

3rd January 1944.

E.R. Murrow Esq.,
European Director,
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.,
Flat 71,
49, Hallam Street,
LONDON W.1.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of the 23rd December in which you say that you will be coming to Rugby on the 16th February, apart from unforeseen circumstances.

I should be very pleased if you could let me have some idea of the title of your talk, and also a few details of your recent activities.

You will appreciate that it is our custom to circulate information amongst our members concerning all our speakers and we would like to have all these details correct for this purpose; if therefore, you could let me have this information it would be most helpful to me.

Yours sincerely,

E B Taylor

E.B. TAYLOR
JOINT HON.SEC. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES SUB-COMMITTEE

EBT/KGB.

THE DAILY MAIL, LONDON.

Telegrams, Daily Mail, London.
Telephone, Central 6000.

Editorial Department,
Northcliffe House, E.C.4.

13th January, 1944.

Edward Murrow, Esq.,
84, Hallam Street,
W.1.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

We propose to keep open a column in our TRANSATLANTIC EDITION each week for a 500-word commentary on the British scene by a leading American newspaperman in London.

The "Daily Mail" is anxious that this column should present to the American people a clear view of events and personalities in this country as an American sees them and, therefore, we hope you will be completely frank in your comments about us.

We are inviting several American correspondents to write this column, so we shall not need to trouble you for a contribution more frequently than about once every two months.

Will you be good enough to let me know whether the idea appeals to you? If it does, I will ask our Features Editor, Sidney Horniblow, to get in touch with you regarding the date for the delivery of the manuscript.

Yours sincerely,

Robert J. Crew
Acting Editor.

17th January, 1944.

Dear Mr. Prew,

Writing for print is a pretty frightening spectacle to one who writes for the ear, but if Mr. Horniblow wants to take a chance, I don't see why I should not. I shall be glad to talk with him any time.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Prew Esq.,
Acting Editor,
The Daily Mail,
Northcliffe House,
E.C.4.

HEADQUARTERS
SERVICES OF SUPPLY
UNITED STATES ARMY
SPECIAL SERVICE DIVISION
(Education Lecture Section)

APO 887
8 Feb 44

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
49 Hallam Street
London, W.1.

Dear Sir:

Cancelled. 2/14

Thank you for the very kind acceptance of our invitation to speak at AAF Station 101 on Wednesday, 16 Feb. '44. I have communicated with Lt E. H. Laux, Special Service Officer of the unit that you reserve the privilege of cancelling the engagement up to Saturday, 12 Feb '44.

Officers' Mess is at 6:00 P.M. and they are looking forward to the privilege of having you with them at that time. There is a train from Paddington at 4:35 P.M. which arrives at the destination at 5:30 P.M. The 9:05 train will return you to the city at 10:13 P.M.

Should these plans be convenient I shall deliver to your office the necessary travel warrant and explain any further details.

Sincerely yours,

Francis W. Russell
FRANCIS W. RUSSELL
T/5, Education Lecture Section

AVON BOOK COMPANY
Publishers
432 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
PHONE · MURRAY HILL 3-0797

February 8, 1944

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
49 Hallan Street
London, England

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am sending you, under separate cover, six copies of Lord Vansittart's book, GERMANY-PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE, which combines the two pamphlets, ROOTS OF THE TROUBLE and THE BLACK RECORD, and I trust they will reach you safely.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your kind cooperation in providing us with a splendid introduction to this volume. I am sure that it will do a great deal to help make the book known in this country.

Should you require any further copies of the book, please be sure to let me know either through Hutchinson & Co. or direct to this address.

Yours sincerely,

AVON BOOK COMPANY

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Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, EC4

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 5555

6th March, 1944.

Edward Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcast System,
Broadcasting House,
W.1

BY HAND

Dear Ed,

I am having to produce a book called "Air Transport & Civil Aviation, 1944" by April and need an authoritative statement about the present situation of civil aviation in the U.S.A. and something of future policy. About 3,000 words. U.S.A. Embassy has told me that they cannot do it and Wayne (Fisher?) who had just got back was the only man this side who could have handled it. If you have anybody in your mind would you let Miss Anderson (B.H. ex 120) know and she could phone me.

Yours sincerely,

H. B. Batchelor

Jerrard

Telephone Number: EUSton 4321.
Telegrams: MINIFORM, LONDON.

In any further communication on this subject the following reference should be quoted:—

F256/1192

Your reference:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION,
MALET STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.

22nd August, 1944

Dear Mr. Murrow,

This Ministry is making a film about "Aid to Russia" telling the story of the British and Commonwealth supplies. The film will not attempt to deal with supplies from America because they have been so vast and the U.S.A. will want to tell her own story. It seems to us that the best way to tell the story is to have a War Correspondent asking questions of Beaverbrook and officials of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, which is the body responsible in this country for shipment of goods to Russia. The despatch of the goods via Murmansk and the Persian Route provides exciting visual material and we already have excellent pictures of the Persian Route Convoys.

We should very much like to ask you to help us with this picture. I enclose a copy of the suggested treatment. Please take this as an indication only of the sort of points that might be made in dialogue, and of your part in it, if you are willing and able to help us.

If you would like me to come and see you and tell you more about it, I shall be very glad to do so.

Yours sincerely,

H. de Mouilpied

H. de Mouilpied
Films Division.

Edward Murrow Esq.,
Flat 71,
49 Hallam Street,
W.1.

THE MERLIN FILM COMPANY LIMITED.

AID TO RUSSIA.

1st Sequence.

1. Lord Beaverbrook's Office.

BEAVERBROOK: Aid to Russia? I can tell you something about that. What do you want to know?

2. CUT to American Newspaper Correspondent. (Ed Murrow)

MURROW: We'd like the whole story, of course. We know what an important part you played in organizing the first supplies to Russia, and we thought you would know about the last, if they are the last. My newspaper is interested in learning what is the position now when the war appears to be nearly over. Stalin and Churchill have given us the figures for the huge volume of supplies sent from Britain to Russia, and they will continue to be sent presumably as long as the war goes on. But after-?

3. Two-shot Beaverbrook and Murrow.

4. C.U. Beaverbrook.

BEAVERBROOK: I'll give you a clue right away. If the Editorial staff on your paper are anything like the fellows on mine they must have noticed that a large part of the supplies mentioned by Churchill and Stalin are civil supplies. Russia may not need tanks and guns after the war, but she has already begun a tremendous programme of reconstruction which demands all we can send her for some years to come. That is why we sign two years' contracts with the Soviet representatives now, not because we expect

5. Two-shot Beaverbrook and Murrow.

the war to last two years. I can tell you that much, but if you want the details of these contracts you must go along to the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. In 1941, immediately after the signing of the Moscow Protocol I sent them a cable telling them to get busy. They have been, they are, and they will be. Go and see for yourself.

2nd Sequence.

6. MIX TO
Door bearing the words "United Kingdom Commercial Corporation".

7. DISSOLVE to interior.

8. Two-shot P.R. Officer and Murrow.

U.K.C.C. P.R. OFFICER: It is true. That cablegram from Moscow started the machinery of "Aid to Russia". When Russia is in need of any supplies other than those of a purely military character the procedure is this. A request is sent to the Soviet Trade Delegation in London who are informed of the exact requirements. The Allied ~~Supplies~~ Supplies Executive considers the request in relation to the needs of the other Allies. Perhaps the whole quantity can be supplied. Perhaps only a proportion if other Allies are also short of supplies. When this question is settled the matter comes to us. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation takes over. I'll give you ~~xxx~~ an example. Request No. 427 - this is concerned with diving-suits. When ports are recaptured from the Germans they are blocked and damaged. Hundreds of divers must go to work repairing and cleaning them. Just now we seem to capture

9. C.U. P.R. Officer

10. C.U. P.R. Officer opens file.

11. MIX to shot of divers going down.

12. Shot of row of diving suits. In factory, being inspected for final finish.

13. Cut back to two-shot.

14. C.U. P.R. Officer.

15. Cut to C.U. Murrow

ports fairly regularly. In consequence diving suits are in strong demand on several fronts. These are to go to Russia. That's an item which might prove difficult for us to supply. The next one here turned out to be easier. Medical supplies this is. In one year alone we were asked for 23½ million ampoules of various drugs - we delivered them.

MURROW: I'm interested. How do you do that?

P.R. OFFICER: First you must understand that the U.K.C.C. handles all civil goods for Russia.

MURROW: Supplies for civilian use?

P.R. OFFICER: Oh no. Civil goods in the sense of supplies other than specifically military equipment - they may be for industry, or for the armed forces. And another thing I must explain - American and Canadian aid to Russia doesn't enter our province. Anything that I say, therefore, excludes the vast supplies shipped to Russia from these two countries.

MURROW: I appreciate that. Well, now, your function is....?

P.R. OFFICER: Roughly to buy from manufacturers in Britain and the Empire - at cost - and to arrange the sale, storage, transport and final shipment of the goods to Russia. And already we have placed contracts with British firms which will extend well into the first years of peace. When the war ends we hope that the flow of

MIX TO:	goods from Britain to Russia will go on much as it does today.
16. L.S. on dock as ships enter.	Let's imagine that ships are made available by the Ministry of War Transport. A convoy will leave shortly for Russia. We aren't given exact dates but we know roughly that within a certain time something like a hundred thousand tons of assorted goods are to be safely stowed in perhaps a dozen holes at three or four different ports. Boilers, cranes, boots, machine tools etc. etc. These supplies have been gathered from all parts of the world. They have been in process of assembly and manufacture for months past. All have been specially asked for by the Russian Government and allocated by the Ministry of Supply.
17. Pan over out-door stores of mixed supplies (dock background). The voice enumerates some as we pan over.	
MIX TO:	
18. Raw Sisal.	Raw Sisal has come in from East Africa to be manufactured into rope. We've sent over hundreds of tons of rope in the last two years.
19. Rope manufacture in England.	
20. Shots of Russian fishing fleets. (or close shots showing rope being used in fishing).	MURROW: For the Soviet fishing fleets perhaps. They use rope for tackle and for nets.
21. Nets being hauled in.	
22. Russian harvesting shots (close on binder twine) Shots of wagons loaded with sacks of grain.	And for their harvests on land too. Twine is needed for combine harvesters. Rope to tie down the loads.
MIX TO:	
23. Raw wool.	P.R. Officer: Wool has come from Australia and New Zealand to be manufactured into cloth. It's come half way round the world and we've
24. Weaving in British Mill.	

25. Handling of bales of cloth.	arranged the manufacture and delivery of enough cloth to stretch all the way back to New Zealand. They seem to need a lot of wool in Russia.
MIX TO:	
26. Shot of Russian troops in winter.	MURROW: It takes a lot of cloth to keep out the cold of a Russian winter.
27. Office: P.R. Officer and Murrow.	I've been on enough battle fronts to know what warm clothing means to a soldier. So for that you have my own personal thanks.
	P.R. Officer: Well, I'm the last person to deserve it. Thank the people of the Dominions who grew and clipped the wool.
28. Shearing on sheep farm in Australia.	
29. Mining in Canada.	The people of Canada who sent aluminium and copper.
30. Rubber plantation - Ceylon - trees being tapped.	The people of Ceylon who gathered rubber and mined Graphite.
31. Palm trees being cultivated.	The West Africans who sent us palm oil - that made soap for Russia.
32. Diamond mining - South Africa.	And the South Africans who have spent about a million dollars worth of industrial diamonds. In short the people of all the Dominions and Colonies.
MIX TO:	
33. L.S. in Metrovicks. Work in progress on mobile generator. This shot should represent the scale of British Industry as favourably as possible - a long shot in the huge Metrovick shop if obtainable.	MURROW: And the people of Britain for their work in manufacturing the finished goods.
	P.R. Officer: If you try to find out who is to be thanked for Aid to Russia there's hardly a person in Britain and the Empire who hasn't contributed something. But is isn't a matter that calls for thanks.

We owe a pretty big debt to Russia. Every man who works on Aid to Russia feels that he's merely repaying that. Let's put it this way. Our aid to Russia is a tribute from the people of one country to the people of another - a tribute that comes from all classes - and takes the practical form of supplies Members of the Government - industrial-~~workers~~ ists - office workers - engineers - workers of every kind - everybody - all play their part.

34. Mobile generator on test.

35. Shots of liberation in Russia.

36. Shots of devastation in Russia.

MIX TO:

37. Blueprint of mobile generator.

MIX TO:

38. Descriptive shots of generator.

39. Boiler emerging from factory - Wolverhampton, with traffic being held up etc.

40. Shots of boiler on route to dock, going through country lanes and city traffic.

41. Shots of test.

42. Units being covered up in yard.

One of the biggest engineering works in the world recently tackled one of its biggest problems. Russia needed electric power - mobile power to move in quickly behind the liberating armies and restore services - lighting - heating - industry - in towns devastated by the retreating Germans. Something new was needed, and something new was found - a mobile generator, mounted on Russian guage railway bogies. One unit for the generator, one for the boiler, another for the fuel. A three-truck train, completely mobile, capable of an output sufficient for the needs of a small town.

The mobile generator was manufactured close to the dock from which it could be shipped. The boiler unit was manufactured in another town. It had to be brought up by road. Together for the first time, they were coupled up and put through elaborate tests for efficiency.

The test completed they set out on the first stage of their journey to Russia. Special Russian guage railway line had to be laid to take them to the dock.

43. Drawing along dockside.

44. Lifted on Crane.

45. Lowered on ship.

A floating crane was brought in to lift them from the dockside and lower them on to the deck of a ship whose hold was already filling up with other supplies.

46. And final shots of loading of various supplies.

The first stage is over - the goods have been requested by Russia allocated by the Supply Executive, delivered by manufacturerers, brought to the dock and stowed aboard. There remains the journey to Russia.

MURROW: To Murmansk?

47. Office. P.R. Officer and Murrow. The P.R. Officer crosses to a map on the wall and indicates the two routes.

P.R. Officer: To Murmansk or to Southern Russia via Persia. The Murmansk route was dangerous. That and the desirability of speeding up the flow of supplies made it advisable to open up a second route - overland through Persia.

MIX TO:

48. Shots of unloading of motor trucks in Persia.

To establish this alternative route a hugh fleet of motor lorries had to be sent to Persia. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation undertook this. And, we built a plant where crated lorries could be assembled, and established a chain of garages along the route where the lorries could be serviced.

49. Their assembly.

50. Shots of convoys of lorries on Persian route.

Today a proportion of the supplies can reach Russia over the newly built trans-Persian road - up from the heat of Bushire on the Persian Gulf to the snow covered mountains of the central plateau and down again into Bandar Shapur on the Caspian Sea. Some of the ships in our convoy will bring goods

to Bushire and Bandar Shapur to reach their final destination over these bleak tortuous roads.

51. Convoy shots on Murmansk route.

Others will head north and brave the hazards of Arctic waters - storms, hostile aircraft, submarines and icy gales - to win through to Russia's northern port.

MIX TO:

52. Office. P.R. Officer and Murrow turning away from map.

MURROW: Talking about thanks - I don't think there are words to do justice to the men who have brought the supplies in - the men who have sailed in these convoys.

MIX TO:

P.R. Officer: And they're men of every nationality - Russians as well as British and sailors of almost every other free nation.

53. Final shots on Murmansk Convoy.

They're the last link in the supply chain.

MURROW: And the strongest. They took the biggest strain without yielding.

P.R. Officer: Well, is that the story your editor wants?

MURROW: It's a story the world needs to hear.

P.R. Officer: And when your telling it don't forget that it went beyond the mere ~~xxxxx~~ sale of goods from one Government to another - beyond even the sending of aid from one Ally to another. It's the story of a whole people helping another people - helping them to achieve a common purpose - helping them to a common victory.

August 26th, 1944.

H. de Mouilpied, Esq.,
Films Division,
Ministry of Information,
Malet Street, W.C.1.

Dear Mr. de Mouilpied,

Thank you for your letter of August 22nd. Unfortunately I cannot accept your kind invitation to collaborate in the making of the film "Aid to Russia". Not only is the pressure of my own work very great at the moment, but I expect also to go to France in the near future, and may be absent from London for some time. I am indeed sorry to be unable to participate in the project.

Yours sincerely,

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YOUR BEHALF STOP DINNER HOSTS SUGGEST YOUR RECORDING MENTION IMPORTANCE PACIFIC WAR WHEN GERMANY FINALLY BEATEN STOP WANTS STRESS IDEA LOTS PEOPLE ERRONEOUSLY GOING THINK WAR OVER WHEN GERMANY LICKED STOP PERSONALLY PROPOSE YOU ALSO EXPOUND FAVORITE THEME PROBLEMS WINNING PEACE SIMILAR IMPORTANCE SWINNING WAR STOP PLEASE TRY RECORD HERE

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CW

WEDNESDAY THURSDAY SO CAN MAKE LAST MINUTE EFFORT FRIDAY IF EARLIER TRANSMISSION FAILS

PAUL WHITE

ANY ENQUIRY RESPECTING THIS TELEGRAM SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY THIS FORM AND MAY BE MADE AT ANY OF THE COMPANY'S OFFICES.

I am sitting here in London rather bewildered, and with a feeling that I would rather be there than here. The bewilderment and uncertainty is the result of a cable from my colleague Paul White, informing me that the Syracuse School of Journalism plans to make four honorary awards to Watson Davis, Hanson Baldwin, George Gallup and myself. Now, normally White's cables are models of concise , complete communications; but in this case he neglected to tell me what the award was, and why I was to receive it. I feel that I have been inadequately briefed, ~~and~~ ~~xxx~~ It's like taking off on a combat mission without having seen the target map or the route to be flown. That means that one may fly far and dangerously, and return without ever having known the objective or, indeed, where one has been.

Even from this distance the awards to Davis, Baldwin and Gallup are understandable. If I were over there with you tonight Dr. Gallup might tell me who is going to win the Election; Hanson could explain the Pacific war for me better than any military correspondent I know; and Watson Davis could undoubtedly draw a diagram of V-2, and calculate the chances of one hitting our office. I can only assume that I am included in this distinguished company because ~~xxxxxx~~ I have worked for several years in Britain without acquiring an English accent. Incidentally, it has always seemed to me that speeches made after dinners should be made in this fashion. The Chairman or the Toastmaster could listen to them in advance, do a bit of editing, or perhaps lose

or break the record. There are certain advantages for the speaker, too. He can plough straight ahead, undismayed ~~xxxxxxxx~~ by those of you who may now be dozing, and completely unconscious of the unpleasant silence that follows the story that doesn't quite come off.

Once, about fifteen years ago, I made a speech at Syracuse all about the German Youth Movement. It was very bad. I was at that time very sure about a great many things. If Syracuse now does me this honour - if this isn't just another of Paul White's practical jokes - then it must be merely because any man is an expert if he is sufficiently far from home. I know not how to accept this award, because I don't know what it is or why it is being awarded. If this correspondent has contributed anything to the field of spoken journalism, it is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to be found in the men who do the talking. During the past seven or eight years we have found, through great good fortune, a group of broadcasters who combine ability and integrity with considerable humility. The Shirers, the Sevareids, the Larry Lesueurs, the Bill Downs, the Charlie Collingwoods and the rest are the ones who have made radio reporting from Europe an adult medium. We have never received editorial directives from New York other than instructions to find the news and report it. # So, with your permission I propose to accept this award on behalf of my colleagues. I think they deserve it - in fact, I think

1714

they're just about the best group of foreign correspondents I have ever known.

It has always seemed to me that awards for achievement should not be of a permanent character. They should be subject to review from time to time, and if the recipient doesn't continue to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ meet the standard, the award should be withdrawn. About the only thing that I can say about this honour, which I interpret as a tribute to my colleagues, is that we shall try to so conduct ourselves that Syracuse will not, I hope, be seriously tempted to withdraw the confidence it has expressed in us.

~~Xxxxxxxxxx~~ The ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ responsibilities of foreign correspondents working in Europe increase as victory approaches. For five years we have been reporting destruction - not just the destruction of buildings and bodies, but the shaking and breaking of traditions, and of the whole economic and political fabric of a Continent. Already it is becoming clear that it is so much easier to devise methods of killing people than it is to establish conditions under which they may live in peace and reasonable security. We have demonstrated, and are demonstrating daily, ~~xx~~ our ability to destroy. But the big test is still to come. And it will be a test for correspondents as well as statesmen. The reporting of Europe after the war will require

1714

tough, well-equipped minds, with few emotional allegiances. The reporting of Europe will be important because European policies as well as the hopes and fears and hatreds of Europeans will influence our lives at home. I have the impression that many Americans will dislike many of the things that are going to happen on the Continent. Some of us may be surprised to find that liberated nations do not base their policy on that rarest of all sentiments - gratitude. We may be ~~xxxx~~ disillusioned when we discover that the winning of a war has not in itself solved the problems that have tortured Europe for centuries. Those problems merely went underground and will emerge again. ~~Ixxix xxxx

1714

they knew nothing.) They saw the European war start; for a few months it seemed like just another European war; and then for a year it seemed possible that it might be Britain's last war. And finally, as the war spread round the world, people in pubs and in the air raid shelters concluded without much debate or argument that so long as there was war in one part of the world - no matter how remote it might be - there was no safety for Britain. I think that is what happened. If I am right, it represents a change in public attitude which is of profound importance, ~~and~~ and it ~~represents~~ offers even the pessimists some grounds for hoping that all this will not have to ~~If this awareness of inter-dependence~~ be gone through again in twenty years.

If I were ~~to express~~ granted one wish regarding the future of the Syracuse School of Journalism, it would not be for a great endowment, increased enrolment, or bigger and better buildings. It would merely be the wish that when this war is ended no graduate of your distinguished institution shall ever be able to find employment (as a war correspondent.)

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MURROW LOOK MAGAZINE WANTS PROPREDICTION

ISSUE TWO HUNDRED FIFTY WORDS EXYOU

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SIGNIFICANT MILITARY POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC

DEVELPMENT IN ONE EUROPE TWO EAST ASIA

THREE UNISTATES DURING 1945 UNQUOTE CAN

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EDWARD R. MURROW FOR A.F.N. SATURDAY NOVEMBER 25, 1944.

During most of the week the weather on the Western Front has been miserable, and the rain has never ceased to fall. The most important thing that was said about the war in the West came from General Ike Eisenhower on Tuesday - he stood up in a crowded room in Paris and answered the question that war correspondents had been asking each other, and anybody else who would listen. The question was: Would the Germans fight the big battle in front of the Rhine or behind it? General Eisenhower was convinced that they had committed so much of their force west of the Rhine that they cannot now disengage. They have done just about the same thing they did in Normandy when they chose to fight with their backs to the River Seine; they were broken there - some of them got away across the river - but the river itself was no great obstacle, simply because the Germans had not the force to man it from Paris to the sea. The same thing may be true of the Rhine. At least that's what General Ike told us on Tuesday, and he ought to know.

~~Thexxxxxxx~~ On the left of the line the British and the U.S. Ninth and First have had very tough going against stiffening opposition. But at the other end the French and American sweep through Strasbourg and beyond has surprised most of the chairborne soldiers here and in Paris. At the same time, and without in any way belittling the dash and daring of that thrust, it is well to remember that the Germans were pretty thin on the ground there, and they can better afford to lose ground there than anywhere else along the line.

The other fronts in Europe have little to show. The Italian front, due to weather and terrain, has remained almost stationary, and there appears to be little chance that General Alexander's forces can clear the Valley of the Po during the winter months. The Russians have been held in East Prussia and Central Poland, and their initial bid for Budapest has failed. They now appear to be trying to take this important transportation centre from both sides, rather than by head-on assault.

Out in the Pacific American super Fortresses have had a bang at the centre of Tokyo - they left some useful fires burning in the industrial area. We don't know the number of planes employed on the mission, but only two were lost. The big bombers flew from Saipan, and the round-trip was something over three thousand miles. General Hap Arnold says that the attack "rocked the heart of Japan". And he says that: "No part of the Japanese Empire is now out of our range - no war factory too remote to feel our bombs". The General undoubtedly speaks the truth, but no reasonable person will expect that we can destroy Japanese industry from a distance of fifteen hundred miles. We shall have to close the range considerably. Incidentally, Washington has decided that the output of small arms and ammunition must be doubled at once, and the War Production Board has decided to put seventy-seven thousand workers on the job.

Here in London the papers are full of Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease. The full story covers dozens of mimeographed pages, and I won't bore you with the details. But there are a few interesting facts that emerge from all these documents. For instance, the Jerry cans that carried the gas that made possible the great sweep through France were made in this country, so were most of the spark plugs used in the B-17's and 24's. That "Mulberry" port at Arromanches was devised and constructed in Britain. The waterproofing of tanks, and jeeps and ducks was all done right here. Most of the stuff in this longwinded report makes pretty dull reading, but after you've read it all you end up with the impression that both Britain and America have pooled their resources, and that no accountant can straighten them out. The only thing that's lacking in this lengthy document about Lend-Lease is some indication of when we'll get some cigarettes.

MURROW TO AFN...

It would probably be a good idea to start this by telling you that I have spent the last eight years wandering about Europe.(except for the years whe when ~~it was~~ the Germans made it impossible to wander outside the British Isles..Every couple of years I have gone home..Once after Munich,again after ~~the end of~~ the big blitz on Britain,and again just after the end of the campaign in North Africa..This week I came back after nearly three months at home.. The time was spent wandering about the country..and listning..Its a little tough to know just how to start this..because in three months you hear a lot, and the impressions sort of crowd each other out to the edge of your mind...Anyway this is going to be an attempt to answer the Question... "HOW are things at home"...I can only tell you that this is how they seemed to me..no one has given me a brief for this piece...another reporter might have gone home and reached entirely different conclusions..these are mine..they are based on many days and night of travel ..by train and bus...all the way from New York to Seattle and back again...On may casusl conversations in factories, at bus stations, and in greasy spoons from one end of the country to the other...There was plenty of time for eavesdroppi —for talk about the war and politics and the future, about crops and fishing and the weather...There were bright lights and good food and at times Europe and the war seemed far away..(Three thousand miles is still a great distance)..I can tell you that when I left a few days ago the ice was breaking up in the Hudson..there was still snow on the streets in Brooklyn..that the stores all over the country are still full of good things to buy..~~that people on the st~~

that people on the streets all seem to be well dressed and healthy...I can tell you too that the range country in Texas looks just as it did... that the Wilamette Valley is still for me the most beautifull spot in the country...Up in Seattle you can still see Mt Ranier and the snow capped Olympics..when it isnt raining.(and it generally is).In St Louis the bar tenders still tell you that they serve the best beer in the world,(and thats (obably true.).The Pompano and the Oysters Rockefeller in New Orleans are as good as ever...The Valley of Virginaa,even when its covered with snow makes you ~~just~~ want to stay there...and the cold winds along Michigan Avenue make you want to be somewhere else...But this isnt supposed to be a travelouge..Its supposed to try to answer the question..."How are things at Home."Well ..in the first place..its still in a very real sense Gods Country...Its a hard place to leave...Its still pretty comfortable but believe me its changed since I was there last a couple of years ago..The whole country is more serious...Ive been trying to think of a good story to tell you and just cant do it..they dont go in so much for funny stories any more...Incidentally there is a lot less belly aching about rationing than I had been lead to expect..the gas ration has pretty well eliminated joy riding...and people have discovered that they dont really need a new car every year..the old one does pretty well...and a lot of neighbours have become aquainted as a result of the car pools that take them to and from the station...I had the feeling that the whole country has somehow become more neighbourly...The casualty lists are hitting pretty hard and little towns in the Cascades and in Wyoming know there is a war on allright...

Travelling isnt very comfortable...the hotels are all jammed..and there is a lot of money being thrown around...After Europe everybody seems well dressed, as though they were all going to a party..We are the only country in this war that has been able to raise its standard of living..and when yo you go back the luxury and the waste come as something of a shock...But dont be fooled by the outcry about the midnight curfew for night clubs — and the stories of lavish parties in Hollywood...That isnt the authentic voice of America..most folks still go to bed early and get up early and they are working hard...Weve got a lazy luxury fringe and at times they make news, but they dont count and most people at home know it.... You can believe it or not but this is a pretty tough war for a whole lot of people at home...and that will require a little explaining..They are far from the sounds of battle..they are not under the lash of immediate physical danger..they have got to make their sacrafices in cold blood at long range..that business of waiting for news...from here and from the pacific isnt easy...I talked with literally thousands of people who wanted to do more..but they were working hard..they were buying bonds they were accepting rationing willingly..they were doing what they could for service men travelling, or back from duty overseas, and they just couldnt figure out what more they could do...Its true that most of them dont know how tough this war is..but it would be a thundering miracle if they did... You cant put it into words..there is no common denominator of experience.. Most of us probably didnt know what it was like till we began to be shot at...The point Im trying to make is that they are doing their best to

understand..and Im convinced they are willing to make greater sacrafices than have been demanded of them...I talked with a lot of fellows back from overseas who were fed up with the indifference,the luxury and the waste they encountered..but most of them after they had been back a while..had a chance to talk with people who work with their hands...began to understand that the country was a lot more serious than it appeared at first.xxxxxxxx

There is a lot of stuff being printed about how the returning soldier should be treated...Plenty of psychiatrists who have never been shot over are advising the folks at home to treat you as though you had never been away..others say..try to get them to talk of their experiences..others are warning in sombre tones that there will be an almost unbridgeable gulf between the soldier and civilian...A lot of what I read didnt make much sense and I dont think it would to you...It takes a while to get used to life at home again..but I talked with dozens of fellows who had seen plenty of war..they were working in hotels and on ranches and in shipyards..and they were doing allright....

Theres another impression I gained at home..the whole country seems to have become more serious..more adult...You hear more talk about economic inequalities..about anti semitism and race relations...and you hear a lot of talk about a world organisation which will have a reasonable chance of preventing all this happening again...So many Americans have gone to so many far corners of the world..and come home again..that its no longer surprising to hear folks in Des Moines or San Antonio talking about Aden and Africa Cairo and Karachi..AAchen and the Azores have become real places..not just

names on a map...There is much talk about American foreign policy..how we should handle our reaations with other nations..I dont know what the final decision will be..but I am obliged to report that people at home are talking of such matters with great intensity...they are anxious for information, but determined to make up their own minds...On the whole they seem pretty confident about the future..convinced that a way will be found to prevent a post war slump...I think what Im trying to say is that the country has lost none of its confidence and is still convinced that there is nothing that cant be done...People at home still swing from great optomism to deepest gloom..their attitudes are formed by competeing headlines but their feet are pretty firmly planted on confidence in the future....

No one could talk about things at home without mentioning strikes... and dont think that soldiers are the only ones who resent them..there is great resentment at home too...~~Not very many~~ Few people at home feel we have done a very good job in handling the whole manpower problem..we havent achieved anything like equality of sacrafice between the men who fight and the men who work..So far as I know no country has...If I had to guess Id say that we'll have continued small strikes at home but I dont think there will be any to seriously affect the war effort..public opinion just wont stand for it...There will be every effort to settle disputes thru existing machinery..inside the framework of existing law..and it will probably work.

Before I went home this time people told me that the east was interested in the war in Europe but that the west coast cared only about the Pacaific war..

Now that just isnt so...That may have been true in the early days but it isnt any longer..there are too many men from the west coast over here..there is too much realisation that its all part of one war...You go down the long slopes to the coast,your train is often sidetracked while the fast freights loaded with oil and tanks and all the weapons of war roll westward..at times seems that the whole country is moving towards the pacific..but in the windows of little houses and big ..you see those service stars ~~inxthexzx~~ x ~~xinxzzxzxzx~~ often three or four of them..one may be for a man who stands on the Rhine..another for a marine on IWO JIMA.. and the interest of the people who live there stretch from Japan to Berlin...Incidentally our Navy in the Pacific is behaving like the the British Navy of Nelsons day....They are out there looking for trouble every day..and people at home think nothing of it when they are told that we have three fleets operating within fighter range of tokio...That big carrier striking force stands off the Japanese home islands and pounds Tokio for two days..and a week later they are back at it again..during the lull the B 39s go over a couple hundred at a time...Part of the time they dont even bother about radio silence... There are live broadcasts from the admirals flagship ten miles off IWO JIMA. There are great and importat things happenning in the Pacific.... But you wouldnt find many people in Washington who expect an early end to the war out there...most people think its going to long and very tough

I feel somehow that I havent made much progress in attempting to answer the question..how are things at home so lets try to wrap up a few

final impressions in a couple of minutes...It was a tough winter with much snow...there is a lonesomeness in the land because so many of the best are away at war...There is an increasing seriousness or maturity and it is reflected in conversation across the country....There are still canadian geese on the upper reacehs of the snake, and plenty of cotton tail deer in Texas...there is plenty of money to spend but consumer goods are getting scarce...Hollywood is really working on a few war pictures that are not dominated by blondes...Mens neckties have gone mad, bright colours and weird combinations with a hangover look about them...more and more women are going to work in war plants.....You can still buy a drink but its not so easy to get a bottle...There are a lot of trains where service men are served first in the diner and most civilians think thats the way it should be...All across the country there are women whose husbands and sons have been gone a long time..~~they bear themselves with~~ they are calm and courageous doing their best to take care of a family and keep a home together..they worry like hell and try not to show it... The farmers are short handed ...working hard and complaining about the things farmers have always complained about....There is a big black market in the big cities..but in the smaller places community opinion operates to reduce such activity to a minimum..~~Everything I've tried to say represents nothing more than personal impression. I have not always been right~~

There is still much waste and extravagance...Few people understand fully the price men pay in war..but, so help me, most of them are trying to understand..they are proud of the achievements of their armies and Navy...They are confident of the future without being too arrogant..when you go home there will probably be a lot of things you wont like..things youll want to change...the peacefull political machinery for change will still be there...you will find that argument has not gone out of fashion... that persuasion is still possible and that seems to me important....

And now one last impression about things at home...and in a field where I have no competence whatever...for I know nothing of religion..but we are still a churchgoing people...and I am sure that had those with whom I talked at home known that I would have a chance to talk to you over here... they would have said something like this...when you finish that broadcast... however bad it may be...you might try to sum it up by saying that the dominant wish of everone at home is this....MAY THE GRACE OF GOD GO WITH YOU...AND BRING YOU SOON HOME AGAIN....

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CBS: EDWARD R. MURROW:

ONE MINUTE FOR A.F.N.

Somehow it doesn't seem possible that this is the second birthday of the American Forces Network. I can remember when there wasn't any Forces Network in Europe, when there weren't even any American forces. In those days, Columbia's reporters in Europe were talking exclusively to the folks back home, but after the American Forces Network got going, I think maybe our reporting improved a little because we were always conscious of the fact that our stuff might be picked up and re-broadcast to the officers and men who were really fighting this war. We were always proud to hear any of our stuff on Combat Diary or other programs, because we knew it was being broadcast to the most critical audience in the world.

I have been involved in this business of Transatlantic broadcasting for about nine years now, and it has always seemed to me that it's really a problem in transportation; that it's an effort to transport the listener for a few minutes to a place that is far away - to create the illusion that he is back in familiar surroundings, at least hearing, if not seeing and smelling, the things that were familiar, pleasing or informative. If CBS programs that have been recorded in the States and broadcast over here, have done anything to narrow the distance between Europe and home, then that's a good thing. Of course, it will be a lot better

when we can all go home instead of just hearing about it, but in the meanwhile so far as Columbia's concerned we will just go on trying to provide the American Forces Network with whatever they want for your amusement, enlightenment or amazement.

Since this is a birthday celebration I'd like to make my small salute to a group of men who never get sufficient recognition in any broadcasting outfit, and that is the engineers. They're the fellows who have to listen to all this stuff whether they want to or not. I saw the Americans bringing men and machines, courage and hope to Europe, and it seems to me they brought a considerable number of pretty smart radio operators too.

Managing Editor:
PETER LONDON (me)

Advertisement Offices:

Pending,
January, 1946

Telegrams: BCM/CRITIC, W.C.1.

Telephone: PARK 9564.

PL/MH

ANGLO-AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS,

Publishers of

THE CRITIC

(Monthly)

BACK IN CIRCULATION (Decbr).

44, KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS,

LONDON, W.11 November 1st 1945.

PARLIAMENT, BOOKS, ART, MUSIC, SCIENCE, STAGE, SCREEN, RADIO, ETC.

Mr Edward R.Murrow,
84, Hallam St, W.1.

Dear Mr Murrow ,

"The CRITIC" now expects to be back on the bookstalls by Decbr and I'd be very glad if you could spare the time to write an article or criticism on your
(1) favourite Radio subject .

The editor of "Stars & Stripes" is con-
-tributing an article and The Maple Leaf editor is writing on entertainment road companies sent overseas from Canada . And I think Professor James Kerr Pollock, political adviser to Ambassador Murphy in Berlin, is also contributing but his MSs isn't in yet . I'm also hoping for a contribution from a U.S UNRRA official. There will also be a splash feature about "Books across the Sea" for American & British readers & I'll cover the BBC Christmas & New Year shows .

So you see, this collection could not be truly Anglo-American without a write-up by your goodself . And while you're at it could you give me any information about
(2) Frank Fey (or Fay) the American "Song Analyst" ? I'd like to bring him into an article of my own which is intended to dissect songs in a similar manner. And could you tell me
(3) the name of the tenor in the 'Inkspots' ? Many thanks .
(4) And what has become of Johnny Kerr ? Deadline Novbr 30th.

Cordially yours ,

M. Hoyer

(Mary Hoyer: known as 'Peter London')

13th November, 1945.

Dear Miss Hoyer,

Thank you for your letter of 1st November. I regret very much that owing to the pressure of broadcasting commitments, I am unable to contribute the article for "The Critic" which you requested.

Regarding the questions in the last paragraph of your letter, I am sorry I do not know the answers, and I think the only people who could give them to you would be our New York office, 485 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Mary Hoyer,
The Managing Editor,
"The Critic",
44 Kensington Park Gardens,
W.11.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 50

To Department Heads

From Mr. Ream

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

June 21, 1947

Attached are copies of the statements by Mr. Stanton, Mr. Lounsberry and myself relating to the White Bill.

I am sure you will want to read these as they reflect some of the fundamental premises which broadcasters have been advancing at the Senate hearing in Washington.

J.H.R.